

THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1789.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and
TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during Part of the Reign of
Queen ELIZABETH.



L O N D O N,

Printed for G. G. J. and J. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row.

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THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER

OF GENERAL HISTORY OF

HISTORY

POLITICS

AND

THE FUTURE

THE YEAR 1839

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED



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P R E F A C E.

IN presenting another Volume of the New Annual Register to the Public, there are two circumstances which we have reason to reflect upon with pleasure. The first is, that we have been able to give it so early an appearance; and the other, that it has been executed with an attention and diligence which cannot fail of procuring it a favourable reception.

In the Foreign History, besides the Narrative of the important Events that have taken place in the Eastern Parts of Europe, in Germany, in Holland, and in Flanders, the account we have given of the proceedings of the Notables in France will demand, in an especial manner, the notice of our Readers, as they will thence be enabled to trace, with perspicuity and precision, the steps which have led to the late astonishing Revolution, and to see that, wonderful as it is, it was the necessary result of the previous disposition of things in that country.

With regard to Great Britain, we have endeavoured to relate, with accuracy, copiousness, and im-

partiality, the peculiar situation she was placed in, in consequence of the king's illness, and the very interesting debates which that illness occasioned concerning the Settlement of a Regency.

In the Introductory Part, we are arrived at a period in which the Literature of England becomes so various and extensive, that we cannot comprize our review of it, during a whole reign, within the compass of a single article. To do justice, in this respect, to the æra of queen Elizabeth, into which we have now entered, will, probably, require the addition of two succeeding Numbers.

Of our Miscellaneous Department we may safely assert, that it will be found instructive and entertaining in a high degree, and that there is a variety in it which will render it agreeable to readers of the most different tastes and dispositions. As to the account of Domestic and Foreign Literature, it is sufficient to say, that it is drawn up with all the care and candour which we have hitherto displayed, and that we have increasing reason to be satisfied with the scientific plan on which it was originally formed, and has hitherto been conducted.

C O N T E N T S.

The History of Knowledge, Learning, and Taste, in Great Britain, during Part of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Page i

BRITISH and FOREIGN HISTORY.

C H A P. I.

Affairs of France. New Ministry. Persecution of Mr. de Calonne. Appointment of the Archbishop of Toulouse. Retrenchments and Reforms. Dissolution of the Notables; 3

C H A P. II.

Council of Finances. Stamp Duty. Conduct of the Parliament of Paris. Demand for the States-General. Land Tax. Bed of Justice. Impeachment of Mr. de Calonne. Parliament banished. Remonstrances of the other Parliaments: Weakness of Administration, 16

C H A P. III.

Projected Exchange of Bavaria. Germanic League. Death of the King of Prussia: Policy of his Successor. Affair of the Princess of Orange. Military Interference of Great Britain and Prussia to adjust the Dissentions of the United Provinces. Alliances and Treaties, 35

C H A P. IV.

Turkish Expedition against Egypt. Journey of the Empress of Russia to Cherson. Met by the King of Poland and the Emperor. Turks declare War against her. Attack of Kinburn. Hostilities of the Emperor. En-
3 A 3 *gagé*

C O N T E N T S.

agements in the Euxine. Proceedings of the King of Sweden. Battle of Hooiland. Army declares against the War. Danish Invasion. Armistice. Manœuvres of the Grand Visier. Surrender of Choczim. Surrender of Oczakow, 56

C H A P. V.

Domestic Transactions. Royal Indisposition. Meeting of Parliament. Expected Change of Administration. Right of the two Houses of Parliament to elect a Regent asserted. Mode adopted by them for that Purpose, 90

C H A P. VI.

Correspondence of the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt. Restrictions on the Regency. Peerage Restriction. Government of the Royal Household vested in the Queen. Session of Parliament opened. Regency Bill. Debates, 112

C H A P. VII.

Resumption of Royal Authority. Parliamentary Proceedings. Army. Navy. Ordnance. Treaty of Great Britain and Prussia. Shop Tax repealed. Pedlar's Act amended. Struck Felony Act. County Election Act suspended. Motion to repeal the Test Act. Stanhope's Church Reform Bill. Tithe Bill. Bill to commemorate the Revolution, 134

C H A P. VIII.

Trial of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Burke censured by the House of Commons. India Budget. Extension of the Capital of the East India Company, 145

C H A P. IX.

Discussion of the Slave Trade. Question deferred. Mr. Addington Speaker. Budget. Loan. Taxes. Excise on Tobacco. Motion on the Finances. Demand of Corn from the French refused. Prorogation, 152

P R I N C I P A L O C C U R R E N C E S. (3)

P U B L I C P A P E R S.

List of the Division of the House of Commons, Dec. 16, 1788, on the second Resolution, moved that Day by the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, (55) List

CONTENTS.

<i>List of the Division of the House of Lords, Dec. 26, 1788, on the Reso-</i>	
<i>tion of the Amendment to the Resolution, moved by Lord Rawdon,</i>	(65)
<i>Protest of the Lords who voted, Dec. 29, against agreeing to the Resolutions</i>	
<i>of the Commons, delivered at a Conference on the 23d.</i>	(66)
<i>Letter from the Rt. Hon. William Pitt to the Prince of Wales, Dec. 30.</i>	
	(68)
<i>Answer to the foregoing Letter, delivered by his Royal Highness to the Lord</i>	
<i>Chancellor, Jan. 1,</i>	(69)
<i>Protest of the Lords who voted, Jan. 23, against agreeing to the Resolution</i>	
<i>of the Commons, delivered at a Conference on the preceding Tuesday,</i>	(71)
<i>Resolutions agreed to, by the Lords and Commons, and presented to the Prince</i>	
<i>of Wales, Jan. 30,</i>	(72)
<i>Answer of the Prince of Wales to the Lords and Gentlemen, appointed to de-</i>	
<i>liver to him the foregoing Resolutions,</i>	(73)
<i>Resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, presented to her Majesty,</i>	
<i>Jan. 30,</i>	(74)
<i>Her Majesty's Answer to the Lords and Gentlemen, who delivered the foregoing</i>	
<i>Resolutions.</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Speech of Earl Bathurst, in the name of the Lords Commissioners, appointed</i>	
<i>by his Majesty's Commission to declare certain Causes of the Meeting of Par-</i>	
<i>liament, Feb. 3,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, March 10,</i>	(75)
<i>Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, Aug. 11,</i>	(76)
<i>Speech of the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both</i>	
<i>Houses of Parliament, Feb. 5,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Protest of the Peers of Ireland, who voted, Feb. 16, against the Address to</i>	
<i>the Prince of Wales, requesting his Royal Highness to take upon him the</i>	
<i>Office of Prince Regent.</i>	(77)
<i>Answer of the Lord Lieutenant to the Address of both Houses, requesting him</i>	
<i>to transmit their Address to the Prince of Wales,</i>	(79)
<i>Protest of the Minority in the Irish House of Lords against the Resolutions</i>	
<i>voted Feb. 19, asserting the Right of both Houses to declare a Prince Re-</i>	
<i>gent,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Protest of the Lords against the Vote of Censure on the Lord Lieutenant.</i>	(80)
<i>Protest on the 20th of Feb. upon the Motion for putting off the Consideration</i>	
<i>of appointing parliamentary Commissioners to carry the Address to the Prince</i>	
<i>of Wales to the 1st of October, being negatived,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Address presented to the Prince of Wales, Feb. 27, by the Delegates from</i>	
<i>both Houses,</i>	(81)
<i>Answer of the Prince of Wales to the foregoing Address,</i>	(82)
<i>Final Answer of the Prince of Wales to the Deputation from both Houses of</i>	
<i>the Parliament of Ireland, March 12,</i>	(83)
<i>Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to both Houses of Parliament, March 14,</i>	
	(ibid.)
<i>Address of the House of Lords of Ireland to his Majesty,</i>	(84)
<i>His Majesty's Answer,</i>	(85)
<i>Address of the House of Commons of Ireland to his Majesty,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>His Majesty's Answer,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Address of the House of Commons of Ireland to the Prince of Wales, voted</i>	
<i>March 20, on Occasion of the final Answer of his Royal Highness,</i>	(86)
<i>Protest</i>	

CONTENTS

<i>Protest against the Address of Thanks to the Prince of Wales, voted in the Irish House of Lords, March 23,</i>	(87)
<i>Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to both Houses, May 25,</i>	(88)
<i>Account of the Meeting of the Merchants, Bankers, and Traders of London, at the London Tavern, Jan. 7,</i>	(89)
<i>Another Account of the same Meeting, by Alderman Picket,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Speech of Samuel Beacroft Esq. to the Right Hon. William Pitt, on presenting to him the Vote of Thanks of the Merchants, Bankers, and Traders of London, Jan. 15</i>	(90)
<i>Account of the Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Southwark, Jan. 7,</i>	(91)
<i>Account of the Meeting of the Freeholders of Devonshire, Jan. 16,</i>	(92)
<i>Account of the Meeting of the Freeholders of Northumberland, Jan. 21,</i>	(93)
<i>Account of the Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Southampton, Feb. 9,</i>	(94)
<i>The Petition of certain Electors of Westminster presented to the House of Lords, Feb. 17,</i>	(96)
<i>Address of the Heritors and Burgesses of Kinghorn, in Scotland, to be presented to the Prince of Wales, on the Event of his assuming the Regency,</i>	(97)
<i>Address of the Magistrates and Town-Council of Burnt-Island, on the same Occasion,</i>	(98)
<i>Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of London to his Majesty, on his Recovery,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>His Majesty's Answer,</i>	(99)
<i>Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-council of London to her Majesty, on the same Occasion,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Her Majesty's Answer,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Address of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of Dublin, on the same Occasion,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Address of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Inhabitants of Waterford to the King on the same Occasion,</i>	(100)
<i>Address of the Bishop and Clergy of Llandaff to the King, on the same Occasion,</i>	(101)
<i>Address of the Bishop and Clergy of Llandaff to the Queen, on the same Occasion,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Address of the Nobility, Ladies, and Gentlewomen of the County and Town of Banff, to the Queen, on the same Occasion,</i>	(102)
<i>Petition of the English Catholic Dissenters to the House of Commons, May 7,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Address of the Inhabitants of Alexandria, in Virginia, to General Washington, on leaving his House to accept of the Presidency of the United States of America, April 16,</i>	(105)
<i>The Answer,</i>	(ibid.)
<i>Speech of George Washington, Esq. President of the United States of America, to both Houses of Congress, April 30,</i>	(106)
<i>Message from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives,</i>	(109)
<i>Address of the Magistrates and Gentlemen of the County of Hants to the right Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia,</i>	(110)

CONTENTS.

<i>The Answer,</i>	—	(110)
<i>The King of France's Circular Letter for the Convocation of the States General at Versailles,</i>	—	(111)
<i>King of France's Speech on the opening of the States General, May 9,</i>	—	(112)
<i>Letters from the King of France to the President of the National Assembly, May 28,</i>	—	(113)
<i>Address of M. Bailly to his Majesty, June 6,</i>	—	(114)
<i>His Majesty's Answer,</i>	—	(115)
<i>Speech of the King of France to the States General,</i>	—	(ibid.)
<i>Address presented to the King, by a Deputation of the National Assembly of France, on the Approach of numerous Bodies of Troops to the Capital, July 10,</i>	—	(116)
<i>His Majesty's Answer,</i>	—	(118)
<i>Answer of the King of France to a second Deputation on the same Subject, July 13,</i>	—	(119)
<i>Speech of the King of France to the National Assembly, July 15,</i>	—	(ibid.)
<i>Speech of M. Bailly, Prevot des Marchands, at Paris, to the King of France, on his Entrance into the Hotel de Ville, July 17,</i>	—	(ibid.)
<i>Letter from the Count de Montmorin, Secretary of State, to the Duke de Liancourt, President of the National Assembly, inclosing a Letter from the Duke of Dorset, Ambassador from Great Britain,</i>	—	(120)
<i>Letter from the Count de Montmorin, to M. le Chapelier, President of the National Assembly, inclosing a second Letter from the Duke of Dorset,</i>	—	(121)
<i>Address of the National Assembly of France to the King, Aug. 11,</i>	—	(122)
<i>His Majesty's Answer,</i>	—	(123)
<i>Speech of Mons. Rabaud de St. Etienne, a Protestant Minister, and one of the Deputies in the National Assembly of France, Aug. 27,</i>	—	(ibid.)
<i>The Declaration of Rights, which has been agreed to by the National Assembly of France, and sanctioned by the King,</i>	—	(125)
<i>Proceedings of the Revolution Society of London,</i>	—	(126)
<i>Extract from a Letter of the Duke de Rochefoucauld to Dr. Price, Dec. 2,</i>	—	(127)
<i>Extract from the Notes of the National Assembly of France, Nov. 25, transmitted by the Archbishop of Aix, President of the National Assembly, to Earl Stanhope,</i>	—	(ibid.)
<i>Letter from the Archbishop of Aix, to Earl Stanhope,</i>	—	(128)
<i>Note in Answer to the preceding Letter,</i>	—	(ibid.)
<i>The Fifteenth Report of the Commissioners, appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of the Kingdom,</i>	—	(129)
<i>Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year 1789,</i>	—	(134)
<i>Public Acts passed in the Sixth Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain,</i>	—	(137)
<i>Prices of Stock for the Year 1789,</i>	—	(138)

BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES and CHARACTERS.

<i>The Life of Lord Chancellor Cowper,</i>	—	[3]
<i>Examination of the Historians of the Admirable Crichton,</i>	—	[9]
		<i>Memoirs</i>

CONTENTS.

<i>Memoirs of Alexander Cruden,</i>	—	—	[14]
<i>Particulars of the Life of Dr. Leechman,</i>	—	—	[20]
<i>Sketch of the Character of Mr. Harmer,</i>	—	—	[29]
<i>Anecdotes of Corelli,</i>	—	—	[30]
<i>The Life of Giaseppe Tartini, with his Character as a Composer,</i>	—	—	[31]
<i>Singular Account of La Maupin,</i>	—	—	[34]
<i>Some Account of Dr. Arne, and his Musical Productions,</i>	—	—	[35]

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

<i>The Manner of conducting Religious Worship in the Othoman Empire,</i>	—	[38]
<i>Funeral Laws and Ceremonies of the Mahometans,</i>	—	[41]
<i>Ceremonies attending the Inauguration of the Infant Lama, in Tibet,</i>	—	[46]
<i>Account of the Religious Sect of Seekers at Patna,</i>	—	[49]
<i>Some Account of the Caffres,</i>	—	[52]
<i>Character of the Spanish Ladies, with some Account of the Spanish Diversions,</i>	—	[54]
<i>Observations on the Piratical States, and the probable Means of civilizing them,</i>	—	[61]
<i>State of Government, Society, and Manners in Jersey,</i>	—	[66]
<i>Account of the Dimplers, a Religious Sect in Pennsylvania,</i>	—	[73]

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

<i>The Present State of Literature in Turkey,</i>	—	[76]
<i>The State of Female Literature in England, in the Sixteenth Century,</i>	—	[81]
<i>Critical Examination of Lord Shaftesbury's Works,</i>	—	[83]
<i>Essay on Musical Criticism,</i>	—	[91]
<i>Instructions for the Barrister in extracting Testimony from viva voce Evidence,</i>	—	[95]
<i>Answer to the Question, What is a Verb?</i>	—	[100]

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

<i>Mr. Anderson's Account of a Bituminous Lake or Plain, in the Island of Trinidad,</i>	—	[104]
<i>Account of the Cultivation of Lac,</i>	—	[107]
<i>Dr. Gray's Inferences deducible from an Attention to the External Characters of Serpents,</i>	—	[109]
<i>Experiments on the Congelation of Quicksilver in England,</i>	—	[113]
<i>Observations on the Animal and Vegetable Poisons of Africa,</i>	—	[119]
<i>The Natural History of the Buxton and Matlock Waters,</i>	—	[124]
<i>Enquiry into the Present State of the Glaciers of Savoy,</i>	—	[131]
<i>Account of a singular Species of Volcano</i>	—	[134]
<i>Mode of cultivating and gathering Manna at Carini,</i>	—	[137]
<i>Rules for predicting Changes of the Weather by the Barometer,</i>	—	[138]

Historical

C O N T E N T S.

A N T I Q U I T I E S.

<i>Historical Disquisition on the Game of Chess,</i>	[140]
<i>Translation of a Dissertation on Satirical Medals,</i>	[149]
<i>Observations on the Round Towers in Ireland,</i>	[156]
<i>Articles granted to the Earl of Warwick, on his undertaking the Office of Guardian and Preceptor to King Henry VI.</i>	[159]
<i>Articles of Impeachment against the Duke of Suffolk,</i>	[162]
<i>Manners of the Time of Charles I. displayed in an Account of a Musical Masque,</i>	[165]
<i>Account of the Grottoes of Ispica,</i>	[170]
<i>Reasons why Learning was unknown in Pikland, till the thirteenth Century.</i>	[174]

M I S C E L L A N E O U S P A P E R S.

<i>Experiments on the Management and proper Food of Silk-Worms,</i>	[178]
<i>Advantages which would attend the Institution of Lazarettos in England,</i>	[184]
<i>Directions for preserving a Traveller's Health, particularly in hot Countries,</i>	[187]
<i>Precautions to be used by those who are about to undertake a Sea Voyage,</i>	[190]
<i>Singular Account of what may be effected by rigid Oeconomy,</i>	[193]
<i>Different Anecdotes illustrating the Force of Gratitude,</i>	[194]

P O E T R Y.

<i>Ode on his Majesty's Birth-day,</i>	[196]
<i>Hymn to the Genius of Odours,</i>	[198]
<i>Ode to the Lake of Geneva,</i>	[199]
<i>To the Marquis Ippolito Pindemont, on his Poem on the Defence of Gibraltar,</i>	[201]
<i>Translation from Petrarch,</i>	[202]
<i>The Progress of November, an Ode,</i>	[204]
<i>Verses on the Death of Miss Maria Bradshaw,</i>	[206]
<i>Lines intended to represent the Effects of ill-placed Love,</i>	[207]
<i>Sonnet to Julia,</i>	[209]
<i>Sonnet to the Muses,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Sonnet to Hope,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Sonnet to Melancholy,</i>	[210]
<i>Lines written by Mary Queen of Scots, on the Loss of her Husband, Francis II. of France, with an English Translation,</i>	[ibid.]
<i>Verses on some Medallions made by Mr. Wedgewood, of Clay,</i>	[212]
<i>Sonnet to May,</i>	[213]
<i>Description of Distresses occasioned by the Slave-trade,</i>	[ibid.]

Description

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Description of a still Summer's Evening,</i>	[215]
<i>Two Odes of Horace, lately discovered in the Palatine Library at Rome</i>	[216]

DOMESTIC LITERATURE for the Year 1789,	[217]
--	-------

FOREIGN LITERATURE for the Year 1789,	[285]
---------------------------------------	-------

THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING,
AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

During the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.

PART THE FIRST.

IN the course of several preceding articles, the prospect has been opening upon us with regard to the advances which were made in the state of science and literature in this kingdom. These advances, if not so rapid and complete as might be wished, bore a considerable proportion to the situation of things in other countries, Italy excepted, which long preceded, and far excelled the rest of Europe in some of the finest energies and exertions of the human mind, and especially with respect to Poetry, Painting, and the Polite Arts in general. It was the progress of religious truth that in England was the most subject to interruptions; and this had particularly been the case during the gloomy, but happily the short reign of queen Mary. Nevertheless, on the whole, the light of learning continued to break in upon our island; and though it was indeed, for a while, only the dawn of the morning, it promised to lead on to a more perfect day.

At length we are come to a reign of distinguished importance in the history of Great Britain, and, in fact, of distinguished importance in the history of the western part of Europe. For the honour of what is usually called the weaker sex, this reign was that of a woman. The first instance, and the immediately preceding instance, of female government in our country, had not recommended that part of the English constitution which rendered the crown descendible to women: but the second amply justified this rule of succession, and shewed that a salique law would not universally be useful; for queen Elizabeth ruled with a wisdom and glory which few men have attained.

We are not insensible that much diversity of opinion has subsisted, and many disputes been maintained, concerning various parts of Elizabeth's character and government; and that she has been represented in very different lights, according as writers have been affected by their religious or political sentiments. But, notwithstanding the ebullitions of extravagant encomium on the one hand, or the censures of unreasonable dislike on the other, it is not difficult to form a just estimate concerning her. It ought to be allowed, by her warmest panegyrists, that even with respect to her public administration, some few deductions should be made from her praises. Still, however, it is chiefly with regard to her private and personal qualities, that she is liable to exception and condemnation. As a woman she had many faults, but as a sovereign her splendour was truly great. Her administration of foreign affairs, in circumstances of peculiar embarrassment and danger, was wise and vigorous; and her solicitude to promote the general prosperity of her subjects, was steady and persevering. Commerce and navigation received a large increase under her fostering care; the people gradually advanced in wealth and prosperity; and the kingdom stood in high reputation. The genius of Englishmen awoke from the torpidity which had too much depressed it in the preceding reigns, and displayed itself in noble exploits and manly exertions.

In a variety of views, the lustre of literature in the period of queen Elizabeth, was equal to its lustre in other respects. It may truly be said, that her reign was a reign of knowledge and learning, as well as of political wisdom and military glory. Some have carried their encomiums so far as to represent it as the golden age of English literature; but this cannot be considered as the real truth of the case. However eminent many of the persons were who adorned the era of Elizabeth; however justly their names are still held in esteem and reputation; and though some of their works deservedly continue to be read and admired, there are undoubtedly several important parts of science which, in later times, have been studied with greater accuracy, and advanced to a much higher degree of perfection. It is not necessary, in order to do justice to the period before us, to extol it beyond its real merit, or to depreciate the improvements of succeeding ages.

The first grand point that presents itself, in the literary history of the reign of queen Elizabeth, is the state of religion; for theology was at that time connected with every thing which is important and interesting in the condition of society. In strict philosophical truth, religion and civil policy are separate objects, and ought not to be mingled together. But in the period we are treating of, it was almost impossible that a principle so rational and refined should enter into the conceptions of the human understanding. Considering the situation of public affairs, and the sentiments, temper, and manners of the age, it was necessary that government should interfere in religious matters. The chief thing to be regretted is, that government should assume so absolute an authority in them, and not unite toleration with establishment; but of toleration no set of men had then any competent idea.

In consequence of the restoration of popery by queen Mary, the minds of the English must have been in extreme agitation with regard to the conduct which would be pursued by Elizabeth. During the anxious suspense of

fears and hopes, the fears would predominate in the hearts of the Roman Catholics, and the hopes in those of the Protestants. Indeed, discerning men could have little reason to doubt concerning the part which the queen would finally take. Both her education and her interest led her to favour the Reformation; nor could she long hesitate on the subject. In these sentiments she was confirmed by the wisest members of her privy council, and particularly by sir William Cecil, who represented to her that by re-establishing the Protestant religion she would coincide with the general inclinations of the people, and, at the same time, most effectually provide for her own security, since her title to the crown was incompatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff. She acted, however, with caution in the management of the business, and was solicitous not to alarm the adherents of popery by too explicit a declaration of her intentions. Nevertheless, while she preserved this circumspection, she took care to afford early indications of her favourable views to the Protestant cause; and some of these indications were displayed in a manner that was pleasing and ingenious. When, upon her having given liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion, she was told, by one Rainsford, that he had a petition to present to her, in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; she readily replied, that she must first consult the prisoners themselves, and learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he had asked for them. At the time of her coronation, when she was solemnly conducted through the city of London, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches, and presented her with a copy of the Bible, which she received in the most gracious manner, placing it in her bosom, and declaring, that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the citizens had that day afforded of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and the most acceptable.

It was not in words only that queen Elizabeth manifested her regard to the Protestant Reformation. Besides setting
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at liberty those who had been imprisoned for refusing to submit to the dictates of Popery, she recalled the exiles, who, on the same account, had taken refuge in foreign countries. When these worthies returned, they were received with singular marks of favour; and it was easy to conjecture, that from the most illustrious and learned among them would be taken the future governors of the church. As a farther manifestation of the queen's intentions, she ordered that a considerable part of the service, the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Gospels, should be read in English. What was of superior importance still, and might be regarded as a sure indication that the most essential change in religion was resolved upon, she first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, and then forbade the host to be elevated any more in her presence.

As soon as the parliament met, the design of abolishing the Popish system was carried on with greater vigour. A bill was brought in for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. It was with some difficulty that this point was gained; notwithstanding which, another object, of far higher moment, was immediately pursued. This was to annex the ecclesiastical supremacy to the crown; and though the act only gave to her majesty the denomination of *Governess*, not *Head* of the church, it invested her with all the power which had been exercised by her father and her brother. The popish bishops, who, alone, as yet, sat in the house, strenuously opposed the passing of the bill, and by the superiority of their learning to that of the temporal peers, had the advantage in the debate. But whatever weakness the lay-lords might discover in point of argument, they carried their cause by a majority of voices; and it was a cause of the highest consequence to the establishment of the Protestant religion. The powers hence conferred upon the queen were of the most extensive nature. Without the concurrence of parliament, or even

of the convocation, she might repress all heresies, establish or repeal all canons, alter every point of discipline, and ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony. With respect to the determination of what should be deemed heresy, she was only limited to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy, by the authority of scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general councils which followed the scripture as their rule, or by such other doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation. To enable her the more effectually to exercise this authority, she was empowered, by a clause of the act, to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this foundation was erected, in a subsequent part of her reign, that court of ecclesiastical commission, which, in the sequel, was the source of the most arbitrary proceedings, and of the most shameful tyranny, oppression, and persecution. The powers we have mentioned, as granted to Elizabeth, will appear to many, in the present enlightened and liberal age, to have been unreasonable and enormous, and contrary to the just ends of political government. But the conferring of such powers accorded with the ideas of the times, which had no conception of introducing religious changes by the mere operation of reason and argument, and which had not learned to ascertain the true nature, objects, boundaries, and distinctions, of civil and ecclesiastical authority.

In the farther progress of reformation, a law was passed, which confirmed all the statutes that had been enacted in king Edward's time with regard to religion: and during the course of the session, a solemn and public disputation was held between the divines of the protestant and those of the catholic communion. Such disputations were in that age deemed essentially necessary on many theological occasions, and especially when it was in the contemplation of the ruling powers to introduce religious alterations of a great and important nature. The custom was never of any material use, and

and it has now long been abolished. It was always so contrived, that victory should be declared on that side which was favoured by government; and in the present case, the declaration was founded in truth. The fact was, that the protestant divines had the real advantage in point of argument; and it is recorded to their honour, that the debate was conducted with impartiality, and carried on without noise or disorder. Such was the encouragement derived from the success of this disputation, that a bill was brought in, and carried into a law, for abolishing the mass, and re-establishing the liturgy of king Edward. Thus was the reformation from popery solemnly confirmed and settled by the legislature, and it was a settlement that has never been revoked, so as to give the public ascendancy to the Roman catholic religion. The church of England subsists on the same legal foundation to the present day, and continues to hold out the same standard of doctrines and of worship. It was undoubtedly an event of infinite importance finally to reject the usurped authority of the see of Rome; and unspeakable advantages have hence been derived to the cause of truth, to the knowledge of sound theology, and the elucidation of the scriptures. Nevertheless, with all due deference to the wisdom of that age, we must be permitted to express our regret, that the cause of protestantism was not embraced on more enlarged and generous principles, and that the reformers, who were just emancipated from the terrors of persecution, should not allow to others the liberty which they had exercised for themselves; the liberty of judging what were the positions contained in the sacred writings. So far, however, were they from pursuing so rational a conduct, that as soon as they came into power they paid no regard to the private consciences of men, but expected every one to adapt himself to the dictates of the public mind; and what has added highly to the grievance is, that their decisions were not confined to their contemporaries alone, but have been rendered binding on a distant posterity.

There are persons who maintain, that the divines of that period were fully competent to determine what the doctrines are which are comprized in the New Testament, and that they have never been exceeded in theological knowledge. Were this, in fact, the case, still they could have had no right authoritatively to judge for others, and to enforce their articles of faith by penal sanctions. But it can never reasonably be granted that their acquaintance with divinity and their skill in expounding the scriptures, were equal to the attainments of succeeding times. Having but lately emerged from the errors of popery, they could not, at once, take in the whole compass of religious truth. They wanted, likewise, many of the helps which have since been afforded to that purpose. There were undoubtedly some great men amongst the protestant bishops and clergy in queen Elizabeth's reign; but they have been far exceeded both in knowledge and true learning, by divines of a later age; and consequently, their tenets should never have been received as decisive and final.

The thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which were agreed upon, in convocation, in 1562, and confirmed by act of parliament, in 1571, were intended "for the avoiding diversity of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion." But to avoid diversity of opinions, and to establish consent touching true religion, cannot in the nature of things be attained. So long as the human mind preserves its faculty of thinking, so long will different objects of enquiry present themselves in different lights to the understanding. In an age that was peculiarly devoted to theological controversy, nothing could be more absurd than to expect an absolute uniformity of sentiment, unless we are disposed to except the idea of producing such uniformity by parliamentary decision. An act of parliament, indeed, when accompanied with pains and penalties may enforce silence, but cannot produce conviction. It was not even silence that was effected by it, in the period concerning which we are treating. The zeal
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of men in matters which they deemed infinitely important rose above all the obstacles that stood in their way, and displayed itself in a great number of publications.

What was least the subject of debate were those doctrines which had little or no immediate connection with the peculiar and distinguishing principles of the Roman Catholics or the Puritans. Such doctrines, however, could not entirely escape examination, though by no means in the degree in which they have excited the attention of succeeding times. The tenets commonly received, and which, indeed, were supported by the thirty-nine articles, were those that are called Calvinistical, and especially the notion of absolute predestination. In these opinions there was such an almost universal concurrence, that we meet with only one person, of any consideration, in this reign, who advanced sentiments approaching to what afterwards went under the name of Arminianism. This was Peter Baro, lady Margaret's professor of divinity in the university of Cambridge; and though he proposed his doubts with modesty and caution, such a violent opposition was raised against him, and his situation was rendered so disagreeable and troublesome, that, for the sake of peace, he chose to quit it, and retired to London. Hence it appears what little latitude was then allowed to the freedom of thinking and of debate, on subjects the most innocent, and with regard to doctrines the truth of which is now generally maintained by the clergy, and especially by those of them who stand the highest in dignity, reputation, and learning. We must be sensible how narrow was the spirit, and how confined the true theological knowledge of the times, when the gloomy dogmas of Calvinism were maintained with such pertinacity by the governors of the church, and to call them in question was looked upon as a crime. If such inferior deviations from the established system as those of Baro exposed him to so much uneasiness and distress, what would have been said, what would have been acted, if the trinity, or any other of the doctrines which by some are deemed of the most essential

importance, had been attacked? The opinions which are now disseminated with impunity, and even without alarm, except to minds of a narrow cast, would, at that period, have subjected the propagators of them to the forfeiture of their lives.

The controversy between the protestants and the Roman catholics continued to be the grand controversy of the times. Though the latter were in a state of depression, and their system was discarded from the public and national faith, they still constituted a numerous and formidable body; nor could it be supposed that they would rest quietly in the rejection of their doctrine and worship from that ascendancy they had so long maintained, and which had so lately been revived. Accordingly, the adherents to the see of Rome were zealous and earnest to support, and, if possible, to restore their cause. It does not fall within the compass of our present design to relate their general intrigues and attempts to this purpose. But besides employing all their arts of policy, and all the efforts of power which they were capable of exerting, they had recourse to the pen and the press, and their ablest priests and champions were called in to sustain the literary combat. On the other hand, the protestant divines were equally active and vigorous in defence of the principles of the reformation. Hence the writings, on both sides, were very numerous; and though most of them are now forgotten, and those which are remembered are not read, they were at that period of great consequence, and comprehended a highly interesting part of the literature of the country. Perhaps we shall not be accused of much partiality, when we say that the protestants had the better of the argument. This must, indeed, necessarily have been the case from the absurdities and corruptions of popery, which are too flagrant to stand the test of rational and sober investigation. The doctrine of transubstantiation, in particular, involves in it contradictions, of which it can never be cleared by the utmost exertions of ingenuity, skill, and learning. Many other, likewise, of the tenets of the Roman

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man church were so manifestly contrary to the dictates of reason, and the genuine interpretation of the sacred records, that it is by no means surprizing that the cause of the reformation should, in the end, be generally triumphant. At the same time, the protestants did not always defend themselves in the best manner; and they were often embarrassed by their not daring to controvert the sentiments and authority of the ancient fathers. The true principle of protestantism is the perfection of scripture; and so long as that principle is adhered to, the reformed religion stands upon a foundation which can never be shaken. But the divines of queen Elizabeth's reign were not sufficiently enlightened to keep their eyes constantly and invariably fixed upon the proper ground of their separation from popery. The attainment of an object so desirable was reserved for the next century; it was reserved for the manly exertions of a Daille in France, and a Jeremy Taylor and a Chillingworth in England.

Whilst the principal clergy of the established church were thus engaged in a warm and vigorous contest with their popish adversaries, they found a new set of enemies to contend with, who had sprung up in their own communion. These were the Puritans, who were not satisfied with the departure which had already taken place from the Romish hierarchy, but maintained the necessity of a more complete reformation than the queen, the legislature, and the majority of the prelates were willing to adopt. The rise and progress of this sect, which, under different denominations, has subsisted to the present day, are important objects in the religious and political History of Great Britain. During the reigns of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, there were some divines who strongly objected to the use of the clerical vestments of the church of Rome; and this was particularly the case with regard to bishop Hooper, who was followed in his scruples by Latimer, Farrar, and others of the first reformers. But the proper origin of the Puritans, as a distinct sect, must be referred to the divisions which arose among the exiles, who had taken refuge abroad, in queen

queen Mary's time, on account of religion. In the places where they settled, and where they were permitted to carry on their worship in separate congregations, it became a question among them, whether they should strictly adhere to the service book of king Edward, or whether they should adopt a plan which, in the opinion of several of them, was more conformable to the policy and order of scripture. The plan was founded on the principles and discipline of the protestant church of Geneva. The controversy, according to the spirit of the times, was maintained with great warmth and eagerness; and when the refugees came back to their own country, they brought with them their different opinions and their angry passions. On the subsequent operation of these opinions and passions it is not our intention to enlarge. It is sufficient to our present purpose to observe, that a contest which, in its origin, related to what a philosophic mind will consider as very trifling objects, was at length productive of serious consequences. It ended in a separation of a large body of protestants from the national church, and, of course, gave rise, amongst other events, to a vast number of publications, in which the disputants, on both sides, displayed a greater portion of zeal and bigotry than of candour and judgment.

Though the books that were written upon the occasion, are now almost universally, like those in the popish controversy, consigned to oblivion, they were of real importance at the period in which they were published, and had no small degree of influence upon the principles, manners, and conduct of succeeding times. Amidst the undue stress which the puritans laid upon the abolition of certain vestments, ceremonies, and forms of discipline, there was one principle adopted by them, the full result of which they did not themselves see, but which their successors have improved upon, so as to give to their dissent from the establishment a more rational appearance. This was, that the sacred writings are the standards of worship, as well as of doctrine; and therefore, that nothing should be imposed upon

upon the conscience or practice of men, but what is founded on their express injunction and authority.

It is not, we believe, unusual to conceive of the puritans as having been nothing more than a set of ignorant and illiterate enthusiasts; somewhat like the generality of the methodists at the present day. But without having any particular prejudice in their favour, we must be allowed to observe, that such an idea of things is contrary to fact. That their minds were narrow, and their manners harsh, will readily be acknowledged; and it must equally be granted that, amidst the irritations of persecution, some wild enthusiasts rose up amongst them. But several of the leading men among the puritanical clergy were eminently possessed of the learning of the times. In numbers, however, they cannot be compared, for literature, with their antagonists; nor had they any pretensions to the merit of elegant composition. To the refinements of taste, and to the love of the fine arts, they appear to have been perfect strangers.

We are not to imagine, from the account that has been given of the religious controversies which were carried on during the reign of queen Elizabeth, that an entire freedom of debate and of writing was then admitted. The true liberty of the press was by no means at that time understood. Those persons, whether among the Roman Catholics or the Puritans, who wrote against the established system, did it at great hazard; and the sufferings which in some cases were inflicted on the boldness of publication were extremely severe. Nevertheless, nothing could restrain the ardour of the combatants, who contrived, by one method or other, to get their books disseminated through the kingdom. In vain should we look, in the generality of the works that were published at that period, for the moderation and candour with which religious controversies should ever be conducted. Many of the theological writings of the age, and especially of those men who belonged to the persecuted parties, were either distinguished by a violence of spirit which

which kept no bounds, or by a buffoonery and ridicule that were altogether contemptible; nor were the advocates of the national church always exempt from the same faults.

In Scotland, the protestant reformation was sanctioned by parliament in 1560, the year after its final establishment in England; but in the former country it was settled upon a different model. The Scottish divines, who were men of very harsh and rigid manners, and who, though possessed of learning, were not, upon the whole, equal in this respect to their southern neighbours, assumed the tone of a total departure from what had the least resemblance to the church of Rome. John Knox was the principal agent in the business, who brought with him, from Geneva, where he had resided for a time, and officiated to an English congregation, a violent aversion to the episcopal form of ecclesiastical government; and he had sufficient influence to prevail upon his countrymen to adopt the plan of Calvin, in all the parts of its discipline, as well as of its doctrine. Thus Presbyterianism became the public religion of Scotland; and perhaps a poor establishment was best adapted to a poor country. It would, however, be pardonable, if the present enlightened clergy of North Britain should think that matters were carried too far; and if they should feel a wish that their ancestors had preserved some better means of rewarding those who should distinguish themselves by their peculiar abilities and merit, and by their valuable writings.

In adverting to the principal divines of this period, we shall begin with those of the established church, and pay our first respects to the learned prelates by whom the reign of queen Elizabeth was adorned.

Matthew Parker, the year after her majesty's accession to the crown, was raised to the see of Canterbury, an honour which he neither solicited nor desired, but to which he was entitled, not only by his having been the favourite chaplain

lain of Anna Bullen, the queen's mother, but by his talents and his virtues. The high station to which he was promoted was sustained by him with ability and spirit. As a theological author he did not greatly distinguish himself, his chief publication in that way, having been his defence of priests' marriages, in 1562; many years previous to which he had manifested, by his own marriage, his entire approbation of the doctrine he espoused. His other writings displayed his general literature to advantage, and shewed, in particular, that he was well acquainted with the antiquities of his country. He was of farther service to learning, by publishing some of our best ancient historians, Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, Thomas Walsingham, and Asse rius's life of king Alfred; and the valuable collection of manuscripts which he left to Corpus Christi, or Be'net College, where he was educated, and of which he was master, has continued a grateful remembrance of him in the university of Cambridge to the present day.

Edmund Grindal, successor to Parker in the see of Canterbury, and who had previously been bishop of London, and archbishop of York, applied himself more immediately to divinity than to any other branch of literature. His doctrinal sentiments (as we have before observed to have been usually the case at that time) coincided with those of Calvin, and he was far less disposed to persecute the Puritans than his predecessor had been. Hence he has unjustly been accused as having been himself of puritanical principles. By the moderation which he exercised towards the persons who had embraced these principles, he gave great dissatisfaction to the queen; and his situation at the head of the church, which continued little more than seven years, was rendered extremely disagreeable to him. He had been an active and eminent instrument in promoting the cause of the reformation from popery, and had served it in a particular manner by his frequent preaching in St. Paul's pulpit. A distinguished part had, likewise, been taken by him in the public disputations of that age.

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The fault of Grindal, in his tenderness to the Puritans, was amply compensated by the violence of the next archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, who was translated to that see from the diocese of Worcester. So far was he from excelling his contemporaries in learning, that perhaps he might have been omitted in a literary history of England, had he not made a striking figure in the theological transactions of the period. His bold and ardent spirit fully qualified him for seconding the indignation of her majesty against those who refused to conform to the established church. Such was his zeal in this respect, that he obtained an ecclesiastical commission, the powers of which were too inquisitorial, and he contrived to lay every possible restraint upon the liberty of the press. His only publications, or, at least, the only ones deserving of notice, were two tracts, in answer to a famous piece of the Puritans, entitled, "An Admonition to the Parliament." Without deciding on the controversy, it is understood that Whitgift displayed his abilities in it to considerable advantage.

Edwyn Sandys, at first bishop of Worcester, and afterwards archbishop of York, did not render himself conspicuous as a controversial writer. He was chiefly celebrated as a preacher, and a volume of his sermons was printed some years after his decease. Besides this, he had the reputation of being a learned orientalist, on which account he was one of the persons that were appointed to give a new translation of the Bible.

John Aylmer, bishop of London, like Whitgift, was more noted for his severity against the Puritans than for his learning, though in that respect he was far from being deficient. In the more early part of his life, it had occasioned his being made tutor to the children of the marquis of Dorset, afterwards duke of Suffolk, one of whom was the excellent and celebrated lady Jane Grey. His activity against the non-conformists has been the cause of his having been represented in a very disadvantageous light by the writers of that persuasion;

suasion; but, according to Strype, he was not only a learned, but a humble and pious bishop. The work by which he distinguished himself in the literary world, was his answer to John Knox's first Blast against the monstrous Regiment and Empire of Women. In this performance Aylmer shewed to advantage his historical and political knowledge. He is supposed to have published lady Jane Grey's letter to Harding, and he assisted John Fox in translating his book of martyrs into Latin.

Thomas Bilson, bishop first of Worcester and then of Winchester, and whose life extended far into the next reign, was of very considerable eminence among the divines of the age. His writings were partly of a doctrinal and partly of a practical nature; and he was the author of some Latin poems and orations, which, we believe, have never been published. What gave a celebrity to his name that reached beyond his own time was a controversy in which he engaged concerning our Saviour's local descent into hell. His antagonists were Hugh Broughton, esteemed the rabbi of that period; and Henry Jacob, a learned Brownist. The position maintained by the bishop was, that our Lord went into the territories of the damned, for the purpose of wresting the keys of death and hell out of the hands of the devil; and in this opinion he was patronized by the queen, who ordered him to defend it against those by whom it had been attacked. Our prelate exerted himself to the utmost in its vindication, but in vain; for after the matter had been warmly debated in both universities, the rational sentiment that the word *Hades* signifies only the state of the dead, or the invisible world, silently and universally took place. Dr. Bilson was afterwards one of the two final correctors of the English translation of the Bible in the reign of king James the First; for which office he appears to have been particularly qualified, as his style is, in general, much more easy and harmonious than was then common amongst ecclesiastics.

Gervaise Babington, successively bishop of Landaff, Exeter, and Worcester, kept himself clear from the controversies of the times; having contented himself with writing notes upon the five books of Moses; with giving an exposition of the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments; and with being the author of some other devotional pieces. His works are now little known, and they are said to abound in quaint expressions. His abilities and learning, however, were unquestionable, and his compositions had their season of applause and perusal.

Thomas Bentham, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, like Babington, did not engage in controversy. He principally figured as a translator of queen Elizabeth's Bible, the parts which were executed by him being the Psalms, Ezekiel, and Daniel; and this service was properly assigned to him, as he was particularly celebrated for his knowledge of the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues.

Thomas Cooper, bishop first of Lincoln, and afterwards of Winchester, deserves to be recorded as a divine, in consequence of his exposition of such chapters of the old testament as are read in the church throughout the year, his two volumes of sermons, and his admonition to the people of England, in answer to the famous and scurrilous puritanical pamphlet, entitled Martin Mar-prelate. But it was not to theology alone that his studies and his works were confined. He appeared in the world as an historical writer, and was the second compiler of a Latin dictionary in this country. His *Thesaurus Linguae Romanæ et Britannicæ*, which was published at London, in folio, in 1565, and was an improvement of Elyot's, was much admired by queen Elizabeth, and became the principal cause of his ecclesiastical promotions. Cooper was, indeed, one of the most learned men of the age.

But the glory of the prelates in this reign was John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury. It is worthy of being mentioned, as

an example of the literary diligence of those times, that, when he was at the university, he rose at four o'clock in the morning, and studied till twelve at night. With such industry, it is not surprizing that he acquired a large stock of learning; and his piety and virtue were equal to his learning. He has rendered his name immortal by his *Apology for the Church of England*, which was received with prodigious applause, and contributed, more than any other publication of that period, to promote the reformation from popery. The book was written in Latin; but for the use of the generality of the people, it was translated into English, with remarkable accuracy, by Anne, lady Bacon, the second of the four learned daughters of sir John Coke. It was likewise translated into Greek; and such was the esteem in which it was held, that there was a design of its being joined to the thirty-nine articles, and of causing it to be deposited not only in all cathedrals and collegiate churches, but also in private houses. The *Apology* long continued to be read; and the following character was given of it by bishop Burnet, in the beginning of the present century: "As it was one of the first books published in this (queen Elizabeth's) reign, so it was written with that strength and clearness, that it, together with the defence of it, is still to this day reckoned one of our best books." We are willing to believe that there are yet remaining some curious scholars in England, who are not strangers to Jewel's *Apology*.

Among the learned divines who did not attain to the honour of the episcopal throne, was Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's. He was a zealous advocate for the Reformation, and distinguished himself in the defence of it, both by his sermons and his writings. Besides his controversy with the Papists, he was the author of two catechisms, the first of which went through many editions, and was translated, from the Latin, into English and Greek. The second was composed by himself in Greek, as well as in Latin, and was intended for the use of schools. It was translated, likewise, into Hebrew; and if there was any considerable

demand for the impresson, that language must have entered much more into the literary education of young scholars than it has probably done in any succeeding period.

Lawrence Humphreys was kept back some years, by his puritanical principles, from conformity, but at length submitted to wear the habits, and obtained several preferments, rising to the dignity of dean of Gloucester, and then of Winchester. He was supposed, however, to retain such an aversion to the ceremonies of the public religion, that it was thought proper not to raise him to the rank of the prelacy, though he highly deserved that distinction by his eminence in literature. The character given of him by Toby Matthews was, that he had read more fathers than Campian the Jesuit had seen; and though this language was undoubtedly hyperbolical, it serves to shew that Humphreys stood in high reputation for the depth of his erudition. His works were not merely theological, though they were pretty numerous in that line; for he wrote concerning the Greek letters and the reading of Homer, and concerning the method of interpreting authors. A treatise was, likewise, composed by him on the subject of nobility; besides which, we are indebted to him for a life of bishop Jewel, which is the chief storehouse whence the succeeding accounts of that great prelate have been derived.

John Fox, like Humphreys, had his scruples with regard to conformity, and refused to subscribe to the canons and ceremonies; but as he did not actually separate from the church, we shall introduce him in this place. It is only as a divine that we here speak of him, referring his historical character to another department of the literature of this period. Many theological tracts were written by him; but what above all the others is entitled to our notice, is a Latin letter which he addressed to the queen, in behalf of two anabaptists, who were condemned to be burnt. Perhaps he was the only clergyman of his time who had sufficient moderation and enlargement of mind to plead against the capital

capital punishment of reputed heretics; and we are sorry to add, that his efforts in their favour were in vain.

Peter Baro we have already mentioned, as rising, in the rationality and liberality of his doctrinal opinions, far above his contemporaries. We shall only add, that he was born at Estampes in France, and educated in the university of Bourges, but, to avoid persecution, came over to England, where he had the good fortune to meet with a kind patron and benefactor in the lord treasurer Burleigh. There is reason to believe, from several circumstances, that this eminent statesman entertained more candid and catholic sentiments towards those who differed in their religious principles and practices, than the queen would permit him publicly to exercise.

The character of Bernard Gilpin, who was partly a non-conformist, but not a separatist, demands an applause to which mere literature, unaccompanied with such virtues, as he was endowed with, can never be entitled. He was possessed of learning; but his chief praise arises from his having been the great apostle of the reformation in the north of England, and from his having devoted his whole life to preaching, to hospitality, to the erection of schools, to the care of the poor, and to the providing for destitute churches; and by these means he diffused the most important knowledge, in an ignorant, and comparatively uncivilized country, far more extensively than he could have done by the publication of books. The worth and labours of this excellent man have been amply displayed in the present century, by the elegant pen of one of his own name and family.

The last divine of the established church whom we shall mention, has a claim to peculiar and extraordinary distinction: and, indeed, upon the whole, none of his contemporaries can be placed in comparison with him. We mean Richard Hooker, who was for some time master of the Temple, but who voluntarily quitted that station for the sake of a studious retirement, in which he wrote his famous

Ecclesiastical Polity. The epithets he is usually distinguished by, are of those the judicious and the learned; and they are epithets to which he has an undoubted title; for his work reflects high credit on his powers of reasoning, and the extent of his literature. It is admirable, likewise in point of composition; the style being a fine example of that language which flows on in a grave and even tenor, and which is particularly suited to argumentative and controversial writing. There is reason to believe that it has been regarded as a model, by a Locke and a Hoadly. Whether every principle advanced by Hooker will stand the searching spirit, the increased knowledge, and the enlarged views of modern times, it is not our purpose here to determine. But this may safely be asserted, that the Ecclesiastical Polity will be read and studied by the divines of the church of England, so long as they are solicitous to maintain the established system against the attacks of its opponents, and to urge some of the best arguments in its defence.

In looking back upon the catalogue of the national clergy whose literature was an ornament to the period we are treating of, it cannot have escaped our observation, that the larger number of them were raised to the episcopal dignity while the rest, one or two instances excepted, were amply provided for. This is a circumstance that reflects honour on queen Elizabeth and her administration. Indeed, the exertions of learning were then so necessary and so useful, amidst the conflicts of opposition, that there was a peculiar propriety in calling the first theological scholars of the age to the highest ecclesiastical stations. For the credit and the advantage of the church of England, it is to be wished that the time may never arrive, in which eminent talents and valuable publications shall not be the way to preferment.

Whilst the public establishment was supported by such distinguished names, the adherents of the Romish religion summoned all the abilities and literature they were possessed of, to support their declining cause. The writers in defence of Popery were numerous; amongst whom the

the principal were Nicholas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton, William Rainolds, Edmund Campian, Robert Turner, William Alan, Thomas Harding, and Robert Parsons.

Nicholas Sanders was the author of many tracts on the subjects debated of between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants; but there were two of his works which were more famous than the rest. The first was a Treatise on the Visible Monarchy of the Church, and the other an Account of the Origin and Progress of the Schism of England. They were both of them written in Latin. In the first, he maintained the supremacy of the see of Rome in its highest pretensions, and in a manner that was particularly pleasing to pope Pius the Fifth, who was the pontiff that issued the bull of excommunication against queen Elizabeth and her kingdom. The second was so popular a work amongst Sanders's own party, that it went through several editions, and was translated into Italian and French. This author rendered himself conspicuous, on various occasions, by his oratorical abilities, and especially at the council of Trent: but whatever talents he was endowed with, he never can be considered as an impartial historian. That he has been guilty of shameful misrepresentations with regard to facts, has so often been evinced by Burnet and other Protestant writers, that the matter cannot be denied; and we believe it would be readily acknowledged by the moderate and liberal Catholics of the present day.

Thomas Stapleton was a very voluminous writer in defence of his religion. We shall be able to judge of the extent of his works, when we are informed that they were published at Paris, in 1620, in four volumes, folio. Though there can be little doubt of their now resting entirely at peace, it is a proof of the estimation they were originally held in, that they should thus have been collected together, several years after the author's death. From the accounts we have concerning him, it appears that Stapleton was one of the eminent scholars of his time; but it was an eminence that was chiefly felt by those of his own religious communion.

Concerning William Rainolds a very curious circumstance is recorded. Being, in the earlier part of life, himself a Protestant, he had a brother, named John, who was a Papist. In their interviews, as brethren, they had frequent disputes upon the subject of religion; the consequence of which was, that they converted each other. John became a Puritan, and William a Roman Catholic. His conversion was sincere and ardent; and he recommended himself in a particular manner by the perfect submission of his understanding and practice to the doctrines and injunctions of the Romish church. One of his principal publications, and from which we may judge of the complexion of his spirit, was a Treatise concerning the just Authority of the Christian Republic over impious and heretical Princes.

Edmund Campian, who from a Protestant became a Papist, and entered into the order of the Jesuits, met with a melancholy fate. Being sent from abroad into his native country, to support the cause of Rome, and to assist in converting the people of England, he was at length taken, imprisoned, confined, and executed at Tyburn. Such barbarity of treatment will now generally be execrated; especially, if it should be thought, as we apprehend was the case, that his offences were purely religious. Campian was a man of great reputation in his own party; and it is universally allowed that his private character was amiable, and his literary abilities above the common rank. These he displayed in other methods besides that of theological writing. A tragedy composed by him, entitled *Nectar et Ambrosia*, was acted, at Vienna, before the emperor of Germany, with much applause; but whether this circumstance, considering the rude and unformed taste of the age, was any proof of extraordinary merit, may, perhaps, be doubted. He wrote, likewise, the *History of Ireland*, in two Books, which was afterwards published by sir James Ware.

Robert Turner was a pupil of Campian's, and manifested his gratitude and attachment to the memory of his
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tutor by writing his *Life*. Another of Turner's works was, an *Account of the Life and Martyrdom of Mary Queen of Scotland*. To his knowledge as a divine he added that of a politician, and distinguished himself by some panegyric orations, relating to persons and events that made a figure in that age. Two collections of his *Epistles* were thought of sufficient importance to merit publication.

William Alan is a name of great eminence among the Roman Catholics of this period. He rose to the rank of cardinal, and rendered himself particularly conspicuous by his zeal for the conversion of his countrymen, and, what is much more to his discredit, by his zeal for the success of the Spanish invasion. Allowance being made for his conduct in this respect, and regarding him only in his literary capacity, he is entitled to be spoken of with commendation. It is said, that taking him merely as an author, he was unquestionably, for matter, method, wit, learning, and language, one of the most considerable writers of his age, and that this is allowed by the greatest of his enemies, and by the best critics. This encomium, which comes from the pen of a Protestant, is perhaps, carried to the excess of permitting candour to triumph over strict justice. All cardinal Alan's writings are of a theological kind, and chiefly relate to the controversies of the times; the consequence of which is, that whatever merit there might be in their composition, they were only calculated to excite the attention of his contemporaries. His best work is esteemed to be that which treats of the worship due to saints and relics, and in which he answered a publication that was supposed to have had for its author the lord treasurer Burleigh. The style of Alan's tract has been highly applauded; but style alone, unless there be something in the subject which is of that general nature that is permanently interesting and important, will never demand the notice of a distant posterity.

In Thomas Harding we meet with a very celebrated defender of the Romish faith. He was the mighty antagonist

nist of bishop Jewel, and was thought, by his own party at least, to have obtained great glory in that capacity. His zeal in the controversy is sufficiently apparent from his having written no less than seven pieces against Jewel's Apology, in the way of Answer, Reply, and Rejoinder; for religious combatants are very anxious to have the last blow. That Harding was a man of real abilities we may be sure of, because we have it from the testimony of an enemy. Humphreys, in his Life of Bishop Jewel, says, *In multis pares sunt, et ambo doctrinæ et eloquentiæ gloria præcellentes*: in many things they are equal, and both of them are eminently entitled to the praise of learning and eloquence.

But of all the Popish divines that flourished in this period, the most noted, and the most formidable to the Protestants, was Robert Parsons. When we represent him as formidable, we do not mean that he was so by his writings alone, though they were very numerous, and equal in ability to those of any of his brethren; but by his zeal, his activity, and his boldness, in supporting the pretensions, and carrying on the designs and intrigues of the see of Rome. Having quitted the Protestant religion, in which he was educated, and retired abroad, he entered into the order of the Jesuits, and was the first Englishman of that order that was ever sent into England. No man could be fuller of the bigoted spirit of his new profession, or a more implacable enemy to the principles of the Reformation. With these qualifications, he was regarded by the popes as a proper person to be put at the head of the mission to this kingdom; and he justified the choice that was made of him, by his indefatigable exertions in the business he was appointed to discharge. Being as hostile to the civil, as he was to the religious constitution of his native country, he did not startle at the practice of rebellion and treason, but was ardent in promoting the Spanish invasions.

To speak of Robert Parsons in his literary capacity, we may observe, that his most celebrated work was his

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“Conference about the Succession to the Crown of England.” The obvious intention of the work, which was published under the name of Doleman, was to support the title of the infanta of Spain, against that of king James, after the death of queen Elizabeth. In pursuit of this point, the author assumed a bold and manly turn of sentiment and reasoning, which, however malignant in its immediate design, was capable of being applied to the most valuable and useful purposes. He made it his chief business to prove, that there are better titles to royalty and government than that of lineal descent; and that the people, in certain cases, have a right to depose their princes, and to change the order of succession. Thus was a Jesuit the disseminator of the grand principles of political liberty; the disseminator of the principles which have since been maintained by our best writers, and converted to the suppression of tyranny, and to the establishment of our free constitution. It is no dishonour to embrace truth from whatever quarter it comes, or with whatever view it may originally have been advanced.

We have before observed, that several of the Protestant divines of this period, who were puritanically inclined, did not separate from the established church; a conduct to which they were led, partly by their hopes that some of the changes they wished for might at length be obtained, and still more by the opinion they had imbibed, that it was their duty to submit, even in things which they disliked, to the authority of the magistrate in matters of religion. There were others, however, who had such an aversion to certain ceremonies and vestments, and to the prelacy in general, that they could not comply with the terms of conformity. One of the most respectable of this set of men was David Whitehead, a profound scholar, and who was deemed an excellent professor of theology. He had been a chaplain to Anna Bullen, and was intended by Cranmer for a bishoprick in Ireland. On the accession of queen Elizabeth, he was chosen to be one of the disputants against the popish bishops; and her majesty had such an
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opinion of his abilities and learning, joined, perhaps, with some partiality to him from his former connection with her mother, that he was offered the archbishoprick of Canterbury. However, he not only declined this high station, but refused to accept of any preferment in the church as it then stood. He seems to have been a quiet and moderate man, who, though he could not unite with the establishment, did not enter into the angry contests of the times, but endeavoured to do as much good as he was able by private preaching.

Thomas Sampson appears to have been a more determined and active Puritan than Whitehead. He wrote zealously against the clerical habits, and strongly objected to several parts of the ecclesiastical service. His perseverance in the cause he had espoused occasioned him to be imprisoned; and by the particular command of the queen, he was deprived of the deanery of Christ-Church, Oxford, to which he had been promoted. Sampson is understood to have possessed a very considerable portion of the learning that was cultivated in that age.

But the most eminent divine among the Puritans of this reign was Thomas Cartwright, some time Lady Margaret's Professor at Cambridge. He was, indeed, the head of the party, and qualified to sustain that character by his abilities, his zeal, his literature, and his writings. For his attachment to the principles he had embraced, he went through a variety of sufferings; being harrassed by suspensions, deprivations, and a long imprisonment. In the heat of controversy, Whitgift charged him with want of learning, and asserted, that he had made extracts from other men's notes, and that he had scarcely read one of the ancient authors he had quoted. To this charge Cartwright modestly replied, that as to great reading he would let it pass; for if Whitgift had read all the Fathers, and he scarcely one, it would easily appear to the world by their writings. Indeed, nothing could be more absurd and false than the angry prelate's accusation; for, not to mention that

that it was confuted by Cartwright's works, Beza, who was, undoubtedly, a competent judge, said of him, that there was not a more learned man under the sun. The productions of our author were not confined to the points in debate between the established Clergy and the Puritans; for several treatises were written by him of a more general nature, among which his Confutation of the Rhemish Translation of the New Testament was particularly celebrated. He had been invited to undertake this task by some of the principal men and first scholars of the age. At length, after his various labours and conflicts, Cartwright obtained a peaceful asylum, by the favour of Robert earl of Leicester, who made him governor of his hospital at Warwick, where he ended his days, in much esteem for his moderate, prudent, and pious behaviour.

Robert Brown must not be omitted: for though he was not particularly distinguished by his literary attainments, he has acquired some degree of celebrity by having been the author of a sect, called after his own name, the Sect of the Brownists, who were very rigid and narrow in points of discipline, and proceeded so far as to deny that the Church of England was a true church, and that her ministers were rightly ordained. What renders these separatists more worthy of notice is, that they became, in time, the origin of the Independents, whose consequence in the history of this country will hereafter demand our attention. As to Brown himself, he was a man of a violent and ungovernable spirit. At length, after all the contests he had engaged in, he returned into the bosom of that church which he had pronounced to be popish and antichristian, and all the ordinances and sacraments of which he had declared to be invalid. He retained to the last the heat of his temper.

A person of a far more respectable and useful character was William Perkins. Though his principles led him to Nonconformity, and his practice was suitable to his principles, he was of a peaceable behaviour, and refrained from

from any attacks upon the established religion. He applied himself chiefly to preaching and to practical writing, in which respect he became one of the most famous divines of his time. Though he was summoned once or twice before the High Commission-Court, the moderation of his temper, and his reputation in the literary world, procured him a dispensation from the persecution to which his brethren were exposed. Being a strict follower of Calvin, he published several treatises in favour of the doctrines of that reformer, which involved him in a controversy with the celebrated Arminius. Such was his diligence, that, though he died at the age of only forty-four years, his works comprehended three volumes in folio. If we are not misinformed, the writings of Mr. Perkins are still held in great esteem, and continue to be much read, among the Calvinistic Dissenters.

With regard to the Scottish Divines of this period, we shall only mention John Knox, the lustre of whose name has obscured the reputation of those who were his fellow-labourers in the cause of the Reformation. Such persons as entirely approve of the religious establishment of Scotland, which was almost wholly the result of his zeal and activity, must entertain the highest respect for his memory. He was undoubtedly a man of distinguished abilities, and he had a rough and bold eloquence, which was admirably calculated to produce all its effect among the people to whom it was addressed. In learning he stood upon a level with some of the most celebrated of his contemporaries; but it is impossible to speak with approbation of his spirit and temper. There was a harshness and coarseness in his manners, that, in this age at least, must appear exceedingly disgusting. Nevertheless, when every deduction is made from his merit, it must be acknowledged, that his talents were fitted in an extraordinary degree for the execution of the business in which he was engaged. The praise of sincerity and piety cannot be denied him, whilst it is to be regretted that these virtues were accompanied

panied with so narrow and bigoted a turn of mind. In the time of John Knox, the having suffered persecution did not hinder men from exercising persecution, when it was in their power.

Amidst the endless theological productions of the age, ethics, as a distinct science, was very imperfectly cultivated. Ethical writing was not, however, totally neglected. In Edward the Sixth's reign, William Baldwyn, one of the poets of that reign, published a work, which he intitled, "A Treatise of Moral Philosophy, containing the Sayings of the Wise." This work, in the time of queen Elizabeth, was greatly enlarged, and became so popular a book, that it went through several editions. We are not to suppose that it contained any depth of enquiry with regard to ethical subjects; for it was only a collection of maxims and observations, taken from various authors, ancient and modern. Another production of a similar nature, but which did not attain to an equal degree of popularity, was called the "Book of Wisdom." "An Oration on the true Tranquility of the Mind" was published by one Bernard, of which we can only say, that it has not, like the Discourse of Volusenus on the same subject (formerly mentioned), acquired the notice of posterity.

The principal efforts of moral writing during this period consisted in translations from some of the best ancient philosophers. Marcus Aurelius's Meditations, Seneca upon Benefits, Cicero's Offices, his Tusculan Questions, his Old Age, his Friendship, his Paradoxes, and his Dream of Scipio, were the works that were translated; and such works could not be given in the English language, without promoting, in a certain degree, the ethical knowledge of our countrymen. Nevertheless, original productions of this kind were almost totally unknown amongst us, till at length, towards the close of the queen's reign, the public received a high gratification from the appearance of the First Part of Francis Bacon's Essays; concerning which we need not say, that they opened a rich treasury

treasury of moral observation, and that they were worthy of the great and comprehensive mind from which they proceeded. The name of Essays was then new to the world, and perhaps had been derived from Montaigne. Thus did Bacon introduce into England a species of writing which hath since been largely cultivated, which hath produced a vast number of beautiful compositions, which constitutes a fine part of modern literature, and the history of which, and of its effects on the understanding and manners of men, will hereafter afford matter of useful and entertaining discussion*.

* Burnet, Hume, Neal, Biographia Britannica, Historical Dictionary, Berkenhout, Herbert, &c. &c.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

H I S T O R Y;

For the Year 1789.

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BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORICAL

For the Year 1880

BRITISH AND FOREIGN H I S T O R Y;

For the Year 1789.

CHAP. I.

Affairs of France. New Ministry. Persecution of Mr. de Calonne. Appointment of the Archbishop of Toulouse. Retrenchments and Reforms. Dissolution of the Notables.

THE persons, appointed by the king of France to succeed to the vacant offices of administration at the period of the dismissal of Mr. de Calonne, were Mr. Bouvard de Fourqueux to the place of controller-general, and Mr. de Lamoignon to that of keeper of the seals. The nomination of the former seems to have been regarded only as a matter of temporary accommodation; but from the efforts of Mr. de Lamoignon something considerable was expected. He bore the character of a man, who had studied the principles of government upon a comprehensive scale, and who was more disposed to conform himself to the unalterable dictates of justice and truth, than to yield to the precarious current of party and intrigue. We shall presently see how he supported this reputation. Meanwhile the dismissal of Mr. de Calonne by no means assumed the appearance of a disgrace. The king informed him,

that the conjuncture of affairs demanded this sacrifice; but added, that it was not less the intention of government to prosecute his plans, and requested him to remain at Versailles, that he might assist with his counsels his successor in office.

It was within three days after this ministerial revolution, that Mr. Necker published his answer to the speech of Mr. de Calonne, delivered at the opening of the assembly of notables. The purpose of the author was to prove the validity of the assertions of the *Compte Rendu au Roi en 1781*, or in other words that France had at that time possessed a clear surplus of ordinary revenue to the amount of 425,000*l*. This statement, though of an older date than the administration of Mr. de Calonne, was fraught with inferences that certainly bore hard upon that statesman, who in the year 1787 acknowledged a deficit to the amount of 4,796,000*l*.

It is impossible for us to enter minutely into the question between these celebrated combatants. Those, to whom the discussion may appear interesting, will find ample materials in their respective publications. To those, who shall be desirous of that sort of presumptive evidence, which arises, whether from the character and disposition of the parties, or from the historical probability of their opinions, it is hoped, that our narrative, both of the preceding transactions, and of those which are to follow, will afford some satisfaction. Meanwhile popular predilection produced its full effect in the present judgment that was formed of the controversy. Mr. Necker triumphed. His *Compte Rendu*, and his Defence, were consulted as the depositaries of all that was most authentic in the finances of France. The character of the late minister was loaded with every species of obloquy. He had formerly been stigmatised as the rash and imprudent invader of the immunities of the opulent, as the inconsistent slave of temporary enthusiasm, as the benevolent statesman, who knew not how to refuse a request, and the dissipated character, who was unable to deny himself any inordinate gratification. He was now regarded in a new light. He was the public defaulter of unaccounted millions. He had exceeded every former example of prodigality and profligacy. Neither honour, nor the love of his country, nor the fear of detection, had been able to restrain him; and in a short administration of three years and a half he had reduced France, from a state of enviable and incredible prosperity, to the brink of a ruin, from which the effort of almost nobilities would be sufficient to recover her.

The consequences of this persuasion were soon visible. The notables resumed their sittings on the fifteenth of April 1787. The king, influenced, it is probable, by certain symptoms of the temper of the assembly, caused it to be signified to the bureaux, that it was his pleasure that they should restrict their attention to the subjects he had submitted to their consideration, without suffering themselves to be diverted to any foreign observations. But this message, though it produced its effect upon the majority of the assembly, did not altogether suppress the effects of the prevalent disposition. The marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman, who had appeared as a volunteer in the cause of civil liberty upon the plains of America, was eager to exhibit himself as a patriotic citizen of his native country. Led away, it may be, by the current of popular opinion, he deemed Mr. de Calonne a criminal against the welfare and character of France, and imagined he could not be more usefully or honourably employed, than in denouncing such a minister as a proper victim to the majesty of public justice. He accordingly presented a memorial to this purpose to the consideration of his brethren of the notables.

The memorial of the marquis de la Fayette was in part formed upon the model of the memorial for the establishment of a council of finances, which had been ascribed to the archbishop of Toulouse. Its chief topic was the exchange of the county of Sancerre, which had been purchased on the part of the king, partly by the cession of certain lands, and partly in money, from the baron d'Espagnac, elder brother of the abbé d'Espagnac the celebrated
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stock-jobber. This exchange had been a subject of negociation in the year 1777; and subsequently to that period a sum of 41,000*l.* had been advanced to the baron. The transaction however remained in suspense; and, soon after the appointment of Mr. de Calonne in 1783, the count de Vergennes suggested to that minister the propriety of its being completed, the sum advanced remaining at present as a sort of deficit upon the department of foreign affairs. By Mr. de Calonné some change was made in the demesne lands to be ceded to the baron d'Espagnac, and a number of smaller portions were substituted in the room of the forest of Ruffi, which the comptroller-general thought proper to retain in the hands of government. The royal assent was given to the terms of exchange in March 1784; and soon after that period a second sum of 41,000*l.* was paid to the baron d'Espagnac, which, together with the specified lands, was fitted to be a just equivalent for the county of Sancerre. The exchange was made with a reserve, as had been the usual practice, of a reference to the chamber of accounts, who were authorised to correct and alter the terms, so as to render them most conformable to their ideas of justice. In the mean time Mr. de Calonne had openly purchased of the baron d'Espagnac the district of Hattonchatel, a part of the baron's new acquisitions, in the neighbourhood of his paternal estate of Hanonville in Lorraine, upon proviso that the exchange should be confirmed by the proper court. The chamber of accounts is the highest jurisdiction in France, next after the parliament of Paris, and constituted in a manner considerably similar; and it is to be supposed, that their decision would be founded in

principles of general justice. Such however is the tediousness of forms, that the point was still undecided at the resignation of Mr. de Calonne, in April 1787, the baron d'Espagnac claiming a still further compensation, and the court not having yet determined whether he had not received more than an equivalent.

The prosecution recommended by the marquis de la Fayette was not adopted by the assembly of notables; but the principles of the memorial from which he had derived his materials seemed at this time to be completely imbibed by that illustrious body. In conformity to the royal recommendation, they attempted no proceeding that had not the appearance of immediately rising out of the subjects submitted to their examination; but they contrived to render those subjects themselves the vehicle and occasion of publishing their sentiments on the politics of the day. In a word, they hesitated not to involve themselves in a personal controversy with the ex-minister, and to reduce the public and posterity to the direct alternative of either believing Mr. de Calonne a profligate and unprincipled statesman, or of confessing that the notables countenanced imputations of a criminal nature upon trivial grounds, and stooped to become the dupes of individuals that were actuated solely by inordinate ambition.

The topics that now employed the discussion of the assembly, were those that constituted the third head of the project of Mr. de Calonne, and related to the alienation and improvement of the royal domains. In the observations that they digested upon this subject, they remarked with severity upon a principle advanced by the minister, "that the feudal superiority, by which all landed property

perty was obliged to contribute to the defence and maintenance of the whole, was perpetual, universal, and inseparable from the monarchy." They asserted the great domains of the crown, as matters now stood, to be inalienable, and declared that such modifications as should inspire confidence into the purchasers of them, could only be introduced by the nation itself, in an assembly convened for that purpose. As there were great abuses in certain concessions that had been made under this head, the notables intreated the sovereign to cause an account to be laid before him of those which had taken place since his accession to the throne, in order to break off such disadvantageous engagements as were not yet completed, and to abolish those in which it should appear that the actual loss to the crown exceeded the intrinsic value of the property acquired. They pretended, that abuses of a very alarming description would be found in certain transactions of this sort that were of a recent date. They subjoined an allusion to certain claims in favour of the royal domains that had been advanced during the administration of Mr. de Calonne; and intreated the king to soften the rigour of the principles upon which government acted in its controversies with individuals.

It was at this time that the king, whether from a wish to conciliate the favour of the notables, or because the same influence, which so visibly appeared in the proceedings of that assembly, now began to extend itself to the councils of the sovereign, thought proper to change his mode of conduct towards Mr. de Calonne. His original dismissal from office was softened by every appearance of kindness and esteem; but he was destined ultimately to experience a de-

gree of discountenance greater than usually falls to the lot of disgraced ministers. On the nineteenth of April he was banished to his estate of Hanonville in the province of Lorraine; and we shall presently see him seeking refuge in foreign countries, from the extraordinary clamour and odium that were excited against him. Mr. Necker had in the preceding week been also exiled to a distance of twenty leagues from Paris, it being thought necessary that some mark of royal displeasure should be awarded against the man, who, without the approbation of government, had published remarks and information upon the subject of the finances.

It is the peculiarity of the history of Mr. de Calonne, that while his character was severely stigmatised, and his measures vehemently opposed, those measures were universally confessed to be founded in genuine and comprehensive maxims of policy. His successors in office were unable to discover any thing that could speciously be substituted in the room of what he had suggested; and, however little his proposals might accord with the prejudices of men long inured to a system of practical error, they seemed to confess, that the greatness of the emergency would admit of no less violent a remedy. It might be thought, that at first ministers were taken by surprise, and that, as it frequently happens, the eagerness of intrigue to effect the downfall of a rival, had outrun the patriotism which should have meditated the welfare of their country. But it was in vain that the rapidity of the vortex in which they were hurried along gradually subsided. Neither the lapse of time, nor the partial variations that affected the persons of ministers, introduced any variation of policy; and, if they did not

not exactly model themselves upon the ideas of their predecessor, this plainly appears to have been rather owing to the mediocrity of their talents, than to the dictates of their judgment.

The third part of the project prepared for the notables having now been sufficiently discussed, it became time to introduce the remaining division. That this might be done with the greater solemnity, which seems now to have been regarded as coincident with dignity and demonstration, it was brought forward by the king in person, who for that purpose went down to the assembly of notables on the twenty-third of April.

The speech of the sovereign upon this occasion began with a retrospect to the subjects of the former divisions. He declared his intention, in conformity with their representations, to prefer to the two first orders of the state that precedency in the provincial assemblies, which they had been accustomed to enjoy in all similar cases. He expressed himself satisfied with the readiness which the bishops and archbishops had expressed to contribute their share to defray the public expences; and consented to listen to their representations respecting the form of doing it, and the means to be adopted for the liquidation of their corporate debt. He would examine the suggestions of the assembly respecting the gabelle, and should esteem himself happy when he should be able to abolish the very name of so disastrous an impost.

With regard to the measures to be farther proposed, the king observed, that he had not attempted to conceal the alarming difference between the receipt of government and its expenditure, and that the papers he had directed to be laid before the

assembly would sufficiently demonstrate its reality. He was firmly resolved to adopt the most efficacious measures to annihilate the existing deficit, and to prevent its renewal at any future period. He knew, that one of the most desirable measures for that purpose was the practice of economy; and he had meditated certain reforms in the expenditure, which were calculated to produce an immediate saving of 1,250,000*l*. He also proposed to adopt a new tax in the mode of a stamp duty, and to introduce a system proper to encounter the difficulties of the redemptions of capital at fixed periods, which had been made the condition of certain loans. But the effect of these united measures would be inadequate to the emergency. The king would therefore be obliged to have recourse to a measure more painful to him than all the rest, that of augmenting the amount of the impost upon land; but of the quantity of this augmentation he was unable to judge, till the sum of the deficit remaining after the application of the other remedies had been ascertained. He concluded with an earnest recommendation of celerity. To them was committed the glory of France, and they were called upon to display the advantage he possessed in governing a nation, whose resources, like their love for their kings, were inexhaustible.

The speech of the king was followed by that of the keeper of the seals. He observed, that, when the sovereign had called them together to consult them respecting the means of repressing financial abuses, of remedying the consequent evils, and relieving the people, they were not and could not have been informed of the true state of affairs. They had done therefore what they ought to have done; proposed doubts,

started objections, called for elucidations, and from animated discussion struck out useful truth. They would have betrayed at once their own honour and his majesty's intentions, if in such circumstances they had not exhibited that generous courage, which is equally characteristic of the faithful subject and the patriotic citizen. The king had expected from them zeal and loyalty, and he had not been disappointed. It was at length however incumbent upon them to finish the great project which the sovereign had delineated, and to carry into act those emotions of gratitude with which they could not fail to be impressed.

The controller - general now proceeded to communicate to them the memorials of the fourth division. We have already observed, that the object of this division was to connect the projected reforms with the melioration of the finances, and to particularise the schemes of economy, regulation, and credit, that might derive from or be connected with them. They now came before the assembly in a mutilated state: The precarious administration that sat at the helm of affairs were unwilling to undertake too much. Accordingly, only two memorials, that were conceived to be most immediately necessary, were brought forward; the first upon the subject of the stamp duty, and the second of the redemption at fixed periods of the existing loans.

The stamp duty was recommended by the well-known, but fallacious argument, that upon the present system of taxation many opulent persons, but whose property was not vested in land, escaped from the other modes of contributing to the national revenue. Stamp duties however of a certain kind, were not unknown to

the finances of France. In many provinces of that kingdom deeds and conveyances of property, as well as the different proceedings and decisions of the courts of judicature, had been subject to an imposition of this sort for more than a century. It was now proposed as a preliminary step, in conformity to the ideas of equalisation that pervaded the project of Mr. de Calonne, to extend the existing tax to every part of the kingdom, granting however to the provinces that had been hitherto exempted, a compensation upon the *taille* or some similar tax, in order that no new burthen might arise from this regulation. It was farther intended to extend the stamp duties to every object that is probably subject to them in any part of Europe; commissions, brevets, presentations, letters of nobility, of naturalisation, pardons, passports, news-papers, periodical publications, certificates, government stock, lottery tickets, deputations, policies, bills of exchange, receipts, engravings, cards, and dice. It was even declared necessary to subject all certificates and bills of a prior date to the stamp office, before they could be produced in evidence in a court of justice.

In the second memorial it was observed, that the well-founded desire of giving to the public loans a more rapid success, had, particularly since the year 1776 [at which period Mr. Necker had succeeded to the administration], suggested the method of engaging government to an assigned and speedy period of redemption. The ease of the moment had been the principal inducement to this expedient. The embarrassment had not then been recollected, which, falling with accumulating and concentrated force upon a subsequent period, now rendered a powerful and immediate remedy

remedy indispenfible. This remedy might either be found in a direct fyftem of taxation, in a mixed fyftem of taxation and fucceffive loans, or in loans only. The laft method was preferred. By fucceffive loans of 2,080,000*l.* for four years; 1,660,000*l.* per annum for the fifth and fixth; 1,460,000*l.* for the feventh; 1,375,000*l.* per annum for the eighth, ninth, and tenth; and 1,000,000*l.* per annum for the fifteen following years, the redemption of thefe loans to be diftributed through a period of fifteen years refpectively, it was conceived, that not only the deficit would be immediately lightened to the amount of 2,080,000*l.*, but that the operation of thefe loans combining with the propofed reforms, the ftamp duty, and the equalifation of the land-tax, all apprehenfion of financial embarrassment would be fuperseded.

The notables, as they proceeded in their labours, advanced in their pretentions. It had been the original intention of government, without communicating to them legiflative powers, or furnifhing them with original documents, to obtain their approbation of certain meafures, and overawe with their fupport the refiftance of the parliaments. This was deemed to be practicable, provided the meafures fuggelted were incontrovertibly equitable in their own nature, and they were affured of the extent of the emergency under the venerable fanktion of the word of the fovereign. But they prefently over-fteped the limits that had been marked out for them. The continuance of their deliberations, the facrifice of an eminent fervant of government that had been evidently made at their fhrine, gave them a full fenfe of the importance of their functions: They now eagerly caught at the intimation of the fovereign re-

fkpecting certain papers which he had directed to be laid before the afsembly, and, among other obfervations, it was remarked by one of the bureaux, in its addrefs of thanks for the fpeech of the king, that a profpectus of the intended favings and reforms, and a circumftantial detail of the annual receipt and expenfiture, were indifpenfibly neceffary to enable them to judge whether any additional taxes were requifite, to what amount it would be neceffary to carry them, and to what period it would be defirable to extend them.

It was at this period, and on the firft of May, that the archbifhop of Touloufe was called to the adminiftration, being appointed prefident of the council of finances. This prelate had hitherto appeared in the light of the moft active member of the afsembly of notables, or at leaft as the member whole principles and views had been moft cordially received by the meeting in general. He feemed to have modelled his conduct upon the principles of political liberty, at leaft as far as the prefent pof-ture and fentiments of the nation appeared to admit. In his memorial for the eftablifhment of a new council of finance, which is to be confidered as comprehending a general view of his public fentiments, and which had its fhare in occafioning the difgrace of Mr. de Calonne, he vehemently argues againft the myfterious mode of adminiftering the public revenue that at prefent prevailed, and cenfures the meafure of convoking the notables, becaufe that afsembly was wholly incompetent to the task of re-modelling the conftitution. Thefe docttrines however may probably be confidered as partly fuggelted to him by motives of ambition. He was long known to have aimed at raifing himfelf to be firft
minifter

minister of France; and it is not unfrequent, in characters that do not rise to superlative excellence, to behold the same man the ardent champion of liberty while in a private station, and the undaunted assertor of tyranny when the tyrant has chosen him for the medium of delegated power. It is however to be presumed, that the archbishop was one of the first men among our Gallic neighbours that recommended himself to office by the adoption of republican sentiments; and it is to be regarded as no equivocal symptom of the revolution that had taken place in the political prepossessions of his countrymen. It was on the following day that Mr. de Fourqueux resigned the office of controller-general, and Mr. de Villedeuil was appointed to succeed him.

It was on the second day after the promotion of the archbishop had been declared, that the accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the years 1785 and 1786 were communicated to the notables. They were speedily followed by an explanatory account of the retrenchments and reforms intended to be introduced into the civil list, which were now carried to the amount of 1,660,000*l.* per annum. These proceedings appear to have been thought to afford a favourable opportunity for introducing a small loan of 250,000*l.* which was at this time necessary to answer the unavoidable demands of government. The edict for raising this sum, through the medium of life-annuities, was registered without difficulty by the parliament of Paris, on the seventh of May, the same day upon which the paper of retrenchments was communicated to the notables. The delay in this latter instance was probably intended by the archbishop, as a sort of accommodation to the pride

and lofty pretensions of the juridical corps. The papers of revenue communicated to the notables were not permitted to be copied by the members of that assembly.

The preamble to the loan, and the declaration to the notables, consisted of ideas similar to each other. The king promised himself to be able to carry the savings at least to the specified amount. He could have wished to extend his views still farther, but he would have been unwilling to excite expectations that he was not certain to fulfil. If a still severer economy could be introduced, its effects should be religiously preserved for the general alleviation of the burthens of the people. The retrenchments, that were personal to himself and his family, would always be those that were least painful to his feelings, and that he should have the greatest promptitude to execute. The deficit of the present year, it was said, had been discovered by the notables to amount to 3,500,000*l.* and they had been of opinion with himself, that it was necessary to provide for its extinction through the medium of successive loans. In making these loans the king declared his resolution to mortgage to their holders a certain portion of the public revenue, which should be extinguished as they were diminished, and thus gradually converted to the relief of the nation at large.

The administration of the archbishop appeared to commence with a sufficient degree of popularity and éclat. The declaration of retrenchments was received by the notables with the most unbounded expressions of gratitude. They applauded the king upon the height to which his paternal feelings for his people had soared, and declared that no language could do justice to the sentiments with

with which they were pervaded in the perusal. It was about the same time that they suggested to the king the propriety of appointing an efficient council of finances, that should possess an unlimited check upon the principal minister of revenue; but, not to mention that they derived this idea from the suggestions of the present minister, it was also qualified with many invectives against the inconsistency and perfidy of the ministerial system of Mr. de Calonné, and with an express remark, that, whatever confidence they owed to the choice of the sovereign in this critical period, the fewer precautions they had to employ against the person of the minister, the more judicious would it be to guard against the imperfections of his office, and to protect him from the injurious influence of indiscreet solicitations.

The archbishop made his first personal appearance in the assembly of notables, in the character of minister, on the ninth of May. Upon this occasion he entered into a detail of many of the objects of the proposed retrenchment. It extended with considerable severity through the various departments of the royal households; it included the sale of the castles of Choisi, la Meute, Madrid, Vincennes, and Blois; and it professed to reduce the pension list to the annual amount of 750,000 *l.* Upon this and other subjects, connected with the fourth division, the notables communicated their sentiments to the king, by a committee of their body, four days after the ministerial conference. But, though so small a period of time had elapsed, we can scarcely avoid perceiving in their language some relaxation of the ministerial and courtly style they had lately adopted.

They particularly fixed their attention upon the desired publicity of

the national revenue. They insisted upon the necessity of passing all accounts at the treasury once every six months, and of communicating them to the public once a year. This would be found the only effectual expedient for bridling the minister of finance, for giving security to the public creditor, and for protecting the subject against the intrusion of arbitrary burthens. They added, that it was of the utmost importance, that pecuniary douceurs should not be granted but at the winding up of the accounts of the year, that no loan should ever be extended or exceeded, and that the operations of the *caisse d'amortissement*, and the general estimates for each ensuing year, should be submitted to the inspection and revifal of the projected council of finances.

The answer of the king was delivered to the different bureaux on the following day. He felt a considerable satisfaction in observing, that there was scarcely any expedient suggested to him by the assembly that he had not himself already adopted. He would take into consideration their views respecting the establishment of a council of finances, but the constitution of such a council required mature consideration. He had determined to publish an account of the national receipt and expenditure, examined and approved by such a council, at least once in three years, and would consider whether such a measure could with propriety be introduced more frequently. He was also disposed, in addition to the proposed reduction of the pension list, regularly to make public the pensions and douceurs he should bestow, and he was persuaded this publication would be an additional favour to those who were thought worthy of national rewards.

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On the fifteenth of May, the archbishop of Toulouse went down to the assembly, to present to them such remaining objects as might be proper for their discussion, and to urge them to a speedy conclusion of such deliberations as remained yet unfinished. With respect to the grand consideration of the deficit, he represented the retrenchments as one of the most considerable means for removing it: but, however rigorously they were extended, they were still insufficient. The king therefore found it necessary, though with the extremest regret, and as his last resource, to have recourse to farther impositions. The articles of this sort suggested by the archbishop of Toulouse were, the stamp duty, with a rate somewhat more extended than that which had been first proposed; an increase of the capitation upon houses; and a modification of the impôt territorial, by which it should be made to produce 1,041,000*l.* per annum more than the existing vingtièmes.

The bureaux immediately proceeded to take these proposals into consideration, and presented a sort of abridgment of their different deliberations in their resolutions of the nineteenth of May. They complained, that the articles of receipt and expenditure which had been laid before them were incorrect, and contradicted each other. Nothing, they observed, could be more painful, than, after a lapse of four years of peace, to impose new taxes upon the nation to the amount of 2,083,000*l.* per annum. It was necessary, in the first place, to attempt to remove the deficit by saving and economy; but, if this method were too tedious for the emergency, they must wholly refer the question of taxation to the prudence and discretion of the sove-

reign. It was not within their powers either to propose different taxes, or to adopt and sanction those which had been proposed. The land-tax in particular they professed to have no authority to vote; at the same time acknowledging, that, if it took place, it seemed just that the privileged bodies should not be exempted from the contribution. But they recommended, that the name of vingtièmes should still be preserved, to prevent the quota of each individual from being raised, and to hinder the tax, now changed into a different form, from returning again in its own, while its substitute should at the same time continue to exist. They were of opinion, that the city of Paris, the great increase of whose population was so injurious to the kingdom at large, should be more heavily taxed than the labouring rustic. They however rejected the capitation upon houses, as subject to too great inconveniences. The stamp duty appeared the least burthensome, and it was perhaps desirable to raise it to a still greater amount in alleviation of the other taxes, provided it were imposed only upon objects the most capable to bear it.

With respect to the provincial assemblies, they intreated the king to establish them, as he had promised to do, in the manner recommended by the notables. They wished to see the proposed retrenchments precisely marked out, and even carried into execution prior to the period of their separation. Lastly, they recurred to the steps which they deemed most efficacious for preventing the re-appearance of the present disorders in any future period. They recommended the abolition of all subordinate treasuries; they severely condemned the practice of anticipations, at a time when the collectors,

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who were accustomed to an eighteen months credit, had large sums of the public money in their hands. They repeated their recommendation of an efficient council of finances; and urged an annual publication of the accounts of government, in preference to a triennial one, which they professed to be apprehensive would be found a nugatory measure.

Beside these considerations immediately relative to the subject of their meeting, a motion was about this time offered to one of the bureaux by the duke de Rochefoucault, tending to the melioration of the state of the French protestants, and the reform of the system of criminal law; but the motion was rejected. A proposition by the marquis de la Fayette to one of the other bureaux was more favourably received, they having resolved, at his instigation, to request the king to grant a civil establishment to the protestants of the kingdom.

The notables having now answered, as far as they could be induced to answer, the purposes for which they had been assembled by government, were dissolved by the sovereign on the twenty-fifth of May. In his speech upon this occasion, he commended their exertions, and particularly thanked them for having prepared the measure, which he so ardently desired, of producing a level between the receipt and the expenditure. They had ascertained the existence and amount of the deficit, given authenticity to the proposed retrenchments and reforms, and recognised the necessity of imposing such additional taxes as the circumstances might require.

The assembly was also addressed by the keeper of the seals, and the archbishop of Toulouse, president of the council of finances. The latter

of these entered into a copious review of the transactions of the notables. Upon the subject of provincial assemblies, he condemned the levelling principles that had been introduced by Mr. de Calonne. He congratulated the assembly upon their magnanimous superiority to the idea of an interest in particular orders separate from the interest of the whole. They had admitted that all exemptions in taxation were to be regarded as the mischievous remains of feudality and villanage, and ought to be abolished. On the other hand, the king and the nation were far from wishing to annihilate the privileges and distinctions of rank, and aiming at a vain equality that was incompatible with the monarchy. The three orders of the state ought undoubtedly to have their representatives in the provincial assemblies, and precedence ought constantly to be attributed to elevation of rank. The clergy and the noblesse had generously consented to unite their interests, and of consequence the third estate would be allowed as many representatives as the other two taken together. The king was resolved to give substance and efficiency to this provision, by directing that the voices should be collected not in separate divisions, but as from the members of one general assembly. The greatest benefit might also be expected from the other measures sanctioned by the notables, the abolition of the *corvée*, and the freedom of the commerce of grain. The removal of the barriers and internal taxation between province and province would be found a most essential change. It had been thought that this could not be effected, consistently with the preservation, in any form, of the impost of the *gabelle*. The sublime
idea

idea of its total annihilation had been first suggested to the assembly by monsieur, brother of the king. It has been eagerly adopted by them, and had given rise to a hope in the royal mind, which it would be the greatest happiness of his life to be enabled to fulfil.

A farther inestimable benefit, said the archbishop, that had resulted from the labours of the assembly, was the ascertaining the amount of the deficit. Different bureaux had indeed varied in their results upon this head; he should take the average of their different computations, which was 5,830,000*l.* Out of this sum which it was necessary to supply, 2,080,000*l.* were only of temporary demand for the redemption of loans, which by the conditions of the contract had been made redeemable at fixed periods, and these would be discharged by the intervention of new loans in a diminishing series. The retrenchments in the royal household would produce a farther diminution of 1,660,000*l.* and the remaining sum of 2,080,000*l.* would be to be raised by new taxes. Upon the choice of these taxes, the notables had declined to decide. The king would govern himself in his own determination, by every consideration that the welfare of his people could suggest to him. If it were found necessary immediately to augment the public revenue, he would not however carry the taxes to the extent which might now seem to be necessary, till he had published an accurate detail of the receipt and expenditure, which, if possible, should appear at the close of the present year. This detail should undergo a previous discussion in the new council of finances which the king intended to institute. The loans, the taxes, and all the great

operations of finance, should be concerted under their inspection. In this council the annual distribution of the public revenue among the different departments of government should be made; and, by that institution, the publicity of its results, the annual publication of the national debt and the funds appropriated to its discharge, and the other precautions that had been adopted the king hoped to secure himself from the influence of misrepresentation and mistake. In fine, the present crisis would become the epocha of a new splendour to the French monarchy. Many burthensome and injurious institutions were upon the eve of being abolished; the nation would derive a new principle of life from the provincial assemblies, the public administration would be freed from its embarrassments, and would proceed with system and publicity to the pursuit of the national welfare.

The speech of the president of the finances was immediately followed by short harangues from monsieur, the king's brother, as the organ of the noblesse; from the archbishop of Narbonne; the respective first presidents of the parliament, the chamber of accounts and the court of aids; the speaker of the clergy of the province of Burgundy; the lieutenant civil; and the prévôt des marchands, or chief magistrate of Paris; all addressed to the king, and filled with the language of compliment and congratulation. By the prévôt des marchands in particular, it was observed, that Louis the Sixteenth would have been the exemplar and model upon which Henry the Fourth would have formed himself, if the partial destiny of the present generation of Frenchmen had not reserved him to complete their happiness.

Such were the transactions of this memorable and interesting assembly of notables, the first assembly possessing even the pretence of representing the French nation that they had seen for more than one hundred and fifty years. If, while we enquire into the merits of their proceedings, we compare them with the purposes for which they had been assembled by government, we shall not bestow upon them considerable applause. They indeed countenanced, and seemed to give stability, under certain restrictions, to many beneficial projects. But these projects are scarcely to be regarded as other than subordinate, in the consideration of government, to the required level between the revenue and the expenditure. In the mean time, by the pertinacious refusal of the notables to give the sanction of their authority to what was represented by Mr. de Calonne as an indirect mode of increasing the revenue, and was treated by his successors as avowed taxation, they rather increased than diminished the difficulties of administration. Ministers expected to overbear the stubbornness of the parliaments by the authority of the notables. Instead of this, the hesitation, the silence of the notables, an assembly undoubtedly of infinitely greater dignity and weight than any of the courts of law, seemed to authorise their resistance, while the familiar spectacle of a sort of national assembly, however imperfect in its constitution, gave to the people a system of political feelings by no means favourable to the tranquillity of administration.

If, on the other hand, in estimating the merit of the notables of 1787, we recollect the benefits that have flowed in copious streams from their labours to the nation at large,

they will ever be remembered by us with the deepest veneration. The projects they adopted of provincial assemblies, the abolition of the corvée, a free corn trade, an unrestrained commerce between the provinces of the kingdom, are fraught with a thousand benefits of energy, prosperity, and virtue. But the spirit of citizenship that they diffused through the kingdom was of inestimable importance. It was in their assembly that the name of the states-general was first pronounced. It was there that Frenchmen conceived the practicability of becoming free. By their absolute refusal to tax their fellow-citizens, they rendered the meeting of a general representative assembly indispensable. The ideas that the intellectual heroes of France, a Rousseau, an Helvetius, and a Raynal, had conceived, that at the moment they published them they despaired to see effectually adopted, and that seemed hitherto to have remained altogether barren, were fertilised at once. From hence we are to date a long series of years, in which France and the whole human race are to enter into possession of their liberties, when the ideas of justice and truth, of intellectual independence and everlasting improvement, are no longer to remain buried in the dust and obscurity of the closet, or to be brought forth at distant intervals to be viewed with astonishment, indignation, and contempt, but to be universally received, familiar as the light of day, and general as the air we breathe.

It is however rather from the motives by which men are influenced, than from the consequences which they often unintentionally produce, that we are to estimate their merits. Upon this system our judgment of the virtues of this assembly will be come

come moderate, neither wholly darkened with imbecility and vice, nor elevated to the dignity of heroism. They seem entitled to the praise of diligence and industry: they had a sincere intention to confer some benefits upon their country; but they were too deeply anxious to perpetuate their privileges and exclusive distinctions, to deserve the name of patriots. It will probably be classed among their imperfections by impartial posterity, that they persecuted with such unrelenting vehemence Mr. de Calonne. Posterity will judge between their hero; Mr. Necker, and the object of their bitter invectives. Meanwhile one half of their pertinacious opposition to the plans suggested to them, one half of the consequences they produced in reducing the omnipotence of the monarchy, is to be ascribed to their personal aversion to the minister. The conduct they pursued upon the subject of taxation was perhaps the very happiest in its ultimate effects that they could have adopted; but it will scarcely be suspected to have been founded in any regular system. What was the

object of their long contest with administration respecting the production of documents, a contest in which they finally proved victorious? If they had a just claim to these documents, why refuse that decision upon the taxes proposed, which seemed to be the inevitable consequence of their claim? If they were from the first determined to refuse all active interference with the business of revenue, by what right did they call for the documents? To these considerations it is to be added, that they evidently displayed before their separation that self-interested esprit de corps, by which every combination of men seeks to perpetuate its own existence. They demanded to be permitted to sit till certain beneficial plans were adequately carried into execution. Could there be a greater solecism to politics or to right reason, than for a body of men, who expressly disclaimed all deliberative and legislative authority, at the same time to endeavour to constitute themselves the overseers of government and safeguards of the people?

CHAP. II.

Council of Finances. Stamp Duty. Conduct of the Parliament of Paris. Demand for the States-General. Land Tax. Bed of Justice. Impeachment of Mr. de Calonne. Parliament banished. Remonstrances of the other Parliaments. Weakness of Administration.

THE situation in which the dissolution of the notables left the government, was in the highest degree arduous. It is probable that, if that assembly had given an unanimous and unqualified approbation to the projects that were submitted

to them, all resistance from any other quarter would have been overawed, and the monarchy would, for the present, have rather gained an accession of strength, than been weakened by the difficulties it had been obliged to encounter. But the

event

event had been far otherwise. The notables had at most only recognised the emergency, and had expressly withheld their sanction from the measures that were to supply it.

The resistance principally to be feared was on the part of the parliaments; for, whatever might have been the sentiments of the nation at large, if they had not found a point of union, if there had not existed a power in the constitution, fitted to disseminate with weight and efficiency the prevailing principles, it must at least have been by very slow degrees that they could be expected to produce their effect. The parliaments were originally courts of law only; and, if the ambition of the Gallic princes of four preceding centuries had not most violently encroached upon the liberties of their subjects, such they must for ever have remained. France, like the other kingdoms of modern Europe, had originally its states general, who were accustomed to be consulted upon all great legislative questions, and without whose participation the prince could not regularly levy subsidies upon his people. The progress of liberty and civilisation advanced by just degrees; and, as Simon Montfort gave birth to the house of commons in England in the year 1264, so in France the third estate was first summoned to the states general by Philip the Fair in 1302. It was about the same time that the name of parliament, which had been hitherto one of the denominations of this assembly, began to be exclusively attached to the cours de palais, or court of king's bench.

As by the crooked policy of Charles the Wise and his successors the states general began gradually to fall into disuse, it became necessary to provide the kingdom with some ap-

parent substitute. The mind of man irresistibly revolts from the notion of uncontrollable despotism; and no tyranny, however absolute, could ever yet render itself permanent, without presenting to its subjects a phantom of constitutional restraint. By the despots of France it was conceived, that a more impotent phantom could not be invented, than that of a parliamentary register of the royal edicts. The parliaments were merely courts of law, the organs and instruments of the executive power, appointed and removable originally at the pleasure of the crown. They were not the representatives of the nation, they were not even an order in the state, their deliberative power in the making of laws was what no political constitution could recognise, and in its own nature seemed inefficient and nugatory. The absurdity of the claim was the very cause to which it was indebted for its establishment, no administration being found cautious enough timely to guard against so preposterous an encroachment.

The nation however seemed to cherish the very shadow of liberty. The parliaments were a permanent corps; and from that circumstance possessed an advantage that can never be combined with monarchical power. Equally capable at all times themselves, they were able to improve to their own advantage the periods of weakness, such as minorities in particular, incident to royalty. Their efficiency was also increased by incidental circumstances. The judicial places were by the distresses or avarice of government gradually rendered venal; and, when men had originally purchased their situations, it could not be just to dismiss them at the arbitrary will of the party of whom they were purchased. Another consequence

quence of this regulation was, that conspicuous situations in the parliaments were frequently filled by very young men, and the courts thus obtained the advantage of uniting the activity and ardour incident to that period with the experience and caution of maturer years. The operation of these advantages was frequently visible in the history of France. Their remonstrances are of a date as distant as the reign of Louis the Eleventh; they gradually became more active, and of more perceptible influence; they had particularly appeared as a curb and restraint upon the administration of the last reign during a period of fifty years, till at length it was resolved entirely to annihilate them; a resolution that was carried into effect in January 1771. At the commencement of the present reign in 1774, it was thought proper to begin with the popular measure of their restoration; and at this time their privileges, the offspring of innumerable encroachments, were limited and defined.

The government of Louis the Sixteenth had proceeded with little interruption on their part, till about the middle of the administration of Mr. de Calonne. In the year 1785 that minister was involved in a violent controversy with the parliament of Bourdeaux, upon a question respecting the royal domains; and in the close of that year the parliament of Paris was with extreme difficulty prevailed upon to register the loan with which the accounts of the year were concluded. They remonstrated against such a measure as highly prodigal, at a time when the war had already ceased near three years. Mr. de Calonne, who foresaw that the situation of the finances

would by no means permit this to be

the last extraordinary pecuniary operation of government, conceived himself obliged to have recourse to a political expedient answerable to the emergency, and not to risk the reputation of government by a renewal of the struggle with the supreme court of judicature. The notables were assembled: they parted without doing what administration expected from them; and that situation, which Mr. de Calonne feared to encounter, was destined to try the ability of the archbishop of Toulouse. He had hitherto ventured only upon a petty loan of 250,000*l.*; he was now to enter upon the greater and more arduous business of taxation.

The first step adopted by administration in pursuance of the plan they had now digested, was the establishment of the new council of finances; and the regulation for that purpose is dated on the fifth of June. This measure appears to have been extremely popular, as it was supposed that many profuse and prodigal measures had at all times been adopted by government, in consequence of the irresponsible manner in which the revenues were conducted, there existing no practical check on the controller general, who, if he were able to prevail upon the mind of the king, might in the most covert manner dispose of the public money. By the present regulation an efficient council of finances was introduced, to consist of the keeper of the seals, the president of the finances, the ministers of state, the controller general, and two counsellors. This council was to meet at least once in every month; was to superintend the loans, the taxes, and all the principal operations of finance; was to exercise the annual distribution of funds necessary to the different departments,

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and to prepare for the press an annual account, to be published in the month of December, of the revenues of the ensuing year. This regulation was accompanied with certain suppressions of office and retrenchments in the departments subordinate to the controller general. It was also upon this occasion that the duke de Nivernois, who had distinguished himself in several embassies as well as in certain productions of polite literature, and Mr. de Maleherbes, uncle to the keeper of the seals, and who had been celebrated for his writings in favour of the civil establishment of the protestants, were declared ministers and counsellors of state.

It was reported that ministers had at this time conceived the project, which was in a future instance carried into execution, of a *séance royale* in the parliament of Paris, differing from a bed of justice, because the members would in this case have freely been permitted in the presence of the king to debate the measures they were called upon to register, and because a bed of justice has usually been subsequent to the discussion of the laws and the remonstrances of the courts, while the *séance royale* was intended to accompany the introduction of the edicts, and to supersede delay. It was considered as equally belonging to the nature of both these proceedings, to conclude with a peremptory register by the sole authority of the king.

If this measure had been at all in contemplation, it was however for the present postponed. The characteristic of the administration of the archbishop of Toulouse was irresolution and the want of system; and the consequence of this feature was, that men perceived he had

harsh measures in reserve, and were not influenced by his expostulations, or were satisfied that he had not fortitude enough for a series of severities, and therefore gave no attention to his threats.

On the twelfth of June, the day said to have been destined for the *séance royale*, four edicts were sent to the parliament of Paris to be registered, for establishing the provincial assemblies, for liberating the commerce of grain, for abolishing the *corvée* in kind, and for imposing the duty upon stamps. The three first of these were registered, not without a considerable degree of discussion, upon the twenty-second, the twenty-fifth, and twenty-eighth days of June respectively.

The stamp tax was destined to encounter a greater degree of difficulty. The parliament was entirely silent respecting it till the sixth of the following month. They then voted an address to the sovereign, demanding the communication of such documents as should enable them to judge of the necessity of introducing new taxes, and of the extent and solidity that were likely to be given to the promised retrenchments. The king, they observed, had engaged himself with the conclusion of the year to publish the account of the receipt and expenditure; but, if the people were entitled to information in the sequel, the parliament had a claim to it previously to registering the tax, as the very name of verifying the royal edicts implied.

This address was by no means favourably received by administration. The parliament enforced their demand by remarking, that that which they now required had already been granted to the assembly of notables; but it was conceived by their antagonists, that the par-

liaments and the notables stood upon a very different footing. The notables had neither a fixed character nor a permanent existence. They were composed of persons nominated by the king, and called together upon particular emergencies at his discretion. Extraordinary indulgences might therefore be granted to them, without seeming to involve the establishment of general principles which might one day be turned to the disadvantage of the grantor. But the parliament was a permanent body. Its invasions on the crown had already been attended with considerable success. If therefore the existing form of government were thought in any degree worthy of defence, it should seem necessary to have resisted the present demand.

But if the existing form of government were to be abandoned, it might be still open for consideration what form should be substituted in its place. The demand of the parliament was of no equivocal nature. They had fixed upon the most valuable prerogative incident to a national assembly, and which, if once securely placed in their hands, would have amounted to a surrender at discretion of the monarchical supremacy. To call for documents and accounts, to investigate through their assistance the allegations, and enquire into the conduct of ministers, is the unalienable right of the representatives of a free people. But the most fervent advocate of freedom might be permitted to doubt, whether vesting this right in so limited an aristocracy as the parliament of Paris, could possibly conduce to the general welfare. It was however little likely, that such a cession should be advised under the administration of the archbishop of Toulouse, who had long professed

to be, upon the most liberal principles, the adversary of the ambitious prerogatives of the juridical corps.

In the mean time the parliament persisted in its requisition. They presented on the fifteenth of July a second address, in which they stated that they were bound in a double capacity, being to their fellow-subjects the organ of majesty, and to majesty the surety of his subjects' loyalty and obedience. Thus called upon, they felt themselves obliged to repeat their former requests; and they intreated the king, by the fidelity they had sworn to him, to grant him their confidence. They would never abuse it; it was necessary for the good of his service, and would secure the welfare of his people; in the sovereigns of France the language of confidence had ever been the most successful attraction to love and obedience. This address experienced the same fate as that which had preceded it.

It was however at this conjuncture that the parliament of Paris adopted a new line of conduct, which fixed upon them at once the attention of their country and of Europe. The idea of assembling the states-general of the kingdom had been obscurely hinted at in the resolutions of the notables, and had formed a frequent topic of their discussions. This idea, new, interesting, and sublime, was calculated to attract the attention of certain young and enterprising minds in the juridical corps. Without nicely calculating the nature of such a measure, or the effects it might be expected to produce, they substituted fervour and enthusiasm in the place of investigation. The true foundation of political freedom had already been laid. It had been insinuated by the most respectable authority, that

that the nation alone, assembled in its representatives, had the right of taxation. Such an opinion, so authenticated, was not likely in the present enlightened state of the human mind to remain in barrenness and inactivity. From the notables the flame had diffused itself with different degrees of vehemence in the public and the parliaments. Previously to the period at which we are arrived, it had been repeatedly moved to supplicate the sovereign to assemble the states-general of the kingdom; and the proposition, after long debates, had in each instance been rejected by still decreasing majorities. The day, upon which this important vote was ultimately adopted, was the sixteenth of July.

It has sufficiently appeared by the event, that, when the parliament of Paris declared themselves in favour of a national assembly, they gave the death's wound to the ambitious and usurping prerogatives which had long formed the exclusive object of their pursuit. If they had been able to reason with the elevation of genuine philosophers, and to see the event in the causes that produced it, it is scarcely to be supposed that they would have been thus eager to co-operate for their own destruction. But they judged of the future by the past. They saw that the states-general of France had frequently been assembled without adopting any one important measure; and they hoped, that the event in the present instance would be similar, or that at least their plans would rather tend to introduce some trifling restrictions upon the existing government, than to erect an entire system of liberty upon its ruins. They simply voted, that "a national assembly would be

necessary previously to the imposition of a new tax;" and they no doubt imagined, that the states-general, who would owe their existence to the parliamentary remonstrances, would gratefully confine their discussions within the limits that the parliaments prescribed to them. At any rate new taxes could not frequently be necessary; the states-general that met to-day would at the close of their meeting be adjourned sine die; and in the interval of their precarious sessions business would speedily return into its old channel.

It cannot be very hazardous to affirm, that those members who were actuated by an exclusive and monopolising spirit, and these constituted a vast majority, felt no very anxious impatience to obtain what they very importunately demanded. But this is no uncommon exhibition of human character. Government treated them in the present instance with a greater degree of phlegm and moderation than they expected or desired. If the taxes had been given up to their remonstrances, they would have acquired no contemptible share of popularity. If on the other hand the king should have recourse to a bed of justice, to a register by compulsion, to arbitrary imprisonment and exile, they would appear to be suffering in the public cause, and would acquire the reputation of martyrs. But thus to leave them to themselves was the most cruel of all dilemmas. They could not stand still; they would hardly be willing to retract. Every moment in which no new incident occurred, tended to weaken their interest in the public opinion. Nor was this all; the parliamentary struggles had never obtained more than a partial popularity; and, now that the minds of

B R I T I S H A N D

men seemed to be awakening to the great fundamental questions of government, were likely to be less interesting than before. To act their part with grace and effect, it was necessary they should adopt the passions and predilections of their countrymen. They would, by this means, acquire the reputation of the utmost disinterestedness, without, as they appear to have conceived, risking the loss of any thing to which they were considerably attached.

The remonstrance of the parliament descanted with great severity upon the late administration; and, as the idea of remonstrating had originated with the youngest and most adventurous members of the assembly, the composition was every where fraught with false facts, and daring and groundless assertions. They began in the highest style of exaggeration. They remarked, that after five years of peace, after an augmentation of revenue during the present reign to the amount of 5,400,000 *l.* it was scarcely to have been expected, that the name of tax should have been pronounced by a beneficent sovereign, but for the purpose of alleviating the burthens of the people. They alluded to the preamble of the loan of 1785, in which Mr. de Calonne had asserted, that the discharge of the arrears of the war was now nearly completed, and the resources of France approaching to a most prosperous state. They spoke of the zeal which they had then fruitlessly exerted to disclose the embarrassed and ruinous state of the finances; and they represented all the misfortunes of France, as accruing from the king's choice of a minister, who seemed to be disapproved by the voice of the public, that voice which

can scarcely err, because a multitude of men can hardly receive an impression contrary to the truth.

The remonstrance farther expressed great anxiety respecting the promised retrenchments. Such projects were too apt to prove fallacious. Men applauded them loudly in the gross, and opposed them in the detail. Perhaps the design was already in part undermined; perhaps the men upon whom the reform pressed the most severely, had already excited doubts respecting its extent or its duration. Sure they were, that, if the king had sooner understood the real situation of the finances, he would not have permitted the prodigality of a recent period, immense buildings, extensive purchases, scandalous liberalities, and, above all, the palace which had lately been erected for the clerks of the revenue. They had no doubt, that, if an impartial scrutiny were exerted, the reforms, instead of amounting to 1,660,000 *l.* might easily be raised to double that sum per annum.

They proceeded to speak of the stamp tax, which had been approved by the assembly of notables, in the severest terms. It was more dangerous than the exploded gabelle. The gabelle only opened a door to fraud and deception; the stamp tax oppressed the nation through the medium of erroneous judgment. The minutest accuracy could scarcely be sufficient to distinguish among the vast variety of stamps; men would daily, nay hourly, be exposed to punishment for an unintentional error; and the basis of civil policy would be undermined by their not daring to produce in a court of justice the most authentic vouchers, because they were not written upon stamped paper. The tax was a
bad

bad one, because its nature rendered it susceptible of a gradual and unperceived augmentation at the arbitrary pleasure of government; and it was worse, because, providing as it professed to do for a temporary necessity, it was unlimited in its duration.

They now came to the point which formed the distinguishing subject of the remonstrance. They alluded to the taxes that were introduced at the close of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth. They were intended to continue only for a short period, and the calamities of the state appeared not to admit of delay. Otherwise the parliament of the day would have said to that great monarch, "The nation alone assembled in the states-general can give to a permanent tax the requisite sanction; your parliament cannot supply this consent, and can still less attest its existence, when that existence is altogether doubtful: they have been intrusted by the king to announce his will to the people, but have never been commissioned by the people to assume the functions of their representatives." Such was the language which the parliament now took the liberty to suggest to his majesty; and they urged him to compliance by the example of four of the most considerable princes of his illustrious race, among whom it is sufficiently singular that they enumerated Charles the Fifth and Henry the Fourth, neither of whom ever called together the assembly of the states-general. They concluded with a request, that in the mean while he would withdraw the edict of stamp tax, whose name alone had given alarm to the kingdom, and whose execution would diffuse an universal consternation.

The remonstrance bore upon the face of it the most glaring inconsistency. It owed its existence to the refusal of the king to communicate to them such documents as might enable them to judge of the extent of the emergency. But, if the stamp tax were really so vicious as they now represented it, it furnished no just occasion for the production of these documents. No emergency could justify its imposition, and it ought to have been rejected upon its own merits, not upon the examination of a question altogether foreign. Beside, the parliament declared they had no right to register a tax; whence then could they deduce the right of being informed respecting the state of revenue which was supposed to render any tax necessary? In fact the moment they asserted the principles of liberty, in that moment they departed from all the maxims which had governed their political conduct through preceding centuries. If they had candidly and explicitly avowed their error, they would have been entitled to applause. But they fell into all those absurdities which constantly attend upon the want of sincerity. They did not desire the states-general, they only desired to take advantage of a momentary opinion to acquire unmerited popularity. Accordingly their assertions throughout were rash and adventurous, not delivered with the caution of self-esteem, or inspired by a genuine feeling of the cause in which they embarked.

The remonstrance of the parliament was presented on the twenty-seventh of July, and the answer of the king conveyed to them on the twenty-ninth. In this answer he reserved to a future day the acquainting them with his intentions

respecting the stamp tax. As he wished however to remove all doubt respecting the extent of the supplies which the public situation demanded, he thought proper immediately to lay before them the edict for commuting the existing vingtièmes into an equalisation of land-tax, such as had been discussed in the assembly of notables. It was his intention accurately to proportion the taxes imposed to the real necessities of the state, and of consequence to restrain their duration within the limits of those necessities. The report he was determined annually to publish of the state of the revenue would leave no doubts upon the subject; and he expected from the zeal and loyalty of his parliament, that they would immediately proceed to register the land-tax.

The parliament, being now sufficiently advertised by the conduct of government, that it was intended to proceed to extremities, determined, instead of retracting, to assume only the more firmness and intrepidity, as the danger increased. They summoned for the following day, as is usual upon extraordinary occasions, the peers of France to assist in their deliberations. Such was the contagion of the present political enthusiasm, and so far had the long-forgotten name of a national assembly roused the energies of the public mind, that these distinguished characters, who might have been expected to be the supporters of the throne, and who might justly fear, in case of a revolution, to be stripped of many of their oppressive and arbitrary privileges, unmindful of these considerations, eagerly joined the parliamentary opposition. It was in some measure the love of privilege itself, that unconsciously led them to the destruction of privilege. They

were fired with resentment against the supporters of a project, that subjected them in common with their fellow-citizens to contribute to the necessities of the state; and, rather than not gratify that resentment, were contented to involve themselves in the ruin. Accordingly it was voted in full assembly, that the parliament persisted in their former resolution, and would renew their supplications to the sovereign to assemble the states-general of the kingdom.

But, before this address could be presented, a royal message announced to the parliament his intention of holding a bed of justice on Monday the sixth of August. The message was delivered at five o'clock on Sunday afternoon, and the parliament, immediately assembling, came to a resolution of instructing their first president to signify to the king in the approaching solemnity, that, not having obtained from the sovereign the information and documents they requested, they were not legally empowered to take into consideration the edicts he had communicated; that they felt the most lively sorrow for having been employed for twelve years past in giving their sanction to accumulated imposts; that the present requisition exceeded their powers; and that it would be in vain for them to assent to taxes, which it evidently exceeded the ability of the subject to pay. The first president was farther directed to state their specific objections to the stamp tax and the land tax, respecting the latter of which they observed, that it was calculated to create dissension and jealousy between province and province, between district and district; that vassals and lords, fathers and sons, masters and servants, would be encouraged to

accuse

accuse each other of paying an inadequate proportion, either for the sake of removing the burthen from their own shoulders, or of gratifying private revenge. They concluded with declaring, that if the king, in spite of their representations, were determined to proceed, his parliament would not cease to employ all its zeal, and to express its dissent with as much firmness as respect, against taxes, whose essence would be destructive, and whose collection illegal.

The registering of the edicts in the bed of justice took place on the following day, Mr. d'Aligre, the first president, having read the resolution of the court, and Mr. Seguier, advocate-general, separately stated the most obvious arguments against the two edicts. The edict of stamp tax expressly limited the duration of the impost to the first of January 1798. Meanwhile the parliament and peers, having assembled on the following day, declared null and illegal the transcripts that had been made into the records of the court.

The flame, which thus began within the walls of the court of judicature, presently spread over the city of Paris. The taxes excited a general alarm. While the land-tax was considered in an unfavourable view by the nobility and persons of rank, the stamp duty excited terror in the mercantile class of citizens, and thus all descriptions of men appeared to unite in supporting the spirited and intrepid opposition of the parliament. On the part of government great numbers of the military were assembled at Paris, to overawe the mutinous spirit of the people, and the members of the courts of justice were obliged to pass to their sittings through armed ranks of soldiers with bayonets fixed. On

the other hand an unheard of spirit of discussion seemed to diffuse itself among the citizens, and animated sentiments of liberty, the most foreign to what had hitherto characterised the kingdom, were the topic and the echo of every conversation. The usual symptoms of irregular and tumultuous emotion accompanied this state of the public mind. The people assembled every where in crowds, and expressed by the most unequivocal tokens their applause and displeasure. The count d'Artois, younger brother of the king, in particular, had by some instances of aristocratical vivacity incurred the resentment of the people, and was generally received with hisses and groans, while monsieur, the next brother, became an object of favour, and was loaded with marks of approbation.

The proceedings of administration during this period consisted of a mixture of firmness and compliance. The parliament had suggested in the resolution by which they authorised the register of the provincial assemblies, that it would be expedient, for the particular regulations, which were referred by the edict to a future publication, to be brought forward as early as possible; and they were accordingly promulgated on Monday the fifth of August. The royal declaration of retrenchments also appeared on the ninth. If these measures were adopted from a desire of soothing and mollifying the fierceness of parliamentary opposition, nothing could certainly have been more injudicious. If on the contrary they were intended merely to put the public in possession of the whole plan of government, they constituted a very proper and becoming part of that system of firmness which was deemed to be indispensable.

pensible. The interpretation, however, that is given by the public to any particular measure, always depends upon the idea they have formed of the capacity and virtue of him that patronises the measure; and the character of the archbishop of Toulouse had ceased to be a topic of scepticism and disputation. The construction therefore that was put upon the present proceeding was highly unfavourable.

Meanwhile the parliament did not imitate the moderation and timidity of administration. Not daring to carry their direct opposition to government to any greater extreme, they were not however idle. They adopted a measure, that at once served to gratify the restless activity of their present disposition, and appeared in some degree analogous to their functions as a supreme court of judicature. They passed a sort of vote of impeachment against Mr. de Calonne, satisfied that, if they could establish as a principle the responsibility of ministers at their tribunal, they should render themselves little less formidable, than if they could have secured the right of taxation itself. In all former examples they had investigated the conduct and imputed guilt of ministers at the instance and acting as the instruments of the crown; it was now to be tried whether they could bring a question of this sort before them spontaneously, and by a simple proceeding of their own body. The vote authorised the attorney-general to receive informations against the ex-minister respecting depredations in the finances, either by purchases and exchange, by manœuvres in the coinage, by the clandestine application of the revenue to the purposes of dealing in the public stocks, by the extension of loans, or in fine by

abuses of authority and other misdemeanours of whatever kind, committed in the administration of the finances, their circumstances and dependencies. We have had occasion in the course of this history to mention the principal circumstances alluded to in each of these charges, and it is hoped have stated them with sufficient explicitness to enable the reader to form a general estimate of their merits.

Mr. de Calonne affords a remarkable example of an illustrious character unjustly suffering by the arts of cabal and the indiscriminate severity of popular opinion. We have seen him in the first instance dismissed from administration with every mark of consideration and esteem, and requested to assist with his information his successor in office. But this moderation did not long continue. His rivals in the political course found their way to the royal ear, and conceived that they could do nothing that would prove more conducive to their interest, than the endeavouring to make it be believed that all the embarrassments of France originated in his prodigality. The first effect of this insidious proceeding was the causing him to be banished to his estate of Hanonville in Lorraine. Mr. de Calonne was acutely alive to a sense of reputation, and his first care in this retreat was to draw up a narrative of his transactions respecting the money supplied to support the credit of the public funds, which he sent to Paris, to be transmitted to the archbishop of Toulouse. The prelate however declined receiving this narrative, declaring that he saw the whole transaction in as favourable a light as the most ardent friends of Mr. de Calonne could desire, and that to his mind it needed no justification. Mean-

while

while the banished statesman perceived the clamour of popular hatred against him every day increasing, and thought proper on the twelfth of June to address a letter to the archbishop, inclosing his resignation of the dignity of great treasurer of the French orders of knighthood. In his answer to this letter the prelate threw off the mask. He observed, that Mr. de Calonne could not be ignorant that considerable sums had been issued from the treasury without authority from the king; he could not be ignorant of the destination of those sums; and he ought not to be astonished that the king was dissatisfied with it. It was impossible for the archbishop to disguise from the sovereign what the interest of his affairs made it requisite he should know; and, as the prelate entertained no doubts upon the subject, he had not thought it necessary to demand from Mr. de Calonne any elucidation.—It was not long after this that Mr. de Calonne received an order to resign his blue ribband, the insignia of his dignity as a knight of the Holy Ghost; and, influenced probably by the necessity he felt of appealing to the public in his own justification, he communicated to the king his intention of retiring into Holland. The Dutch were at that time in a very critical situation; and, soon after his arrival in their territories, the French government caused it to be signified to him, that it would be agreeable to the king if he chose another residence. He immediately set out for England, and arrived in London about the beginning of August.

Incidents, which the world has agreed to distinguish by the name of calamity, are not always of such a nature as would induce a wise man to wish to avoid them.

Mr. de Calonne, with no common portion of capacity and virtue, was disgraced and banished, the mark of ministerial persecution and public abhorrence; and yet his fortune seems rather entitled to our envy than our compassion. By his wisdom he conferred benefits upon France, which will last as long as the country shall have a name. The principle of equal taxation, though he was unable to carry it into immediate execution, was too clearly explained and too fully disseminated to be in danger of ever being lost; and equal taxation, beside its intrinsic excellence, is fraught with a thousand blessings of liberty and virtue. If however Mr. de Calonne had been able to carry his principle into immediate execution, it would not have fermented so completely, or produced so extensive benefits. His country therefore gained by the disgrace of her most illustrious statesman. Even the persecution, the unjust and virulent persecution that was excited against him, was eminently beneficial. Men in their present imperfect state seem to require the stimulus of resentment and the feelings of injury, to prompt great numbers of them efficiently to co-operate in the production of any thing great and extraordinary. When this temporary error has produced its effect, it is not, to be doubted that it will speedily vanish, and the merits of Mr. de Calonne's administration appear in their genuine lustre. Thus fortunately circumstanced, there was only one thing wanting to complete his character. It was, that he should have loved the liberty of which he was the author.

The edicts of land-tax and stamp duty appeared from the press on the eleventh of August; and, the publication

lication being taken into the consideration of the parliament and peers on the thirteenth, they came to a resolution still more strongly expressive of their determined opposition to these measures. They declared that the publication (though the edict were expressly mentioned to be registered in a bed of justice, and though the printed minutes contained the parliamentary resolution of the fifth instant) was calculated to deceive; that the compulsory presence of the parliament in a scene to which they had brought nothing but their silent affliction and regrets, and the empty form of directing the keeper of the seals to collect the opinion of an assembly where no man gave his voice, could not give authenticity to the register, or confer upon the king a legal right of taxation. They therefore declared, what they styled the clandestine distribution of these edicts, null and illegal, and of consequence incapable to deprive the nation of its rights, and authorise a subsidy which would be contrary to all the principles maxims and practices of the kingdom. Beside these declarations, the resolution reiterated in its body the objections to the new imposts, which objections were remarked by the adversaries of the parliament to partake of an aristocratical spirit, as they dwelled with great emphasis on the supposed injustice of obliging a gentleman to pay a tax upon his country house and adjoining fields, while they over looked similar or nearly similar remarks that would have applied to the citizen and the farmer. The persons who principally distinguished themselves in these debates, appear to have been the abbé Sabatier de la Cabre, who first moved the question upon the states-general, and Mr. d'Espremesnil, who particularly engrossed the idolatry of

the common people and the enthusiastic friends of the parliamentary cause.

On the fourteenth the king annulled the resolution which had been voted by the parliament against Mr. de Calonne, evoking the question to be heard before himself in council; and on the following day letters patent and lettres de cachet were executed against the parliament of Paris and its members, translating their sittings to Troyes in Champagne, about one hundred miles from Paris. The letters patent were registered in parliament on the twenty-second, upon which occasion they recapitulated a part of the principles upon which they professed to have acted, and resolved to send circular letters to the princes and peers to notify their intention of resuming their deliberations. On the twenty-seventh they accordingly proceeded to a still farther resolution, in which, after again stating the necessity of having recourse to the states-general, they remarked, that the French monarchy would be reduced to a state of despotism, if it were true that ministers, abusing the authority of the king, might dispose of men's persons by lettres de cachet, of their property by beds of justice, of causes civil and criminal by annullings and evocations, and suspend the course of justice by particular exiles or arbitrary translation. They added, that they persisted in the principles they had maintained, and would not cease to watch, at the expence individually of their lives and fortunes, over all such concerns as might interest the service of the king and the tranquillity of his subjects.

It presently appeared that the parliament had not been mistaken in the policy they adopted. All France seemed to interest itself in their disgrace. It was not in vain that

that they had departed from the system of their apparent interest, and claimed the convocation of the states-general. The desire which they expressed appears to have been the wish of a great majority of the nation; and their countrymen in general were deeply impressed with gratitude for their exertions and admiration of their heroism. But, beside these general considerations, there were specific circumstances, which rendered them secure of a respectable support. The parliament of Paris constitutes as it were a common head to various courts of great antiquity resident in the capital, as well as to the different parliaments and courts of law distributed in the several provinces of the kingdom. It was reasonable to expect that these corps would not desert their principal in the great cause in which it was embarked, or suffer the present opportunity to escape them of acquiring additional weight and importance to all the law officers of the kingdom. The absence of the parliament from the capital was a real grievance, and a serious impediment to the administration of justice. If this should even be deemed a slight inconvenience to persons having recourse to legal redress, it was not however felt to be such by the members of the profession, whose fees and emoluments were by this circumstance entirely suspended.

The first symptoms of this spirit appeared in the chamber of accounts and the court of aids, when monsieur and the count d'Artois went respectively, on the seventeenth of August, to enter in a summary way the two celebrated edicts in the registers of these bodies. Upon this occasion the first presidents of each of the courts declared the dissent of their colleagues from the measures

pursued, and complained of the irregularity of the procedure in registering laws, which, at the same time that they had not been communicated to them for any previous examination, were already before the public through the medium of the press. The chamber of accounts came to a resolution that very afternoon, in which, in imitation of the parliament, they declared the registry null and illegal, and expressed their determination to solicit the recall of that body by the sovereign. The court of aids adopted on the following day, by an unanimous vote, a similar resolution. The Châtelet, the mint, and the board for administering the royal forests, also solicited the recall of the parliament.

No longer period of time elapsed than the respective distances of place made necessary, before a majority of the rural parliaments appeared to adopt the sentiments of the metropolitan, and that in some cases in language more vehement and unqualified than had been employed in the former instance. The parliaments of Rennes and Rouen resolved to address the king to recall the parliament of Paris, and expressed a general approbation of the conduct of that body. The former of them was not contented with this, but proceeded to censure a performance which had been published in favour of the sentiments of administration, and ordered it to be burned by the common hangman.

The parliament of Grenoble in Dauphiné was particularly distinguished for the energy of its style, and the intrepidity of its assertions. They stated, that the contributions of the people of France already exceeded two thirds of the whole income of her soil, that no remedy could

could be found to the present derangement of her finances but economy, and that this remedy impartially applied would be amply sufficient. They asserted, that the rights of property were equally sacred and secured by the same laws as the right of the king to the throne; and that, till within a period of one hundred and fifty years, the principle of the French constitution had constantly been, that, "no subsidy could be imposed or levied upon the people, even in cases of necessity or utility, but by the grant of the states-general." They quoted the *Compte Rendu* of Mr. Necker to prove that in 1781 the ordinary expenditure fell short of the revenue; and concluded, that since that time a malevolent genius had loaded the people with an additional burthen of 10,000,000*l.* sterling; that a vicious administration had inflicted upon the state a deeper wound than the longest and most unfortunate war would have produced; and that the incredible fruit of a momentary dissipation exceeded all that Louis the Fourteenth had imposed in a magnificent, a warlike, and, in one part, a calamitous reign of seventy-two years. It would be difficult, in collecting all the dilapidations of fourteen centuries from the erection of the monarchy, to compose a sum so enormous as that which had thus disappeared in a period of less than four years. From all these considerations they determined to request the king to recal his parliament of Paris, that they might continue their judicial functions, and particularly the prosecution they had commenced against Mr. de Calonne, and immediately to assemble the states-general, subjoining the impossibility under which the courts laboured, of pro-

ceeding to register any new taxes, till they had first obtained the consent of the nation.

The parliament of Toulouse and the parliament of Besançon expressed the same sentiments, each of them occasionally rising upon the model that had been afforded them by the parliament of Grenoble. The latter, in condemning the emission of *lettres de cachet*, which they declared contrary to the ordinances of the kingdom, observed, that the Parisian magistrates ought to have yielded no sort of obedience to them. The parliament of Toulouse estimated the existing taxes at three fourths of the landed income of the kingdom; and spoke of Mr. de Calonne as a man destitute of honour and shame, an impostor and a robber, whose punishment ought to be made an example to all future defaulters. The sentiments they expressed on the subject of liberty are entitled to applause. They declared, that the kings of France had never pretended to adorn their sceptre with the extorted privileges of the nation; that at all events force and violence could never be made the foundation of right; that, property being the essential possession of a free people, arbitrary taxation was to be regarded as the symbol of vassalage; that to assume it, would be to exchange the glorious title of king of the Franks for that of a king of slaves; that it could not enter into the heart of the sovereign, after having broken the chains of a foreign people, to forge them for his own; that it could not even be his interest to reign over a people, whose condition would be so much the more unfortunate, as they would have a master uncharged with the care of their subsistence, and would be

at once exposed to the inconveniences of liberty and the miseries of servitude.

While the parliament of Paris was engaged in opposing certain unpopular taxes, and many other courts of justice dispersed through the kingdom deemed it incumbent upon them to vindicate the principles which had occasioned its exile, the parliament of Bourdeaux, from a very different cause, was involved in a similar fate. It was natural for these assemblies to regard with a jealous eye the institution of other administrations in their neighbourhood, and to fear lest these new establishments might detract from their prerogatives, or participate in their credit. In other places however a respect for the general welfare, or a politic conformity to general opinion, silenced the reclamations of private interest, and the edict for the introduction of provincial assemblies was registered with little or no difficulty. The parliament of Bourdeaux seems in this instance to have fallen short of the prudence and sagacity of the other courts, and to have half withdrawn the mask, with which they might be expected to have concealed their motives from common observers. They declined to register the edict for the present, alledging that they could form no sufficient judgment of its character, till the regulations, promised in the body of the law, and which would considerably influence the nature of the institution, were made public.

In this situation the transaction remained till the eighth day of August. In the mean time the provincial assembly was on the point of assembling at Limoges, and the farther provisions for regulating the form of these administrations were

passed in the council of state on the fifth. They are understood however not yet to have reached Bourdeaux, when the parliament on the day we have mentioned came to a resolution, prohibiting all persons, of whatever order, to form themselves into a provincial assembly within its jurisdiction, till the edict creating those assemblies had been duly registered. This was deemed too flagrant an instance of contempt for the civil administration to pass without censure. Their resolution was annulled by an act of the king in council on the twelfth, and letters patent and lettres de cachet were soon after expedited, transferring their sittings from Bourdeaux to Libourne. In the act of council it was alledged, that it was sufficient in any case for the royal pleasure to be known, to prevent any assemblies meeting in pursuance of that pleasure from being deemed illegal. On the part of the parliament it was argued, in their resolution of the eighteenth of August, immediately after the arrival of the letters patent, and previous to their removal to Libourne, that it was altogether unprecedented for an edict to be carried into execution while the question of its registry was actually depending, and that they were bound to resist so irregular a proceeding. They declared the letters of exile issued against them surreptitious, the consent of the sovereign to them having been fraudulently obtained; and they acknowledged that they ought not to have yielded obedience to them. They declared themselves in the highest degree friendly to the institution of provincial assemblies in general, and demanded from the sovereign the convocation of the states general of the kingdom. They asserted their exile to have been intended merely as a political

litical stratagem, to prevent them from discussing the odious taxes that were attempted to be imposed upon the people. They declared beforehand the forcible register, which they understood was to be made of the letters patent by the count de Brienne, commandant of the province, to be null and illegal; and they reiterated this declaration after the register, which took place on the fifth of September. It was upon this occasion that government thought proper to quiet a part of the alarms of the parliament, by declaring, that it was never intended to take advantage of the institution of provincial assemblies, as a means to deprive the courts of justice of their privilege in the register of taxes.

The mutual hostilities of administration on the one part, and of the people of France under the auspices of the parliaments on the other, had reached their crisis previously to the æra of these transactions. It is difficult to say what had been precisely the expectations of the archbishop of Toulouse: but, whatever was their complexion, they were completely disappointed. The parliament of Paris was not moved by his threats and his severities. The other parliaments caught the infection; the flame of opposition and disaffection increased every moment; and the prelate was too sagacious or too timid so much as to think of levying his taxes in the face of the unanimous disapprobation that discovered itself against them. The same wariness however prevented him from adopting a spirited, a decisive, and a graceful mode of proceeding in the contrary direction. He hesitated; he wavered. Alternately he betrayed an inclination to recede, and an inclination to persist. This

irresolution served only to place in a more striking light the imbecility of government, and to encourage every projector to wrest the helm of affairs by violence from the feeble and nerveless hand by which it was conducted.

The first discovery that was made of the disposition of government to relax in its pretensions is to be found in the royal answer to the address of the court of aids, of the twenty-fifth of August. Upon this occasion the king declared his refusal to convoke the states-general, and justified his severity to the parliament of Paris. He observed, that, if the taxes proposed were attended with inconveniences, that body had none but themselves to reproach, they having refused to enter into a regular and systematical examination of the edicts. He was however ready to listen to the observations of the corps that at present addressed him; and he encouraged them to hope every thing from his justice and his love for the people. In his answer to their renewed supplication of the second of September, the king went still farther. He mildly reproached them for not having presented him with a more extensive series of observations upon the edicts; but at the same time promised to suffer them to remain in their present state of non-execution, till the renewal of their sittings in the month of November.

The inconsistency and instability, that characterised the present administration, appeared in all their proceedings. The chamber of accounts adopted nearly at the same time a measure similar to that of the court of aids, and their resolution was not merely not received with the forbearance and kindness which had appeared in the former instance, but

was severely censured and annulled by an order of the king in council on the twenty-third of August. This was done to show, that, while government was compelled to yield to the necessities of the times, it was not however insensible to the unceremoniousness of the treatment and novelty of the maxims offered on the part of the courts; or rather it showed in the most striking light the impotence of the monarchy, desirous but not daring to resist, haunted with internal resentment and defiance, but obliged to exhibit an exterior of submission.

The chamber of accounts, in vindication of their resolution from the censure passed upon it in the council of state, appealed to the votes of the parliament of Paris, which exhibited similar principles, but which had failed to draw down the express indignation of the executive government. Administration was roused by this insinuation, and to vindicate their consistency an order of council was made on the second of September, the day upon which the king delivered his conciliatory answer to the courts of aids, annulling the most considerable hostile resolutions of the parliament of Paris of the preceding month. In this order the edict of November 1774, by which the king soon after his accession had restored the parliaments to their functions, was particularly cited. That regulation provided, that, when the king should think proper, after having replied to the remonstrances of the parliaments, to cause any ordinances, edicts or letters patent to be published and registered, in his presence in the parliament of Paris, or in the presence of persons commissioned by him for the other parliaments, nothing should be permitted to suspend their execution; the right

of farther representations being reserved to the courts, with an express saving that the force of the edicts could in no respect be infringed.

In the present state of affairs a great part of the nation seemed to proceed with a total indifference, bordering upon contempt, for the continual fluctuations of ministerial policy. Addresses poured in from the inferior jurisdictions in the diocese of Paris to the parliament, as the martyrs of the public cause, nor was their series for a moment suspended by the partial concessions of the executive government. In the mean time the language adopted by opposition upon this occasion, the imperfect accents of their rising liberty, did not fail to be strongly tinged with the remains of despotic adulation. The harangue of the deputy of Chateau Thierry deserves to be cited upon this account. "Charged, as I am," said he, "to lay at the feet of this august senate the tribute of our veneration, fidelity and unalterable attachment, together with our most earnest wishes in its behalf, what expressions can do justice to my theme? Charged to dilate upon that meritorious conduct which has won to you the hearts of your country, what eloquence can be worthy of the subject? The eloquence, gentlemen, that lives in my bosom. In that bosom I find concentrated the admiration and the love of France, those altars which time can neither pollute nor destroy. The capital, the nation looks up to you as its tutelar divinity; the bowels of our common father are moved; his goodness can no longer be withheld from appearing. I think I hear the voice that calls you! Why cannot I, like Æneas of old, bear you upon my shoulders, and replace you in that sanctuary, which so many oracles demonstrate

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monstrate

monstrate that justice has chosen for her favourite habitation?"

As the period approached when it seemed probable that government would be compelled to acknowledge its error, there appeared symptoms of a contention and rivalry between the members of administration, which of them should succeed in throwing upon the other the blame of having advised the exile of the parliament. It was industriously reported by the friends of the archbishop, that the measure had originated with Mr. de Lamoignon, keeper of the seals, and had been suggested by motives of personal resentment and vengeance against certain members of that body; as if it could be more injurious to the prelate to suppose that he had been prompted to an impolitic proceeding by an erroneous judgment, than to suppose that he consented to what he knew to be wrong, from a criminal complaisance to his colleague in office. Meanwhile Mr. de Lamoignon, who had probably not been averse to the measure, was induced to sit down in silence under the imputation, and to take upon himself the task of revising and retracting the counsel he was supposed to have given.

It was this moment of humiliation and weakness that was chosen by the archbishop of Toulouse to decorate himself with a new title, and he was promoted on the twenty-seventh of August to the dignity of principal minister of the king of France. This elevation appeared to him the

proper solace and compensation of an imbecil administration, ruined finances, a distracted nation and the annihilation of political consequence among the states of Europe. It was speedily followed by several other promotions; the count de Brienne, the minister's brother, having succeeded marshal Segur as secretary of state for the war department; the count de la Luzerne superseding the marshal de Castries, who had long laboured under a dangerous malady in the marine; and Mr. Lambert being appointed controller general in the room of Mr. de Villedeuil. These resignations might probably be in part occasioned by the etiquette of the French court, no member of the cabinet having a right to an audience, when there is a principal minister, unless that minister be present.

We have now brought down our narrative to the period of the Dutch revolution, and the view we have given of the internal situation of France, will enable the reader to understand the conduct observed by the government of that kingdom in this memorable transaction. France was at this time too deeply embarrassed in the conception of her own illustrious and immortal revolution, to be at liberty to watch over and protect the liberties of foreign nations. We pass from the scene which has so long and so deservedly engrossed our attention to the general affairs of Europe.

CHAP. III.

Projected Exchange of Bavaria. Germanic League. Death of the King of Prussia. Policy of his Successor. Affair of the Princess of Orange. Military Interference of Great Britain and Prussia to adjust the Dissensions of the United Provinces. Alliances and Treaties.

AT the moment that we are writing Joseph the Second emperor of Germany has closed his political career. During a certain period he was regarded, at least by the generality of observers, as a prince of splendid talents and a virtuous propensity. He had the appearance of comprehending and imbibing ideas of no common magnitude, and his heart seemed alive to generous and liberal feelings. But it was not long that he put a deception upon mankind. The versatility and inconstancy of his character soon found an opportunity to display itself. He presents us with a copy of the emperor Caligula without his atrocious cruelties. Restless, perturbed and impatient, active to no end, mutable from a pure aversion to regularity, he was ever engaged in a thousand projects, each of which in its turn was destructive of its predecessor, each of them deserted for some new idea of a more splendid and captivating figure, and not one through the whole course of his reign carried into complete execution.

A character like this in the humbler walks of private life would be wholly unworthy of a moment's attention. But a throne has the privilege to render its possessor, in all cases an object of enquiry, provided his measures, as those of Joseph did, originate principally in the features of his own mind. The prince, of

whom we are speaking, lived in a period of the history of Europe uncommonly critical and interesting; and it is to be hoped that his story will furnish an interesting lesson both to princes and to people. Monarchs may be taught, by the example of a man, who acquired the hatred of his subjects in a degree almost unparalleled in modern story, that caprice is of all defects the greatest that can exist upon a throne, and that nothing can atone for the want of sound, consistent and uniform principles in the science of government. Nations may learn, that the basis of authority exists only in opinion, and that, when their grievances are so considerable as to destroy that foundation, it requires little effort indeed to shake the loftiest throne, however defended by guards and protected by innumerable armies.

In our preceding volumes we have treated of many of the emperor's earlier transactions and designs, the revolutions and reforms he meditated in every part of his dominions, the confiscation of monasteries, the claim of the Schelde, the creation of a new electorate and the election of a king of the Romans. We also mentioned the project of the exchange of Bavaria; but this undertaking, as having occasioned the league of princes for the preservation of the Germanic constitution, and seeming sufficiently calculated to influence in

some degree the future transactions of Europe, is entitled to a more considerable share of our attention.

The first public notice, that was taken of the proceeding, originated from the duke of Deuxponts, nephew and heir to the elector of Bavaria, who in the month of January 1785 communicated to Frederic the Second king of Prussia the result of a conference he had held with count Romanzow, minister plenipotentiary of the court of Russia to the diet of Frankfort, in which that nobleman had acquainted him with the nature of an agreement that had been entered into by the emperor Joseph and his uncle the elector. The substance of this agreement was that the elector should cede to the house of Austria the provinces of Upper and Lower Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, the landgraviate of Leuchtenberg, and the duchies of Newbourg and Sultzbach; and that the emperor should cede in exchange the Aultrian Low Countries together with the advantages expected from Holland, with the exception of the duchy of Luxembourg and the county of Namur, and a reserve in his favour of the artillery and national troops both of Bavaria and the Netherlands, together with a perpetual right of negotiating loans in the latter. The emperor farther stipulated, in favour of the elector and the duke of Deuxponts, a gratuity of 1,715,000*l.* and a promise that he would exert his influence to procure the title of king of Burgundy to be annexed to the new dominions of the elector.

This communication is stated by the king of Prussia as having been accompanied by a declaration from count Romanzow to the duke of Deuxponts, that the treaty was in such forwardness, that it was deter-

mined to carry it in execution, whether they obtained his consent to the exchange or not, the count at the same time allowing the duke only eight days to form his determination. These latter facts are expressly denied by the emperor and virtually by the czarina.

Neither the emperor nor his nephew seems to have been at all prepared for the universal alarm, which the disclosure of this project occasioned through Germany and Europe. Politicians had already conceived a very ill impression of Joseph the Second. He had begun his political career, even before his accession to his hereditary dominions, by a very extraordinary and unprecedented claim upon the succession of Bavaria in 1778; and he appears to have prosecuted this claim in opposition to the inclinations of his mother and sovereign, whom the succession most naturally concerned. His demand of the navigation of the Schelde was of a very bold complexion; and, whatever were the original merits of the question, had certainly been pursued with an unreasonable portion of despotism, dogmatism and haughtiness. He had for some time also been known to have meditated and discussed with the czarina the daring scheme of the conquest of Constantinople, and the entire partition of the Turkish dominions in Europe. A prince, who was neither restrained by the prepossessions of his subjects nor the original projects of his own mind from perpetual and useless innovation, could not be expected to pay much regard to the rights and interests of his neighbours.

His present treaty with the elector was stated by the king of Prussia as of the same character with the treaty he had concluded with that prince

since on the third of January 1778, which the latter had been unaccountably prevailed on to yield two thirds of Bavaria without any compensation, rather than encounter the prompt hostilities of his Austrian rival. The hoary veteran of Berlin had upon that occasion assumed to be the assertor and umpire of the Germanic constitution; and, though age and infirmity had since advanced upon him with rapid progress, he was not less ready than before to assume a lead in the public cause. He stated the exchange to be in the highest degree iniquitous and unequal. The population on both sides was indeed nearly upon a par; but the extent of territory on the side of Bavaria more than doubled that of the Low Countries, and their respective revenues were equally disproportioned. In Bavaria agriculture, commerce and finance were notoriously neglected; in the Austrian dominions on the other hand these resources were extended to their utmost pitch: so that, while the former was capable of the most considerable improvements, the latter, in which the influence of the provincial states was considerable, might rather be expected to decline in political resources. But the circumstance of most considerable importance was stated to be its vicinity to the great body of the Austrian dominions; so that, while the possession of the Netherlands was a consideration of little moment to the Germanic constitution in general, the proposed exchange would secure to the emperor a chain of territory from the banks of the Rhine through a great part of the course of the Danube, and give him a preponderation altogether destructive of the political balance.

The king of Prussia and the duke of Deuxponts were exceedingly industrious in propagating these ideas, and they seem to have been received with cordiality and approbation by the princes of the empire. The alarm that was conceived and the censure that was expressed against the project of exchange produced its full effect upon the negotiating parties, and both the emperor and the elector expressly disavowed their having conceived it, the former in the Munich gazette, and the latter by an instruction to his ambassadors, declaring that he had never made any proposal to the duke of Deuxponts for the exchange of Bavaria, and that he had at no time entertained, did now or ever should entertain any such views as were imputed to him.

It happened however, unfortunately for the honour and character of these sovereign princes, that there were other parties concerned in the negotiation, who either did not act upon the same principles as their German allies, or who had not been sufficiently instructed respecting the conduct they intended to pursue. The treaty had been concluded under the auspices of Russia and France; and to them the king of Prussia addressed his remonstrances, as having been guarantees of the treaty of Teschen in 1779, in which the dominions of the elector palatine had been particularly secured against the encroachments of the emperor. Neither of these courts appears to have conceived the idea of denying the existence of the negotiation; and contented themselves with answering, that the exchange had been proposed as depending upon the voluntary arrangement of the parties, and that as the duke of Deuxponts

had refused his consent, the proposition of course became fruitless. The czarina however warmly defended the equity of the measure.

Frederic in the mean time did not confine his views to the subject which had immediately given rise to his jealousy, but determined out of this particular occasion to originate a general principle, that should apply to all future transactions of a similar nature. He desired, in the close of a long life, which had been crowded with great public transactions, to leave as it were to his successors a legacy of principles, the tendency of which should be to perpetuate the present political situation of his country: and he accordingly exerted himself with great assiduity in negotiating with the electors of Hanover and Saxony a league, for the preservation of the Germanic constitution, and particularly to prevent such cessions and exchanges of territory, as were contrary to the Golden Bull and other great chartularies, or might be supposed injurious to the balance of power in the empire. This treaty, the articles of which have never been made public, was concluded on the twenty-third of July 1735, and among the princes reported to have acceded to it, the names of some of whom however are to be regarded as doubtful, have been enumerated the elector of Mentz, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswic, the dukes of Weimar and Saxe Gotha and the prince of Anhalt. The British ministry appear to have entered into the transaction with particular readiness, and it is from this period that we are to date the intimate connexion between the courts of London and Berlin, which has already produced considerable consequences. The landgrave of Hesse died on the

thirty-first of October following, and was succeeded by his son; but this event seems to have produced no alteration in the political connexions of that country.

The emperor was not idle during these transactions, nor did he regard the politics of Prussia with a favourable eye. Prince Kaunitz, his prime minister, during the period in which the league was negotiating, addressed in the month of June two several letters to the imperial ambassadors in the different courts of the empire, which were afterwards made public, directing them to remonstrate against the irregular and hostile nature of the league, which could not but be regarded as personal to the emperor himself. With respect to Joseph, he had during a considerable part of this period been absent in an excursion to the states of Italy, and did not return to his capital till a few weeks before the signing of the treaty. The measure itself was vindicated by its royal author in a circular letter to the courts of Germany on the tenth of August, and in a similar address to the different states of Europe of the twenty-third of that month.

These papers produced a prolix and laborious reply on the part of the court of Vienna, and a rejoinder equally tedious from the Prussian government. The emperor particularly exerted himself to prove, that there was nothing in the meditated exchange contrary either to natural right or the laws of the empire, and that of consequence the confederation of princes was to be regarded as an unjust abridgment of the prerogative of sovereigns, and a conspiracy of a part of a great political body to rule over and dictate to the whole. No peace could ever be negotiated among contending powers,

if the party, that was the loser in the contest, had not the power of ceding to the victorious adversary a part of those dominions under the sanction of a treaty, which had been wrested from him by the violence of war. There was indeed an article in the Golden Bull, which forbade to an elector of the empire the alienation of the dominions that entitled him to that privilege. But in answer to this it was alledged by the emperor, that Bavaria had not been raised to the rank of an electorate, an assertion which was controverted by the king of Prussia, till after the promulgation of the Golden Bull; and he denied, that the chartulary could intend to provide for perpetuating any forms of election, that had not existed nor even been in contemplation till a more recent period. It had farther been said, that certain treaties stipulated for the entail and indivisibility of the Bavarian dominions; but in answer to these the emperor produced the treaty of Baden of 1714, expressly providing and permitting an exchange, at a time when it was supposed that the elector, in consequence of some miscarriages and disappointments, would desire wholly to withdraw himself from his hereditary dominions. He added, that the guarantee of other powers in a question of this nature was only intended to secure the execution of certain family settlements and compacts, and could never be of validity to prevent the family by mutual consent from changing those settlements. Finally he quoted the compact of the Bavarian family in the year 1771, in which it had been directly stipulated, that such exchanges as were dictated by necessity or led to obvious advantage should be regarded as valid.

Such are the outlines of one of the last transactions of a monarch, whose abilities have seldom been equalled by the hereditary possessor of a throne, and whose history, as exhibiting an interesting specimen of the application of shining talents to the direction of a despotic government, will long be studied by all those, who deem human transactions and the strength and weakness of human understanding a subject worthy of their speculations. We have already related in our narrative of the dissensions of the United Provinces, his attempt in the close of this year to settle the distracted affairs of that unfortunate republic. The remainder of his life was distinguished by no very considerable public transaction. He was seized about this time with a complication of disorders, and it became evident that he could not long struggle with the infirmities of age and the encroachments of disease. In the mean time he rather hastened the close of the eventful scene, by refusing to employ the proper precautions of regimen and diet, and rather choosing to indulge to the impatience of his temper and the gratification of his appetite. Frederic the Second expired on the seventeenth of August 1786.

The accession of his nephew, who succeeded to the throne by the appellation of Frederic William the Second, was not immediately attended with any remarkable event. The new king was not even suspected of possessing any extraordinary degree of abilities. Those persons however, who had figured to themselves the Prussian monarchy as a sort of fairy creation, too weak in its foundations and disjointed in its structure, not immediately to fall to pieces,

pieces, when the hand that sustained it was removed, found themselves disappointed. The emperor indeed is said to have entertained views upon Silesia, a province which had been so unjustly wrested from his predecessors by the late monarch. But upon maturer consideration he found something so formidable and strong in the power by which it was retained, that he did not think it advisable to make the attempt. On the other hand it had been conceived by those who principally desired such an event, that the present moment was the period, in which a military interference might be expected on the part of the Prussian monarch in favour of the stadtholder of the United Provinces. The late king, they said, had been restrained by nothing but the infirmity and unenterprising spirit of advanced age from taking an active share in the contest; and Frederic William had an additional motive to this proceeding, as the princess of Orange, whom the quarrel principally interested, was his sister. It was not however thought advisable in the commencement of a new reign to engage in so arduous a transaction.

There were three persons, who were named by speculative enquirers, as the probable ministers of the new sovereign. The first of these was prince Henry, his uncle, who had distinguished himself with reputation in the wars of Frederic, and who was at the head of what was styled the French party in the court of Berlin. But the king appears to have entertained no particular kindness for his uncle, and that prince is said not to have proceeded with the caution, judgment and address, which would have been necessary to secure his advancement. The se-

cond candidate was baron de Hertzberg, the most active minister of the late king, and who is known throughout Europe for his annual panegyrics, printed in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy, upon the government of his master. Hertzberg was the advocate of the stadtholderian cause, and the determined adversary of the intrigues of France in favour of the opposite party. He appears to have fallen into many of the same errors of rashness, indiscretion and vanity as prince Henry his rival; but they produced an effect less disadvantageous to him, as his character and rank rendered him less formidable to the prince on the throne. The last of those persons who seemed to have a natural pretence to the sole administration was the duke of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle, brother-in-law to the king of England, and a general in the service of the king of Prussia. This prince has been supposed to be the most accomplished soldier in Europe; and he adds to this merit many of the qualifications of a statesman. He appears to possess in no common degree the art of gaining the affections and modelling the inclinations of the persons with whom he has to transact; and the affairs of his domestic government are administered with the most scrupulous punctuality and economy.

The personal character of the king appears to have decided the question among these powerful rivals. Destitute of talents, of energy and virtue, he desired however to affect the possession of every one of them. At the same time therefore that he felt an unconquerable aversion to business, he was determined not to have a principal minister. This resolution altogether cut off at least for the

the present the pretensions of prince Henry and the duke of Brunswic. The moment they were called into office, the king must of necessity dwindle into a cypher. Nor did Hertzberg himself obtain a decisive victory. He was permitted to continue in office, and appears to have possessed as much influence as any of the ostensible ministers of the king. But his recommendations were frequently superseded, and his measures thwarted, particularly his favourite plan of a war in Holland.

The government of Frederic William commenced, as from these preliminaries may easily be imagined, rather with the affectation and appearances of wise and spirited proceedings, than with the reality. The air was particularly studied of remedying the errors and counteracting the predilections of the late king. The component members of administration remained indeed for the most part the same, but many lesser changes were carefully introduced. The judges, who had suffered in the affair of the miller Arnold, where the late king seems to have been at first seduced by the appearance of innocence in the sufferer, and it is to be feared persisted from the contemptible cowardice of not daring to avow his mistake, were restored or acquitted. German literature had been treated with neglect and contempt from an undue partiality to the literature of France, and in order to prove the equity of the successor, a pension was bestowed upon Rammler, a German poet, and loud professions disseminated of patronage to the learned of that country. The receipts of the Prussian treasury had been known for several years to have exceeded the expendi-

ture, and this circumstance afforded an opportunity of displaying the royal humanity and attention to the welfare of the people. A part of the taxes of government had been collected in the late reign under a system, borrowed from France, and known by the appellation of *régie*, most of the collectors being also natives of that country. This *régie* was abolished, and an intention professed of substituting a more liberal mode of collection in the hands of natives. Nor did government stop here. A commission was issued to investigate the vices of the *régie*; and the measures of its principal conductor, who, while by cruel and tyrannical methods he filled the public treasury, was supposed by speculation to have converted certain sums to his private emolument, were scrutinised with great severity. Lastly, whereas Frederic the Second had transacted business separately with the several departments of administration, it was now thought proper to restore an institution, called the grand directory, by which the ministers deliberated in concert upon the measures of government. This last change seems rather to have taken place in appearance than in reality.

One of the topics, respecting which the late king had been most remarkably ill-informed, was that of commerce. He had upon all occasions been the friend of privileges and monopoly, and appears to have conceived, that he could not more effectually contribute to the wealth of his dominions, than by curbing the efforts of his subjects with a thousand artificial and unnatural limitations. This subject very properly occupied a part of the politics of the new reign. Together with the *régie* fell the monopoly of tobacco and

and the monopoly of coffee; but by this alteration the revenue was said to be a considerable loser, and it was thought necessary in part at least to indemnify government for the sacrifice that was made. For this purpose a capitation or poll-tax upon the heads of families was introduced, an imposition, the most unpopular in its principle and the most oppressive in its operation that could well have been devised. This, as partaking of the nature of a commutation, was probably supposed not to contravene the extraordinary declaration of the king's minister, appointed for that purpose to the states of Brandenburg on the accession, that the business of the present reign should be, without imposing any new taxes, to lighten as much as possible the burthen and amount of those which already existed. About the same time a resolution was adopted at the instigation of general Moellendorf, one of the first military characters of Prussia, to abolish an iniquitous contribution called *le verd*, by which, under pretext of inuring the cavalry to the practice of foraging, the lands of the inhabitants were liable to be pillaged during three months of the year under the sanction of sovereign authority.

We have mentioned the ineffectual efforts of Hertzberg to induce Frederic William to commence his career with a war in Holland for the support of his brother-in-law the stadtholder. But, though his arguments did not appear for the present to coincide with the inclinations of his master, he was not however in every respect unsuccessful. The selection of the count de Goertz, to announce the king's ac-

cession to the assembly of the states general, was conceived to be made at his nomination; and this measure produced a sort of amicable conferences on the part of Prussia and France, between that nobleman on one hand and Mr. de Rayneval on the other, which consumed the remainder of the year 1786, and from which some hopes had been conceived of adjusting these long and complicated dissensions. They broke off in January 1787 with mutual dissatisfaction on both sides, each being disgusted with the conduct of the stadtholder, whose measures were characterised by a folly and precipitation, that did not conciliate the esteem of any party to his personal character.

The court of London seems during this period to have acted a part similar to that of the Prussian minister, and to have signified to the court of Berlin, that, if they were willing to decide by military force upon the dissensions of Holland, they might depend upon the British government for a zealous and active co-operation*. So forward were we within a period of three years from the present time to trample upon and destroy the immunities and liberty of every country but our own! Nor is this to be imputed as an individual fault to the persons who held the reins of government: the people of England, and every political party among us, influenced it should seem by certain chimerical ideas respecting the balance of Europe, strove with each other who should be most eager and distinguished in asserting the cause of despotism, and rivetting the chains of slavery upon our republican neighbours.

* *Histoire Secrete de la Cour de Berlin*, vol. ii. lettre 37.

In the mean time the politics of Prussia were cautious, and probably irresolute. But, though irresolution can scarcely give us in any case a favourable impression of the mind that is under its influence, it produced in the present instance many of the effects of prudence. The impoverished state of the French finances had now begun to display itself, and that celebrated people became every moment weaker in their government and more embarrassed in their situation. In the mean time they were the enemy, from whom the party of the stadtholderians had the most to fear. Almost from the commencement of the Dutch republic they had favoured the oligarchical branch of its government: their activity in this respect had rather increased than diminished during the present dissensions, and the patriots built with the utmost confidence upon the interference of France, as a complete balance to any violence they might apprehend from their neighbours. This confidence seemed every day to become more precarious.

We left the Dutch in our register for the year 1787, after a long period of violent and angry contention, preparing on both sides to decide their differences with the sword. The stadtholder had marched his little army to the neighbourhood of Utrecht, a city that had been the centre and spring of democratical principles and generous exertion. The inhabitants however had taken the sage precaution of detaining within their walls the wives and children of the members of the pretended provincial states residing at Amersfort, most of whom were inhabitants of the capital; and this circumstance, together with the smallness of the forces on either side and the accurate balance

of parties, held the decision in suspense, and for the most part restricted the war to petty skirmishes and the contest of corruption.

The stadtholderian treasury was probably supplied with resources by his political allies, the monarchs of Great Britain and Prussia; the assembly of the states general, after having long maintained a cautious neutrality upon the subject, had lately declared in his favour; and these considerations had turned the balance of pecuniary seduction among the military altogether in his favour. To remedy this, the city of Utrecht, the capital of the province of that name, and whose relative importance was so great, that it had sometimes been asserted, that their deputies alone formed the provincial states, and that those of Amersfort, Wyk, Montfort and Rhenen were admitted merely as assessors, thought proper to proceed one step farther than it had yet done. Their senate had already declared the assembly of Amersfort null and illegal; they had refused to suffer their quota of revenue to remain at the disposal of that meeting; and they now undertook to revive the provincial assembly within their walls, which they represented as having laid dormant, since the secession of the pretended states to the town of Amersfort.

The first act of the new states, which met on the eleventh of June 1787, was to elect deputies to the assembly of the states general. The provinces, which had avowedly enlisted themselves on either side, were Holland, Overijssel and Groningen for the reformation of abuses, and Guelderland, Zealand and Friesland for maintaining the constitution in the form in which it had lately been practised.

practised. The nominal states of Utrecht resident at Amersfort formed the casting voice; and, if by the present proceeding the inhabitants of the metropolis could either turn out their adversaries, and change the vote of Utrecht from a stadtholderian voice to a patriotic one, or if, being admitted to balance the deputies from Amersfort, they could reduce the vote of the province to practical inefficiency, they would in either case deprive the house of Orange of that countenance of the states general, which gave to their cause a plausibility among foreign powers, and decided upon the event of many important questions among themselves.

We are unable to account for the manœuvre by which these deputies immediately upon their arrival at the Hague were admitted into the assembly of the states general, and that even to the exclusion of those of Amersfort, so that the majority of this important body instantly reverted from the party of the stadtholder to that of his adversaries. The first measure adopted by them in this situation was to issue their mandate to the troops in the service of Holland, directing them in all cases to yield an unreserved obedience to the orders of their provincial representatives. The council of state however, the ordinary medium of the executive government, refused to transmit this mandate; and the states general themselves speedily reverted to their former line of proceeding. They did not indeed think proper to expel the deputies of the city of Utrecht, that had once been admitted, but the deputies of Amersfort were authorised to sit with them, and, being reinforced by a fresh deputation from the same quarter, outvoted their com-

petitors, and restored the voice of the province to the stadtholderian party. The transaction however seems upon the whole to have been advantageous to the opposition, the assembly now obviously bearing the appearance of an equal division, and the stadtholderian members not adventuring in this enfeebled state to adopt any peremptory measures.

But the fatal event, which was ultimately to destroy the prospects of liberty in Holland, now began to disclose itself. The court of Great Britain may be supposed to have been industrious in urging upon the king of Prussia the project they had suggested in the commencement of his reign; and the more cautious cabinet of Berlin was continually instigated by the political situation of France to lend a more favourable hearing to the proposition. The more evident it became that Versailles would scarcely venture to interfere, the more influential in the breast of Frederic William were the motives of fraternal regard, ambition and imaginary policy. The ambassadors of London and Berlin concurred towards the close of May in delivering in memorials to the states general, in which they urged in stronger terms than they had hitherto done, their mortification and sorrow at beholding the prince of Orange still suffering under the oppression of a party, which had been formed for the destruction of his prerogatives. They declared, that it was impossible for them to witness the injuries sustained by the stadtholder with indifference, and offered their mediation to adjust the dissensions of the republic. The states of Holland it may be supposed did not regard these advances with cordiality, and having voted that they would apply to no mediator but the king

of France, communicated their resolution to the ambassador of that monarch.

The incident, which decided upon the issue of these transactions, is involved in ambiguity and mystery. The prince of Orange returned in the close of June from his camp of Zeist in the neighbourhood of Utrecht to his residence at Nimeguen. He remained there only a few days, and, departing for Amersfort, the princess, his consort, set out at the same time upon a journey to the Hague. Her character had long been known to be masculine, active and adventurous. She had appeared as the principal figure in all negotiations between the prince and his adversaries, and the great constitutional questions that were at issue seemed rather to concern the princess than her husband. Bold therefore and extraordinary measures might be expected from her. But in this proceeding there was something so unexpected and peculiar, that it was impossible not to consider it as flowing from some unknown spring, which alone could reconcile so unaccountable a phenomenon. The princess, when she undertook to explain the motives of her journey, declared, that she had adopted the idea with no view, than by her personal intervention to prevent the disasters of a civil war, and to adjust the differences that had arisen respecting the constitution of the state. But in what way could her appearance at the Hague contribute to these purposes? Did she flatter herself, that her personal attractions or the charms of her eloquence were to annihilate at once the dictates of interest and the empire of prejudice? Again, could secrecy be in any way necessary to such an undertaking?

She intended immediately upon her arrival to have signified her errand to the states general and the states of Holland. Why not make this communication before she set out? Were they to be taken by surprise? Could she hope, in the present state of hostility, to make a journey from one side of the province of Holland to another without being even perceived by the enemy?

It might perhaps be thought a degree of over-refinement to suppose, that the journey of the princess was intended to produce the consequences that actually followed; that England and Prussia at length concurred in their desire of settling the contentions of Holland by arms, but that they conceived something more was necessary to justify their proceedings in the eyes of Europe, than the supposed injuries inflicted upon the stadtholder in the character of first magistrate of the republic. Such an idea, if it could be admitted, would indeed expose to equal contempt the courts that conceived such a project, and the princess that executed it. It would teach us to look upon politics as a sort of dexterous game, the perfection of which is supposed to lie in falsehood and hypocrisy, and the making men believe our intentions to be other than they are. In that case the heroine of the scene, while she pretended every friendly and philanthropical purpose, and would be thought anxious to remove by the gentlest means the calamities of her country, was in reality the incendiary to scatter the firebrands of war, and, in revenge for her supposed injuries, to expose the republic to an insolent and arbitrary conqueror.

Meanwhile it is easy to imagine the construction that would be put upon

upon it by the adverse party. In the present divided and doubtful state of affairs it was impossible for them not to be attentive and suspicious, and they could not but regard the clandestine approach of their most artful and formidable adversary to the seat of government with an eye of jealousy. The friends of the stadtholder, especially among the lower class, were numerous even in the province of Holland, and the inhabitants of the Hague were particularly attached to his cause. Tumult and violence had through the whole history of the republic been the engines of the stadtholderian cause, and were dangers particularly apprehended by the patriots of Holland. These they conceived to be the inevitable consequences of the sudden and unexpected appearance of the princefs of Orange; and with this as a principle they presently concluded, that the design was to overturn their labours by a coup de main, and by the artful intervention of a mob to effect an universal revolution in favour of the stadtholder. Certain events, whether casually or by design, occurred at this time, which seemed to justify their suspicions. Riots were committed in the close of the month of June nearly at the same period at Nimeguen, Arnheim, Doesburg, Zutphen, Thiel, Bommel, Helvoet, Breda and Middleburg, attended with insult to the persons of the patriots, and the destruction of their property and houses.

It was therefore natural that the princefs should be stopped in her progress by the officers of the republic, and that their conduct in this respect should be approved by the provincial assembly. Relays of horses had been provided for herself and

her train, consisting of four coaches and this circumstance had first given suspicion to the neighbouring peasantry. The field deputies at Woerden immediately detached a party of infantry and twenty horse, who stationed themselves upon the road from Schoonhoven to Gouda. By this party the princefs's journey was intercepted on the twenty-eighth of June, and two of the deputies from Woerden appearing presently after, obliged her to return immediately to Schoonhoven. From that place she wrote letters to the secretary of the states general and the grand pensionary of Holland, desiring the former to communicate what had happened to the superior assembly, and expressing to the latter her inclination to continue her journey to the Hague. The states general enforced to the provincial assembly the demands of the princefs; but the latter came to no farther resolution, than that of taking the letter of the princefs ad referendum; to be examined by their constituents of the different towns of Holland, and declaring their approbation of the conduct of their deputies. Upon this intelligence the princefs returned to Nimeguen, from whence she addressed a letter in terms of strong remonstrance to the states of Holland, complaining, that, while they refused her demand of being permitted to proceed, they publicly manifested a distrust of her word and the sincerity of her intentions. She demanded an ample and public reparation for the affront she had sustained; and she declared, that from this moment the consequences, that were so much to be feared, and that she had flattered herself to have prevented by her intervention, must all be charged upon those, who had counteracted her

er efforts, and secured to themselves an influence that would be fatal to their country. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the humiliating resolutions and insulting treatment of the states of Holland, she was still ardently attached to the country in general, and the people from whom she had received so many marks of affection.

The military interference of the king of Prussia appears to have been already decided on, and accordingly a few days only elapsed after this memorable transaction, before his troops were put in motion, and their march directed to Cleves, a ducal city of the Prussian dominions in the west of Germany. This measure was accompanied with a numerous promotion of military officers, at the head of which was the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle commander in chief. It was not till after some progress had been made in these preparations, that the Prussian ambassador delivered in a memorial, dated on the tenth of July, to the states of Holland, in which the king expressed his extreme sensibility to the outrage that had been committed on the person of his sister; and insisted in the strongest and most urgent manner upon a public satisfaction for the injury, and the punishment of those by whom it had been committed.

The answer of the states of Holland displayed a sufficient degree of firmness and intrepidity. They declared, that they had too much respect for the king and his illustrious house, to have endured the commission of any outrage against the person of the princess; adding at the same time, that they trusted that the king would treat them as became a sovereign state, and that

they could not believe that he intended to elevate his sister above the constitutional sovereign. Had they been previously acquainted with her intention, they would have remonstrated to her the disaffection the stadtholder had displayed against the sovereign authority, the different manœuvres adopted by his party on the very day the princess set out for the Hague, and the distracted state of the country in general, as reasons to induce her to desist from her enterprise. With respect to the conduct of their deputies they observed, that, charged as they were to watch against every occasion of disorder, they had been unable to act otherwise than they had done; the whole transaction had been equally decent and respectful towards the princess; and the states found themselves incapable of punishing a conduct, that had probably prevented the seat of their residence from being made a scene of tumult and confusion.

It was in the midst of this transaction, that the states of Holland presented to the states general their proposal for soliciting the mediation of the court of Versailles, the resolution for that purpose, though it had been long in agitation, not having been ultimately adopted by the provincial assembly till the sixth of July. The French ambassador, in perfect concert, as it should seem, with this great body, presented on the eighteenth a memorial to the states general, in which he declared the king to be highly sensible of this mark of the confidence of the republic, and ready to co-operate by every means in his power for the restoration of harmony and peace. He accordingly suggested the propriety of the states general interfering to
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put an immediate stop to the hostile proceedings of several of the provinces. In the mean time, that France might not be behind-hand with Prussia, her representations were supported by certain military operations, and a body of fourteen thousand men was ordered to assemble near Givet in the bishopric of Liege, under the direction of the count de Rochambeau, late commander in chief of the French auxiliaries in North America.

The two parties that divided the republic daily assumed a more menacing appearance. The adventure of the princefs was immediately succeeded by the surprise of Wyk on the part of the stadtholder. This place, though of considerable importance, as being one of the keys of the sluices, which by their fitness for artificial inundation constituted the natural defence of the province, was found entirely unprovided with the means of resistance. Its garrison did not amount to more than one hundred men, and it surrendered without striking a blow. A similar success attended upon the stadtholderian expeditions against Hasselt and Harderwyk. At Deventer the capital of the province of Overysse they were repulsed; Hasselt was soon after recovered by the patriots; and they were also fortunate in a sally from the garrison of Utrecht, which is said to have produced a desertion of two hundred men from the stadtholderian army. These desertions had already commenced in consequence of an increase of pay that was voted to the military by the states of Holland. The manœuvres of the stadtholder were probably at this time taken under the direction of the Prussian generals.

On the fourth of August an ad-

dress was presented to the states of Holland by the armed volunteers of the provinces, requiring that, as they had already suspended the prince of Orange from the office of commander in chief, they would now, upon the eve of the probable commencement of hostilities, also suspend him from the functions of stadtholder and admiral general. The proposition being taken ad referendum, was almost immediately adopted by the senate of Amsterdam, and by the fourteenth nine towns had declared in favour of the suspension. But the more urgent considerations, which at this time began to engross the attention of the states, prevented the question from ever being brought to an ultimate decision. Meantime the state of affairs, which daily became more perilous and alarming, inspired mistrust and lukewarmness into the least zealous of the republican party; and the majority in the provincial assembly, which had lately consisted of thirteen voices to six, became now reduced to eleven. To prevent the fatal consequences of this change, the camp formed at Woerden was ordered to make a circuitous progress through the province, and under their influence the town councils were changed, particularly at Delft and Hoorn; the more considerable towns remaining unalterably attached to the patriotic party. By the same means the rural associations in favour of the stadtholder were overpowered and dispersed; and the inhabitants of the Hague kept in awe, who seem to have displayed a continual disposition to enforce the cause of the prince by riot and disorder. Friesland, a province immemorably distinguished by an ardent zeal for liberty, and which appears

some late transactions to have been rather overborne by cabal, than converted in disposition, endeavoured to resume its former independence. Franeker in particular declared itself in favour of the democratical cause, and an assembly of states was convened in that place in the beginning of September, by which that province seemed likely to be brought into a situation not less divided than that of the province of Utrecht. Preparations were made about the end of August for the siege of Utrecht; batteries were directed on each side, and some innovations effected. But both sides were unwilling to proceed to extremities, and waited with anxious suspense for that interference of foreign powers, which seemed every day to become more inevitable.

A second memorial of the king of Prussia upon the subject of the treatment experienced by his sister was delivered to the states of Holland on the third of August. He declared, that he regarded the suspicions of tumult to have taken place at the Hague on the arrival of the princess, which were announced in the answer to his former memorial, as a new offence. He insisted upon a peremptory and complete satisfaction, and added, that he expected from their prudence and their farther deliberations upon the subject an immediate and unequivocal answer. In the mean time the dispute was put into a seeming train of negotiation, or rather a hostile consultation was held at Nimeguen respecting the most ready and effectual means of reducing the states of Holland to discretionary submission. In this consultation the duke of Brunswick assisted on the part of the king of Prussia, and Mr. James Grenville,

1789.

cousin to the marquis of Buckingham, on the part of Great Britain. The ultimatum of the king of Prussia is said to have been; a request from the states of Holland to the princess of Orange that she would visit their province, the restoration of the stadtholder to all his constitutional functions and to the command of the garrison of the Hague, the recall of the troops of Holland from the territories of the province of Utrecht, and the appointment of mediators to sit at Utrecht for adjusting the disputes of that province, two of them to be selected from among the deputies in the states general, their deliberations to be held in concert with the courts of Prussia, England and France, whose interference had been demanded, and their decision to be final. The states of Holland were required to answer these propositions in fourteen days, the congress of mediation if it took place was to assemble in six weeks, and their consultations to terminate in three months from their commencement.

A circumstance took place at this time for which it is not easy to assign a sufficient reason, but which is probably to be traced to the inconsistent and wavering character of the archbishop of Toulouse. The marquis de Verac, who had for some time been the French ambassador at the Hague, who had under former administrations assisted the cabals of opposition in the states of Holland, and for that reason was looked up to by the republican party as a principal source of their confidence, was recalled home. Perhaps this measure was intended as a lesson to the party to warn them to greater temper and moderation in their proceedings. But it did not produce that effect. France had originally

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ginally assisted in blowing up the flame of civil discord, but it was not in the power of France to extinguish it. It however effected another purpose. It enabled all Europe to predict, what the French administration itself was probably unable to predict, that it was uncertain whether the French would at all co-operate with their Belgic allies, but that, if they did, their co-operation would be feeble, tardy, irresolute and ineffectual.

The allies of the stadtholder, being thus eventually delivered from all apprehensions of speedy hostility on the part of France, had still however something to apprehend from other European powers, and particularly from the emperor. This prince, who could not but behold with a jealous eye every accession of power in the scale of Prussia, is said to have already signified to that court, that he could not be an indifferent spectator of any violent measures that might be adopted against the Dutch republic. The stadtholderian powers however discovered the means of engaging the attention of the emperor without suffering him to disturb them in their projects. There is considerable reason to believe that the declaration of war of the Turks against the Russians, which took place about this time, owed its existence to their intrigues, and was designed for the purpose we have mentioned, it being considered by them as very uncertain what period of time it would require to settle their projected revolution in Holland upon a permanent basis. Thus Europe and human nature would seem to be indebted to them, not only for the destruction of the liberties of a celebrated and venerable republic, but for precipitating at

least, as a subordinate step in the transaction, a war, which has already raged for near three years, which has cut off in its progress thousands of the human race, which has actually drawn five great European powers into its vortex, and which threatens every moment to extend its destructive contagion to countries the most distant from the original scene of action.

Sir James Harris, the ambassador of the court of London, presented his public memorial to the states general upon the subject of mediation on the fourteenth of August. The court of Versailles had been induced to explain itself upon this article by the immediate application of the states of Holland, and the English ambassador assigned as the motive of his declaration the favourable sentiments respecting Great Britain that had been expressed by the states of Zealand; at the same time mentioning the anxiety of the king for the restoration of their internal tranquillity, the maintenance of their real constitution, and the preservation of the rights and privileges of all its members. The memorial of Prussia, which was intended as the counterpart of this, and which was not brought forward till the fifth of September, spoke in a still higher tone. It was presented at the instigation of the states of Guelderland and Amersfort, and expressed the interest which was taken by Frederic William in their peace and tranquillity; and his ardent desire, that the ancient constitution, which had been shaken to its foundations, should be re-established by an amicable adjustment, and that they might radically and finally extirpate the calamities that threatened the republic.

The answer of the states of Holland

and to the memorial of Mr. de Thulemeyer, was delivered on the eighth of the same month. It had been voted upon the proposition of the deputies of Dort, the majority consisting only of ten voices; and it did not materially differ from their answer to his first memorial on the subject of the princess. The proposition of the senate of Amsterdam, which was rejected, was for sending, as a particular mark of respect, two deputies to the king at Berlin, to explain all the circumstances of this unfortunate transaction.

The next day, which was Sunday, Mr. de Thulemeyer delivered to the grand pensionary of Holland, a verbal note, containing the regular and public ultimatum of the king of Prussia in this interesting controversy. He required, that the states should write a letter to the princess, acknowledging the error of which they had been guilty in imputing to her dishonourable views, requesting her presence among them, and promising to punish those whom she should point out as having offended her. She at the same time engaged to mediate with the king her brother a mitigation of the penalty. The king offered to choose the Hague or any other town of the republic as the scene of the conferences; and in the mean time demanded, that the states of Holland should at least leave the matters at issue as they now stood, and not proceed to any suspension or deposition of the stadtholder from his functions. An answer to this notification was required to be given in four days from its communication.

Scarcely had Mr. de Thulemeyer thus executed the last directions of his court, before a manifesto appeared, signed by the duke of Brun-

wic, expressive of the painful necessity that was imposed upon the king of marching his troops into the territories of the republic, and thus obtaining satisfaction for the great and insupportable outrage that had been committed against his sister; an outrage that sprung only from the disaffection and malevolence of one half of the provincial assembly of a single province. Under these circumstances the duke was reduced to the necessity of passing through the territories of provinces, that had no share in the offensive conduct of the province of Holland; the inhabitants might however rest assured, that no violence would be committed by the troops, and that the king did not propose in the smallest degree to invade the constitution, the liberties and tranquillity of the republic. He expected in return that they would quietly permit the march of his army, and he required them to furnish his forces with every thing that might be necessary to them. Of the same date with this manifesto a letter was delivered from the king of Prussia to the states of Overijssel, requiring a free passage for his troops; a demand, which this assembly had the magnanimity and gallantry, though unable to counteract the march of the Prussians, to refuse, because it was contrary to the tenour of the union of Utrecht. Meanwhile in this ultimate crisis, the states of Holland were willing to advance one step further in the mode of concession, and declared to Mr. de Thulemeyer their readiness to send two deputies to Berlin, to explain to the king the motives and circumstances of what had happened to his sister.

The duke of Brunswick entered the territories of Holland on the fourth day from the communication

of Mr. de Thulemeyer. His march, as he had probably foreseen, was rather a triumph than a campaign. Utrecht, the important city of Utrecht, the centre and soul of the democratical measures, Utrecht, that had had the glory of stopping the victorious arms of Louis the fourteenth in the midst of all his insolence and pride, was evacuated on the second day from the beginning of the war. In consequence of the fatal precaution of the stadtholder, in seizing upon Wyk and the keys of the sluices, it probably would not have been able to have held out many weeks. But those weeks were of infinite consequence to the republican cause. In that time Amsterdam, Gorcum, and the other great points of the province of Holland might have completely prepared for the reception of the enemy, and the opponents of the stadtholder would have recovered from the first panic of the invasion. In that time France would have had leisure to choose its party; France, that pusillanimously waited to see in what manner the friends of liberty would exert themselves in their defence, but that at least believed that its intention was finally to appear for their preservation. The rhingrave of Salm, governor of Utrecht, either from treachery or cowardice, decided the question. He did not wait even to see an enemy.

It seems probable, though we are unable accurately to determine, that it was immediately after the evacuation of Utrecht, that the states of Holland declared the rhingrave of Salm field marshal and commander in chief of the troops of the province. This was their last act of hostility. On the following day, which was the sixteenth, the duke of Brunswick entered into possession

of the province of Utrecht, and the deputies of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Alkmaer and Gorcum retired from the Hague to the metropolis. On the seventeenth Gorcum, Dort, Schoonhoven and several other towns submitted to the conqueror. The first of these places made some show of resistance; but a few red-hot balls being thrown into the town and some houses burned they consented to surrender. The deputies that were left at the Hague came to a vote for disbanding the different corps of volunteers, and late on the following evening resolved to restore the stadtholder to all his honours and prerogatives, and to invite him to repair to his usual residence. The victory of the prerogative party was signified here and in other places by the breaking of windows, the plundering of houses, and a few other excesses. It was on the seventh day from the commencement of the invasion, that the prince of Orange made his triumphal entry at the Hague, his chariot being drawn by the populace; the rhingrave of Salm, commander in chief, absconded, and for some time was not to be heard of; and the only places remaining to the republican party were Woerden, Naarden, Delft, Amsterdam, and the remote towns of the petty district of North Holland.

The duke of Brunswick advanced against Amsterdam on the twenty-second, and several lesser actions passed with various success, but with a result extremely unfavourable to the patriots. The strong hold of Nieuwerfluis was taken by storm; the Prussians are said to have been repulsed at Ouderkerke; and Wijk and Naarden surrendered, having received orders for that purpose from

the provincial assembly at the Hague. On the twenty-sixth a conference was proposed on the part of the senate and burghers of Amsterdam, who offered to surrender upon condition of some mitigation in the terms of satisfaction to the prince of Orange, and particularly provided their magistrates might remain unchanged. As this question was laid principally to interest the offended personage, the commissioners of Amsterdam were permitted to proceed to the Hague to confer with her. But the terms offered were jointly rejected by the duke of Brunswick and the prince of Orange.

This negotiation occupied the space of four days, and on the first of October the duke of Brunswick renewed his attack. He advanced at the same time against the outposts of Muyden, Diemen, Duvendrecht, Ouderkerke, and the dyke of Haarlem. The environs of Amsterdam had been partially inundated, so that some of these places could not be approached without great danger, and the citizens, anxious to preserve this celebrated capital from tyranny and violence, appear to have defended themselves with considerable gallantry. The Prussians were repulsed in the majority of their attempts. Ouderkerke they said to have attacked three times, and three times to have miscarried. The dyke of Haarlem however, being assaulted on two different sides and by superior numbers, was abandoned almost without resistance. Amstelveen was carried in the afternoon; and Ouderkerke, being thus placed between two fires, was voluntarily evacuated.

In the evening of the same day a new armistice was demanded by the citizens, and granted by the duke of Brunswick. The only terms

that could be obtained were, that the municipal militia should not be confounded in the fate of the volunteers, and that the town should not be obliged to receive a garrison. These terms were accepted by the senate on the third, but were demurred to by the burghers. In the meantime the senators elected in the course of the present year were deposed on the eighth, and, upon demand of the duke of Brunswick, one of the gates of Amsterdam was surrendered to him on the tenth. The next day five hundred Prussians entered the town to quell a tumult that appeared to be breaking out, but the duke engaged not to suffer any of his troops to pass the gate except in cases of emergency.

The prince of Orange, in whose character the politician was at least as conspicuous as any other feature, knew how to render the atonement for the affront, to which she had been exposed, subservient to the interests of her husband and family. The persons, who had been elected to any magistracy in the towns of Holland in the course of the present year, were in the first instance deposed as usurpers, and the persons in the place of whom they had been chosen restored to their functions. This measure however by no means included all those who were obnoxious to the stadtholder, and accordingly the prince of Orange signified to the states of Holland, that the satisfaction she should demand would confine itself to the deprivation of such persons as she should specify as being substantially the authors of the insult at Schoonhoven. Her list of proscription was delivered in on the sixth of October, and contained the names of seventeen persons, among which was van Ber-

kel, pensionary of Amsterdam, van Gyzelaer, pensionary of Dort, and several other of the most distinguished characters of the republican party. In other instances persons particularly marked as obnoxious were seized upon by the Prussian soldiery, transported into the Prussian dominions, and in some cases it is said treated with great indignity. The celebrated Capellen van der Merfch, a baron of the province of Overysfel, appears to have died the martyr of his country. He was conducted a prisoner to Wesel in the duchy of Cleves; and, being at length permitted to return on account of his health, expired at Utrecht in the beginning of December. In the mean time refugees in great numbers poured into the territories of the Austrian Netherlands, where they found a spirit of discontent similar to their own, and where they probably disseminated the independent and democratical principles that had occasioned their exile.

Impartial spectators of this memorable event could not refrain from comparing, and the comparison was as painful as it was unexpected, the justice and dignity of the cause of the republicans with the feebleness of their efforts to resist an insolent and arbitrary conqueror. The committee of the armed burghers of Utrecht came to a resolution in the commencement of the civil war, importing their determination never to surrender their city, declaring that they would defend it till it was reduced to one undistinguished ruin, rather than suffer the enemy to find any thing in it upon which to glut his cruel vengeance, and that, when they could no longer resist, those who survived the carnage would, if reduced to that extremity, set fire

to the four corners of the town before they abandoned their walls. In this declaration we acknowledge the genuine language of patriotism. Had the Batavian partisans of freedom adhered to this glorious resolution, they would at the very worst have read a lesson of magnanimity to mankind, the impression of which in the present state of the European constitution would have been indelible. But they would have done more than this. There is a solemn terror in the undaunted efforts of expiring virtue, from which the hireling ministers of arbitrary power would have shrunk back confounded. We might have seen a second Leonidas arresting the millions of Xerxes at the pass of Thermopylae. Other powers, France in particular, if that had been necessary, could not long have witnessed the generous struggle in silence and inaction, and in such a cause the ally, however embarrassed in finances and inauspicious in its period of exertion, would questionless have been victorious.

But the fate of Holland was different, and this proud and opulent republic now for the first time received law from two of its foreign neighbours at the point of the sword. All history, both ancient and modern, unites to inform us, how desirable is the state of that people, who are indebted for a revolution in their government to the sword of a rival. They sink into abject subjection. All that sense of independence, all that eagerness of adventure and boldness of spirit, that spring from conscious sovereignty, are lost. They are degraded to the unnatural station of a province, dependent for its immunities and its laws upon the mercy of a superior. Hopeless, dependant, inactive and

supine,

upine, they no longer look for improvement themselves, or contribute to the substantial benefit of another. The revolution in Holland is scarcely less a misfortune to the stadtholders than to their adversaries. If either England or Prussia expect to derive advantage from their spontaneous interference for the destruction of liberty, it needs little sagacity to foretel that they will infallibly be mistaken. A province, subjected to a more fortunate neighbour, is not only itself in a most pitiable situation, but operates like a pestilence, communicating its own distempers to the superior state, and like a dead body attached to a living one, undermining its vigour and fettering its exertions.

The revolution in Holland was accompanied with that ungenerous and unmanly triumph, which might be expected from the circumstances which produced it. Various declarations of amnesty were published, but accompanied with such numerous exceptions, as totally to defeat their purpose and belie their title. They accordingly seem not to have been very satisfactory to the predominant party, and were frequently superseded by new proclamations of a similar tendency. In one of the latest, which made its appearance after the bitterness of contention and the animosity of resentment might be expected to have subsided, the persons excepted from pardon were all magistrates who had excited the inhabitants to disaffection; all persons who had contributed to the clandestine introduction of foreign forces into the republic, all such as had in the capacity of military officers borne arms against the stadtholder, all members of the pretended

provincial assemblies who had suggested measures against him, all clergymen who had borne arms in the republican cause, and all persons who should appear to have been guilty of acts of violence. To whom could such an amnesty have been productive of benefit? The vengeance of the house of Orange does not indeed appear to have been in many instances sanguinary and ferocious. But they were liberal of deprivation, of corporal punishments and imprisonment. They drove numbers to depart into voluntary banishment rather than depend upon the arbitrary mercy of their opponents, and they held out threats in terror to deter every one from thinking or reasoning in favour of liberty, under penalty of an inquisition into his past life, and a prosecution under the exceptions of the amnesty. Among other instances of the spirit by which the victorious party was guided, we may mention the trial pro forma of the deceased Capellen van der Merck, and the sentence by which he was declared to have forfeited his life to the laws of his country.

At the particular request of the princess of Orange the king of Prussia consented to permit some thousands of his troops to take up their winter quarters in Holland, and they did not wholly evacuate that country till May 1788. In the mean time treaties of defensive alliance were negotiated between Holland and Great Britain and Holland and Prussia. These measures were completed by a political confederacy between Great Britain and Prussia, which received its ultimate sanction on the thirteenth of August 1788.

CHAP. IV.

Turkish Expedition against Egypt. Journey of the Empress of Russia to Cherson. Met by the King of Poland and the Emperor. Turks declare War against her. Attack of Kinburn. Hostilities of the Emperor. Engagements in the Euxine. Proceedings of the King of Sweden. Battle of Hoogland. Army declares against the War. Danish Invasion. Armistice. Manœuvres of the Grand Visier. Surrender of Choczim. Surrender of Oczakow.

WE are arrived at a period in our foreign history when the northern and the western divisions of Europe were once more destined to fill the most considerable scene in the political drama. Catherine, empress of Russia, who for various reasons deserves to be styled the Semiramis of the north, ascended the throne in the year 1762; and it is not to be supposed that an administration of twenty-five years had failed to render her principles and character subjects of sufficient notoriety. If the public patronage of literature and talents, if an assiduous attention to the fine arts, if the love of splendour and the ambition of rendering her capital the centre of all that elegant leisure has been accustomed to admire, can give a title to immortality, the claims of the czarina are indisputable. But these are the bounds of her pretensions. She continually indeed sends forth missions of her younger subjects to acquire knowledge in foreign realms; but she does not seek to annihilate that slavery and vassalage, with the existence of which knowledge and improvement are incompatible. She seeks to extend the commerce of her subjects to distant climates; but she takes no effectual steps to disseminate that spirit of manufacture and industry, without which commerce is an un-

substantial phantom. She is seized with the frenzy of conquest; while her actual dominions, considerably more extensive than the empire of ancient Rome, afford scope for the activity of the wisest politician. She is ever employed in warlike preparations or in war; though her territories, without this preternatural exhausture, are little better than an uninhabited desert. She surveys with scientific accuracy the extremities of her empire; while its centre and its heart are totally neglected. The activity of her designs are exhausted in the intrigues of foreign courts. France has long been accused of invading the tranquillity of her neighbours by the arts of corruption. But France, in all the wantonness of civilization and wealth, was never more indefatigable in this respect, than the Tartarian sovereign of the savages of Muscovy.

Scarcely was she seated on the throne, before she intruded by violence a prince on the Courlanders, and reduced that important principality to the dependence of a province. She next gave a monarchy, and a system of government, or rather of anarchy to Poland. Not contented with this, she engendered the tyrannical and unprincipled design of dismembering the provinces of Poland. She fought, and frequently

with success, to dictate through the medium of intrigue to the cabinets of Stockholm and Copenhagen. But her principal usurpations were on the falling empire of the Turks. By the war of 1768 she acquired the provinces of Catharinoflaw, the site of Cherfon, and the navigation of the Black Sea. By an uninterrupted series of arbitrary proceedings and cabal, she subjugated the inestimable and beautiful peninsula of Crimea, acquired various districts in the province of Circassia, and rendered the princes of Georgia her feudatories and vassals. Already nothing in the north and the east could resist her despotic sway; and to complete her designs, she was enabled to gain over the restless and capricious mind of the emperor to her side, and to negotiate with him a sort of indefinite project for the conquest of Constantinople and the partition of Greece.

While these projects were forming by the empress of Russia, the court of the grand signior seemed to display nothing but symptoms of imbecility and decay. The subordinate princes of Tripoli, Algiers and Tunis could by no means be persuaded to yield to the dictates of Constantinople respecting their conduct towards the powers of Europe, and were hardly induced to pay their annual tribute to the Ottoman Porte. The pacha of Scutari, a district upon the borders of Venetian Dalmatia, had wantonly entered in a hostile manner upon the territories of the republic, and his punishment was demanded by their ambassador. But the Porte, so far from being able to deprive him of his government, found itself exposed to his inroads and devastations, and was engaged with him in a fruitless contest, sometimes by undecided battles, and sometimes by

negotiations in which he appeared to dictate to the supreme government, for more than two years. In other parts of the empire, a sort of enthusiastical and prophetic leaders made their appearance, asserted a kind of political independence, and committed every species of excess with impunity. The province of Egypt, which had given perpetual uneasiness to the court of Constantinople, now threatened to shake off the yoke and engross a sovereignty to which for many centuries it had been a stranger.

It was in this alarming crisis that a bold and daring genius arose, who promised to arrest the falling greatness of the Ottomans. Hassan Ali is said to have been a native of Algiers, and, being obliged for some reasons to fly from that subordinate principality, he entered into the immediate service of the grand signior. He attached himself principally to the maritime profession, and served with distinction in the last war against the Russians. It has been supposed, that, if his advice had been followed, the enemy would have been deprived of some of the most considerable advantages they gained in the principal naval action of that war. He had gradually risen by his reputation and his merits through several inferior offices to the station of capitan pacha or high admiral of the Turkish dominions. At this time he was more than seventy years of age; and, unsubdued by the natural infirmities of so advanced a period, he breathed nothing but military ardour, together with hatred and vengeance of the usurpations of Russia. As a first step to the accomplishment of his favourite design, he endeavoured to seize upon all the offices of government, and to engross the avenues to the

the ear of the sovereign. Yssouf Pacha, who was raised to the office of grand visier in January 1786, had originally served Hassan Ali in the capacity of a slave, and in the preceding year had been nominated by his influence to the government of the Morea. Maurojeni, his dragoon or steward, was about the same time elevated to the situation of hospodar of Walachia; and most of the great offices of state were filled with his dependents and creatures.

Having thus secured the protection and support of the sovereign during the period of his absence, he determined in the next place to undertake the conquest and subjugation of Egypt, trusting by this measure at once to augment the prosperity and resources of the Porte, and so to establish his own reputation as to enable him to act with vigour and the confidence of the public in his meditated hostilities against Russia. He sailed from Constantinople in May 1786; and having made the customary annual circuit to collect by the immediate terror of the Turkish arms the tribute of the dependent provinces, he arrived at Alexandria in the month of July.

Hassan Ali landed with an army of twenty-five thousand men, which he expected to augment with recruits levied in the province. He immediately marched from Alexandria to Rosetta. The Lower Egypt, or that part of the country which borders upon the Levant, was at this time divided between two beys, Murat and Ibrahim, who united their interests, both against the court of Constantinople, and in the wars they are lately said to have carried on against the beys of the Upper, or more distant division. At this time they had stationed their forces be-

tween Rosetta and Cairo. Here they were encountered by the intrepid Hassan, who is stated to have made upon them three vigorous attacks in one day, and who concluded with gaining an entire victory. This event put him in possession of the capital, where among other prisoners he found the wife of Ibrahim and one of his children, whom he treated with great humanity, and sent off the young prince to be educated in a manner suitable to his rank at Constantinople.

Murat and Ibrahim both of them escaped from the battle, though Hassan had had the precaution to order a detachment of his forces to take a circuitous march, and place themselves in the rear of the enemy to intercept their flight. They retreated to Girge, the capital of Upper Egypt, which stands nearly upon the site of the ancient Thebes, the city of an hundred gates, so much celebrated by the Grecian poets and historians. The princes of this country received them with hospitality, considering themselves as engaged in a common cause with them against the usurpations of the Porte. Hassan in the meantime dispatched a numerous detachment to pursue them, who penetrated with success almost as far as Girge, where they were attacked by a much larger army of Egyptians on the twenty-sixth of October, and obliged to retreat in considerable disorder. Irritated at this miscarriage he proceeded with all the forces he could collect; and not being able to induce the enemy to meet him in the field, he at length resolved on the sixteenth of February 1787 to storm them in their camp. Here he was twice repulsed, but returned a third time to the attack; and after an obstinate engagement

engagement of six hours in duration, at length compelled them to seek their safety in flight.

But, notwithstanding these brilliant successes, the Turkish commander found himself unable totally to subdue the resistance of his adversaries; and, after some farther conflicts, attended, as it should seem, with various success, he thought proper to listen to terms of accommodation. Murat and Ibrahim consented to restrain themselves within the boundaries of certain districts in the Upper Egypt, and gave hostages to insure the province of Cairo against their irruptions. This adjustment appears to have taken place in July 1787, and Hassan, having made a farther residence of three months in that country, quitted it in October, bringing with him the hostages of its princes and a contribution in money to the amount of 6,000,000 *l.* sterling, beside having secured to the Porte an annual revenue, which is computed to fall little short of 4,000,000 *l.*

The whole period from the convention of January 1784, by which the Turks guaranteed to the Russians the entire possession of the Crimea, is to be considered less as a period of peace than a suspension of arms, in which both parties incessantly employed themselves with more or less assiduity in warlike preparations, and constantly meditated the commencement of hostilities. The czarina was assiduous in endeavouring to secure to herself an active alliance against the moment of contest. The emperor in particular seems to have entered into the most solemn engagements, to co-operate with her in an attempt to reduce the dominions of the grand signior; and, if that prince should forestall the Russians in commencing hostilities, by no means to

suffer a circumstance of that nature to defeat the project they had formed of a united attack. Catherine was also anxious to engage the republic of Venice in this league; and, influenced by views of this sort, prevailed upon the emperor to desist from a projected compulsory exchange of territory which he had formed against the republic. It seems probable that the Venetians displayed no considerable reluctance to enter into the views of the imperial courts, though the expectations they allowed themselves to excite were not in the sequel productive of any important consequences.

Neither Venice nor the emperor were wanting in motives, or at least in pretexts of controversy with the Porte. We have already mentioned the hostilities committed by the pacha of Scutari upon the Venetian Dalmatia in 1785; and, though the resident from that republic at the court of Constantinople repeatedly demanded a reparation for the injuries committed, and the punishment of the aggressor, the divan, partly from a disposition at once haughty and supine, partly from the intrigues of the pacha, who had formerly lived in habits of considerable friendship both with Hassan Ali and the new grand visier, and partly from the imbecility and impotence of the supreme authority, never yielded any effectual hearing to his remonstrances. The Venetians had also claimed the interference of the Ottoman Porte to adjust their differences with the regency of Tunis, a matter to which the grand signior seems to have been still less competent than to the punishment of the pacha of Scutari. They therefore deemed themselves obliged to vindicate their own rights; and their fleet under chevalier Emo in the years 1785 and 1786 bombarded the settlements

lements of Sfax, Biserta and Tunis.

At the moment that the czarina had asserted her dominion over the peninsula of Taurica, the emperor advanced his claims to a certain extension of territory on the side of Hungary, claims which from the known caprice and instability of his character had been suffered to pass without adjustment at the favourable moment, and which had since been uniformly evaded by the Turks. The districts that were demanded appear too trivial to spectators placed at such a distance as we are, to be able to excite any distinct idea or sensation in the mind; but, such as they are, they have been specified in a preceding volume of our register. One circumstance that attended them seems entitled to notice. Certain articles were published at Vienna in the autumn of 1785, purporting to be the propositions of the Turks, and accompanied with the answer of the emperor; and great doubts were afterwards formed whether the Turks had ever made the conciliatory offers which these articles contained.

The government of Constantinople constantly exhibited all the symptoms of a weak, imbecil and disjointed administration, their most timid statesmen not always abstaining from measures of irritation, and their boldest politicians frequently betraying the marks of fear and irresolution. The Russian knew well how to take advantage of this circumstance. She had always matters of complaint against the Porte, which to a superficial observer assumed a plausible appearance; and these complaints were in her hands productive of so many reiterated triumphs. She had notoriously over-reached the Ottoman administration in the com-

mmercial treaty of 1783; and the consuls she placed in the different cities of Turkey under the sanction of this treaty, frequently had not even the pretence of commerce, but were spies to discover the weakness and dissensions of the inhabitants, or agents to excite them to disaffection and hostility against the government under which they lived. Of consequence the Turks demanded but in vain the recal of some of these, and refused to admit others into places where by the letter of the treaty they were entitled to reside. The Russians had equally violated the subsisting treaties by admitting Maurocordato the deposed hospodar of Moldavia to take refuge in their dominions.

Towards the latter part of the year 1786 the Turks seem to have adopted a regular system of indirect hostility against Russia. Ever since the acquisition of Crimea and the Cuban, the Russians in the latter of these provinces were engaged in a constant series of military operations. They succeeded either by terror or cabal in inducing the two princes of Georgia, the czar of Teflis and the czar of Imiretta, to recognize the court of Petersburg as their lawful superior. They were not equally successful in restraining the incursions of the Lefghis, or Tartar inhabitants of Circassia. These Tartars were, at least in the sequel, instigated and supported in an indirect manner by the court of Constantinople; and their operations were so far successful, that Heraclius, czar of Teflis, found himself obliged to have recourse to the power that could yield him the most effectual protection; and shaking off the allegiance of Russia, he declared himself the vassal of the Porte in a period of about

two years from the time in which he had submitted to the northern rival of that power. About the same time Sahim Gherai, late khan of the Crimea, fled from the auspices of his imperial protectress into the Turkish dominions, and by order of the grand signior took up his residence in Rhodes, where twelve months after he was beheaded.

The year 1787 opened with the extraordinary spectacle of the journey of the empress of Russia from Petersburg to Cherfon, where it seems to have been her original intention to have been crowned with all possible magnificence, and under the splendid titles of empress of the East, liberator of Greece, and reviver of the series of Roman emperors, who formerly swayed the sceptre over that division of the globe. This journey had been for a considerable time in contemplation, and was looked upon with horror by the Turks, as the period that would set up a new pretender to their throne, and inflict a more public and atrocious insult upon their character than they had ever endured from any other quarter. The empress departed from Petersburg on the sixteenth of January, and arrived at Kiow, the most westerly point of the hereditary possessions of Russia on the ninth of the following month. It is sufficiently singular that the czarina had originally intended to take with her her two grand-children, sons of the grand duke of Russia, the eldest of whom was only nine years of age; a measure that was doubtless intended as a precaution against the instability of her subjects, and a security for her safe return to the capital of the empire. This idea was at length, but with reluctance, given up; but the circumstance of her taking with

her, as she did in this gaudy procession, a numerous army of the choicest part of the Russian forces, probably originated in a similar motive; and it did not at all tend to soothe the anxious fears and vigilant jealousy of the court of Constantinople.

Catherine resided for a period of near three months in the city of Kiow; and this was owing partly to the badness of the roads and the inclemency of the season; partly it may be to certain hostile symptoms, which were at this time betrayed by the Porte, and which, if they had immediately proceeded to all their consequences, would have entirely put a stop to the imperial progress; and partly to certain delays of the king of Poland and the emperor, the former of whom was expected to meet the czarina at Kiow and the latter at Cherfon. The interview with Stanislaus took place on the sixth of May at Kaniew, a Polish town upon the Dnieper, that river having been chosen by Catherine to convey her and her train. The king of Poland was invited to come on board the vessel of the empress, and after one day spent in mutual conference that princess proceeded on the day following for Cherfon.

The splendour of the route of the czarina surpasses whatever the imagination would spontaneously suggest. She was escorted by an army. Pioneers preceded her march, whose business it was to render the road as even and pleasant as it could possibly be made. At the end of each day's journey she found a temporary palace erected for her reception, together with all the accommodations and luxuries that Petersburg could have afforded. In the list of her followers were the ambassadors of London, Versailles and Vienna; and her own

ambassador

ambassador as well as the envoy of the emperor to the court of Constantinople were appointed to meet her at Cherfon. She had directed the former, Mr. de Bulhakow, to sound in a distant manner the Ottoman Porte respecting the sending an officer to compliment her upon her arrival, and thus to witness and sanction as it were the degradation of the Turks; but the proposal was rejected with indignation. We have seen the king of Poland meet her in her journey; and the emperor, not contented with swelling her triumph at Cherfon, appeared in that capital eight days before her, and proceeded to a considerable distance up the Dnieper to intercept her progress. The coronation, for reasons we are unable to assign, was laid aside; but the empress was received under triumphal arches at Kiow; and upon her arrival at Cherfon, having thought proper to extend the walls to take in a greater space than they had yet contained, she inscribed over one of the gates of the city, "Through this gate lies the road to Byzantium." The imperial visitants entered the city on the twenty-third of May; and, having remained five days, proceeded to make a tour through the principal places of the peninsula, which was completed in somewhat less than a fortnight. The czarina returned to Petersburg by the way of Moscow.

Previously to the departure of Mr. de Bulhakow upon his journey to meet the empress at Cherfon, he presented by her order certain complaints to the Porte, which she wished to see immediately remedied. She demanded that the Turks should explicitly acknowledge the czar of Teflis to be the rightful vassal of Russia, that they should undertake to

oblige the Lefghis Tartars to cease from their hostilities, that the disputes respecting the salt-pits of Kinburn should be finally adjusted, that a Russian consul should be admitted at Varna the chief port of the province of Bulgaria, that a more uniform and less vexatious government should be maintained in the Grecian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia, and that the Turks should come to an explanation with the empress respecting their military preparations.

In the present temper of the court of Constantinople it was not likely that their answer to these demands should be very conciliatory. They asserted that the czar of Teflis was, and by the treaty of Cainargi in 1774 had been recognized to be the vassal of the Porte, that the Lefghis Tartars were entirely out of the jurisdiction of the grand signior, that the question of the salt-pits was trivial in its own nature and might best be adjusted by the intervention of certain inferior officers of government, that a Russian consul at Varna would be absolutely useless, and that the introduction of one had been prevented only by the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants, that the welfare of the principalities was a question in which the Porte was chiefly interested, and respecting which of consequence her exertions would be unfeignedly sincere, and that it was but natural that the Turks should put themselves in the same posture of defence which was assumed by their neighbours.

To these reasonings respecting the demands of Russia the Turks are said to have added certain requisitions of their own. They called for an explanation respecting the intrigues alledged to have been formed

by the Russian consul at Alexandria with the rebel beys of that country, respecting the passports granted by the Russian consuls to certain emigrants of Moldavia and Walachia, the asylum extended to the ex-governor Maurocordato, and the real views of the empress in her progress to Crimea. Bulhakow undertook to charge himself with their representations and to communicate to them the answer of his sovereign.

We have already remarked that the Turks appear to have intended at no very distant period to tempt the fortune of war for the purpose of suspending the incroachments of Russia. Their ultimate declaration however seems to have been unexpectedly precipitated. They had probably at least designed to wait for the return of the capitan pacha from his successful expedition in Egypt. At the present moment they could not boast of a single ally in any part of the world; and the recent interview and cordiality of the emperor and the czarina were peculiarly unfavourable to their purposes. The impolicy and rashness of their conduct was at this time through all Europe believed to originate in the influence of the English ambassador; and the period, being that in which England and Prussia had just resolved to annihilate by force of arms the French party in Holland, is exceedingly favourable to this supposition. Meanwhile the court of London was assiduous and explicit in contradicting this rumour. It must remain with the reader to decide upon the degree of credit he will afford to this disavowal. Undoubtedly there are men, whom the character and office of a minister cannot corrupt, and who know that insincerity and

falsehood are neither themselves virtue, nor can lead to that solid and genuine prosperity which is the reward of virtue. But undoubtedly also such sentiments and such a discernment are more rare than could be desired. We must leave it to the ultimate verdict of a more distant historian to decide upon the particular instances.

Scarcely had the czarina revisited her capital of Petersburg before she was followed by the Turkish declaration of hostilities. Conferences were held by the Ottoman administration with Mr. de Bulhakow on the twenty-sixth and thirtieth of July, which promised no very auspicious conclusion. On the sixteenth of August he was unexpectedly summoned to an audience of the grand signior. Certain propositions were immediately stated to him, respecting the restoration of the Crimea and the annihilation of the commercial treaty, which he was required to sign, as the only means for the preservation of peace. Mr. de Bulhakow demanded time to communicate them to his court, but this was denied him. Upon his ultimate refusal he was formally declared an enemy of the empire, and arrested prisoner of war. He was conveyed with sufficient civility to the castle of the Seven Towers, and the Russian ships in the harbour of Constantinople put under an embargo. The ambassadors of Vienna and Versailles exerted their utmost efforts to produce a reconciliation, but in vain. The grand visier is said to have been in the beginning almost the single advocate for war, but in the sequel to have brought over to his party the majority of the divan. One of the first proceedings of the grand signior in consequence of the system adopted,

adopted, was to appoint him commander in chief with an unlimited power for the levying and employment of the armies of the state.

The Turkish manifesto against the Russians is dated on the twentieth of August, and is an uncommonly feeble and spiritless composition. Few nations have ever had more accumulated subjects of complaint against another, and yet it is difficult to collect from this paper which party was the real aggressor, and it is certain that none of the causes it alledges are a sufficient ground for hostility. They declared the solicitude with which they had always adhered to the treaty of Cainargi, while the Russians had violated its most fundamental article by the invasion of the Crimea. In consequence of that invasion new stipulations had been formed, and it was agreed that all enmity and hatred between the two parties should be extinguished. The court of Russia however had since that time sent troops into Georgia, and seduced the khan of Teflis from his allegiance. They had interrupted the inhabitants of Öczakow in their use of the salt-pits of Kinburn. They had granted an asylum to the hospodar of Moldavia. They had seduced the inhabitants of Moldavia, Walachia and the Archipelago to settle in Russia; and, while the Turks granted on their part an unrestrained freedom of commerce, they were obliged to pay duties in Russia that doubled or tripled the duties paid by other nations. The manifesto farther alledged, that Mr. de Bulhakow had in the beginning of the present year threatened them with a Russian army of sixty or seventy thousand men under prince Potemkin, if they did not pass an act calculated to satisfy the czarina

respecting the subject of her complaints; and this threat was surely a sufficient provocation to war. The actual march of Potemkin was precisely similar to the incidents that had preceded the invasion of Crimea. Under these circumstances they conceived it necessary that the peninsula should once more be vested in the grand signior, persuaded that the capture of this country had been the source of every subsequent disorder, and that security and repose could never be recovered by any other means than its restoration.

The manifesto of the Turks did not long remain unanswered, and the memorials published by the czarina are fraught with the indignation of injured innocence. She expatiates on the clemency displayed by her in the peace of Cainargi, when she had relaxed greatly from the claims she might have asserted and the pretensions to which her victories entitled her, that she might lay the foundation of a durable tranquillity. But the Porte had displayed in every part of its conduct from that time the most notorious want of faith, and a perfect contempt for all its obligations. The Tartars of the Crimea had deposed their legitimate sovereign at the instigation of the Turks and under the immediate countenance of a fleet commanded by the capitan pacha. His restoration had been effected by the convention of 1779; but the Porte still continued its intrigues in the peninsula, and the czarina had found it necessary to take the country into her own hands. The object of her transactions in 1783, the seizure of the Crimea and the treaty of commerce, had been no other than to consolidate peace between the two powers. She was actuated by no
desire

desire to enlarge the limits of an empire already sufficiently extensive. She had not proposed the indemnifying herself for the expences she had incurred; a purpose which the Crimea was not calculated to answer. Her object had been to civilize the inhabitants, to put an end to the disorders and depredations that subsisted among them, and thus by establishing a firm and tranquil barrier to secure the future harmony of Russia and the Porte. But the Turkish administration, which had immediately succeeded after the peace of the Crimea, had adopted principles different from their predecessors, had advanced groundless pretensions respecting the salt-works of Kinburn; had opposed the admission of Russian consuls into some parts of the Turkish dominions; and finally, perceiving that these objects were not of sufficient magnitude to bring on a rupture, had instigated the Lefghis and the Cuban Tartars to disturb the dominions of the prince of Teflis, and to make inroads upon the territories of Russia. The empress however, faithful to her system of moderation, had contented herself with reclaiming the stipulations of treaties; but her remonstrances had been ineffectual, they had been answered with a harshness and a haughtiness, little suited to the transactions of sovereign powers. For herself she had constantly communicated her affairs in this respect to the emperor; she had cheerfully accepted the mediation of the king of France; and these monarchs were convinced of the justice and equity of her pretensions. The love of peace had given vigour to her hopes; she had imagined that the Porte would not always have recourse to falsehood and artifice, but that the sanctity of

oaths, upon which all nations found their solemn treaties, would at length have excited in the Porte an inclination to fulfil its engagements.

The empress had no sooner published her resolutions than she began to muster two great armies, one in the Ukraine under field marshal count Romanzow, who had been the Russian commander in chief in the preceding war, and the other, a foundation for which already existed in the neighbourhood of Cherfon, under prince Potemkin, a nobleman, who both by his influence in the state and his favour with the sovereign appears to be the first subject of the Russian empire; and upon whom the czarina, in gratitude for his services in that part of the world, had in her late progress bestowed the appellation of Tauritskoi or Tauricanus. On the part of the Turks their first hostile measure consisted in calling together the princes of the house of Gherai, and causing them to elect a new khan of the Crimea. It is said to have been at their requisition that the late khan was put to death.

Their martial proceedings were not altogether so prompt or so formidable as their voluntary provocation of hostilities might have led us to expect. The Turkish fleet appeared before Kinburn, a Russian fortress at the entrance of the Black Sea and opposite to the city of Oczakow, on the twenty-fourth of September. They immediately began to throw their cannon balls and shells into the place, and their fire was returned from the fort. During the bombardment one of their ships took fire and was blown into the air. In the night of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth the Turks landed a body of forces on the peninsula upon which Kinburn is built,

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but were each time obliged to retire. A part of the Russian fleet now appeared in sight, and after a sharp engagement obliged the Turks to withdraw to Oczakow.

A more serious attack was meditated on the twelfth of October. The Turks appeared with a body of five thousand men, and, having landed, prepared to make a regular approach against the fortress. Their exertions upon this occasion were vigorous and obstinate; but they were at length driven back to their retrenchments, and successively expelled from ten different lodgments which they had made. The support they received from the fire of their ships was considerable; the Russians were nearly put to flight, and, though ultimately victorious, it was not without having their two principal commanders, general Suwarow and general Reck, dangerously wounded. The fleet of the empress proceeded after this action to attempt the bombardment of Oczakow, but with no considerable effect. Chevalier Lombard, a knight of Malta in the service of the czarina, who distinguished himself in the preceding naval contests by an intrepidity approaching to fool-hardiness, perished upon this occasion with all his crew. The Russians had besides a sixty-four gun ship taken by the enemy, and three frigates that perished by different accidents. The Turkish fleet soon after returned into the harbour of Constantinople, and the admiral, who had been sent out with an express order at all events to reduce the garrison of Kinburn, was strangled by command of the grand signior. At the same time a sort of partisan war was carried on with various success in the Cuban and Georgia. The capi-

tan pacha arrived from his successful expedition into Egypt on the second of November.

But the question upon which the success of the war appeared at this time principally to depend related to the conduct which would be held by the emperor of Germany. The czarina in the war of 1768 had alone appeared a sufficiently formidable adversary of the Ottoman power; but it could not be a trivial consideration for these barbarous and inexperienced armies to obtain the co-operation and support of a regular force of two hundred thousand men, long disciplined in arms, and composed of the natives of Germany, who had been supposed to a proverb the best soldiers in the world. It had by many been imagined that there was nothing the Turks could produce that could in any degree resist the union of the imperial powers, and they saw in idea the reduction of Constantinople as the issue of a single campaign. The emperor however by the capriciousness of his character kept the spirit of curiosity in suspense. The nature of his engagements with Russia was universally suspected, but it was also universally suspected that a dependence upon his fidelity to those engagements would prove extremely precarious. Had France endeavoured to deter him by her threats, or had the new alliance of England and Prussia peremptorily resisted his projects, he would no doubt have shrunk from the uncertain and dangerous consequences to be apprehended from his undertaking. But France was at this moment disarmed by her internal contentions, and the Germanic allies were too busy in securing their imaginary advantages in Hol-

and, to be at leisure to turn their attention with vigour and effect to so distant a scene.

If indeed the character of the emperor would have admitted of the common rules of calculation and conjecture, his designs would have been sufficiently manifest from the outset. Field marshal count Laschy had been declared commander in chief of the army in Hungary on the same day that the Turks had commenced the attack upon Kinburn; and the government was perpetually employed in marching troops and erecting magazines on the frontiers of the Austrian dominions. The Turks however still hoped that they should be able to ward off the blow on this side, and they exerted every effort to maintain harmony and a good understanding with the emperor. They accordingly received with moderation and temper the answer of Joseph to the communication of the manifesto against the Russians, in which he expressly mentioned the obligation imposed on him by treaty to assist the czarina with a reinforcement of eighty thousand men. He added, that, if the Porte should construe this succour into an avowal of hostility, he was prepared for every event; but that it would depend upon themselves whether he should be regarded as anything more than an auxiliary, he being perfectly willing to maintain the subsisting amity upon their mutual frontiers.

But the emperor did not long restrain himself within these limits. On the second of December an attempt was made to take by surprise the important fortress of Belgrade, the garrison of which was said to consist only of four thousand men reinforced by fifteen thousand citizens capable of bearing arms. Four

regiments of infantry and three battalions of grenadiers crossed the Save during the preceding night; but a body of equal force, which was to have crossed the Danube and appear before the town on the other side, having through some accident miscarried, the design proved abortive. The Austrians had brought with them no heavy artillery, and the Turks might greatly have annoyed them in their retreat. But, the imperial commander having apologized for his sudden appearance, and declared that it was solely owing to a report that the Turks meditated an attack upon Semlin, the Austrian town on the other side the Save, he was suffered to retire unmolested. The garrison of Belgrade was soon after reinforced so as to have nothing to apprehend from a similar attempt; and thus the emperor had the satisfaction of displaying the perfidiousness of his principles, without reaping any of the advantages he had expected to derive from it.

The imperial declaration of war was at length communicated to the Turkish administration and to the different courts of Europe on the ninth of February 1788. Its allegations did not relate to any species of injury sustained by the emperor from the court of Constantinople, but merely to the obstinate resistance of the latter to all terms of mediation or accommodation with the court of Russia. On the same day commenced the hostilities of the Austrian forces. Four armies had been formed on the frontiers of the Turkish dominions, in Austrian Poland under the command of the prince of Saxe Cobourg, in Transylvania under general Fabris, and in Croatia under prince Charles of Lichtenstein, governor of Vienna. The central force

was stationed near Semlin at the confluence of the Danube and the Save, and the command had been conferred upon field marshal count Laschy. Neither of these two last generals was present with their respective armies at the opening of the campaign. The emperor professed in these early proceedings not to engage in any arduous undertaking, but by a war of posts to gain an advantageous site for his military operations, and to carry the war into the country of the enemy. Dressnic on the Corona was stormed by the Croatian forces on the tenth. An inferior fortress near the same spot was summoned; and the Turks, pretending as it is said to parley and afterwards suddenly firing upon the Austrians, were forced by the enemy, and every man put to death. Dubicza, a station of much greater moment, was repeatedly attacked, but defended by the Turks with exemplary courage; and, though nearly reduced to a pile of ruins, successfully resisted the utmost efforts of the imperialists. Their attempts in other places were attended with inferior success. They sustained considerable damage on the side of Belgrade; and prince de Cobourg, having crossed the Pruth, and endeavoured to station a body of forces so as to intercept any reinforcements that might be attempted to be thrown into Choczim, suffered a decisive check, and is said to have had one of his regiments nearly cut to pieces. The situation of his army remained for a considerable time a subject of much apprehension. Meanwhile the Austrians suffered greatly from the premature opening of their campaign, and the inclemency of the season occasioned an alarming mor-

talidity both among their horses and men.

The Porte is said to have been less disconcerted than they were expected to have been by the communication of the imperial declaration; and they not only permitted the Austrian envoy to depart without molestation, but at the same time liberated Mr. de Bulhakow from his captivity in the Seven Towers. In their subsequent declaration of war they enumerated more fully than they had before done their causes of complaint against the court of Peterburgh; and remonstrated with considerable emphasis against the conduct of the Austrians in frontlessly violating a peace of fifty years continuance, without having the pretence of a single injury to assign. They enumerated the various instances in which a love of peace had induced them to comply with the requisitions and incroachments of the court of Vienna. The emperor had at various times demanded an enlargement of territory on the side of Moldavia, the guarantee of the Porte for the peaceful behaviour of the Algerines, a freedom of navigation in the Black Sea, the revival of certain commercial stipulations which had formerly subsisted between the two countries, but were superseded by the peace of Belgrade, and the admission of a German consul into Moldavia. In none of these demands had he been authorized by any subsisting treaties, and yet all of them once after another had been conceded by the Porte. The court of Constantinople had upon no occasion taken advantage of the embarrassments of the house of Austria; they had cheerfully submitted to various sacrifices for the preservation of peace, and

and therefore conceived themselves entitled to a better return than the present unprovoked hostilities of the emperor.

Instead of being disheartened at the formidableness of the confederacy that had broken out against them, the Turks applied themselves with redoubled ardour to prepare for resistance. The grand visier in person proposed to march with the principal army to the vicinity of Belgrade; a numerous force was assembled for the defence of Croatia; and the garrisons along the frontier were universally strengthened by reinforcements of men and provisions. A fleet was collected with great labour and industry for the defence of Oczakow and to incline as much as possible the superiority in the Black Sea to the side of the Turks, and the capitan pacha was destined to command it. A partial change was introduced in the council of the grand signior; the musti, who had been the most strenuous advocate for peace, was removed; and the party of the visier was rendered every where triumphant.

After the attempt upon Dubicza and the other inferior expeditions we have described, the imperial forces continued for the most part inactive during the remainder of their winter campaign. The interval was interspersed with a petty war of posts which was related with great minuteness in the Vienna gazette; but nothing occurred that seems to deserve to be mentioned except the attack of Turkish Gradisca to the south of the Save in the province of Croatia, which was repeatedly bombarded, but was defended by the Turks with the same unalterable courage and perseverance that they had displayed at Dubicza. Meanwhile the transactions of the emperor appeared for

the present at least to be attended with greater success in the way of negotiation and intrigue. General Clairfait was commissioned to treat with Mahmoud Ali, the celebrated rebel pacha of Scutari; and a similar commerce was set on foot with Ypsilandi, a Grecian chieftain, who had about twelve months before been appointed hospodar of Moldavia. This negotiation was brought to its maturity in April, at the close of which month the Austrian forces under general Fabris took possession of Jassy the capital, and over-ran the whole province with the exception of the fortrefs of Choczim on the frontiers of Poland.

The emperor, marshal Lascey and the prince of Lichtenstein repaired to the armies in Hungary and Croatia in the close of March, but it was not till the latter end of April that the forces were put into motion. At that time the emperor in person undertook the assault of Schabatz, a fortrefs upon the Danube a little to the west of Belgrade, which was soon reduced to surrender. Prince Lichtenstein had already formed the siege of Dubicza, and now conceived he had found a favourable opportunity of reducing the garrison by storm; but he was repulsed by the Turks, who, pursuing their advantage, attacked the Austrians in their trenches, and after a general action of three hours are said to have been defeated. Their adversary however thought proper that very night to raise the siege, to break up his camp, cross the river that divided the imperial from the Turkish territories, and station his forces in such a manner as might best cover the former from the enterprizes of the Ottomans. These were for some time the last offensive operations of the Austrians.

They had vehemently boasted of the decisive advantages they should possess over an undisciplined enemy, and they still talked of the siege of Belgrade. But this operation was from time to time deferred, they remained for the most part quiet in their camp, and at length the arrival of the grand visier and his army gave a new turn to the fate of the campaign.

The vast empire of Russia advanced in its warlike operations with a slower progress. This was ascribed in part to the wisdom and maturity of her counsels, not hurried on like the emperor by a puerile impatience, exposing his troops to the pernicious operations of a wintry sky, or gratifying a restless disposition by puny war; but waiting for the moment of energy, and watchful to strike a decisive blow. We must not however ascribe the slowness of the Russians entirely to their wisdom. Though their empire was extensive, its provinces were desert and uninhabited, and they were little prepared either in population or revenue to support the burthen of war. In the very commencement of hostilities they had made a levy of one man in an hundred through their vast dominions, and this was expected to produce a hundred thousand men; and, in consequence of certain unfavourable events that occurred in the course of the campaign, the government paper became so reduced in its credit as to be negotiated at a discount of seventy per cent. We do not give these as unquestionable facts; but they probably had some foundation in truth, and they enable to judge of the idea formed of the situation of Russia in neighbouring nations. Certain it is that the empress found it necessary to suspend

the progress of the public edifices and canals that had been undertaken, and to convert equally the sums destined for necessary improvements and philosophical discoveries to the support of the war.

The armies under Potemkin and Romanzow had been in some degree formed during the last campaign, and they received continual reinforcements in the course of the present year. The army of the former, which was destined for the siege of Oczakow, and consisted of seventy thousand men attended with a train of one hundred and twenty seven cannon, crossed the Hypanis or river Bog early in June; and the forces of Romanzow, which were estimated at fifty or sixty thousand men, at the same time passed the Niefter. Soon after this operation general Romanzow detached one half of his army to join prince de Cobourg on the Pruth, who had already in the preceding month undertaken the bombardment of Choczim, but after a short trial found himself unequal to the pursuit of a regular siege. Meanwhile the naval preparations of Russia did not fall short of her military exertions. A numerous fleet was fitted out at the port of Cronstadt in the Baltic, which was destined to encounter that of the capitan pacha in the Archipelago. These efforts however were widely distant from the scene of action, and therefore attended with uncertainty. A fleet of an inferior sort was industriously created in the Euxine. It does not seem to have consisted of more than four ships of the line, three of which had been launched in the preceding summer at Cherson, together with some frigates and a considerable number of galleys; and these, being distributed into two squadrons,

Squadrons, were stationed in part at Kinburn under the prince of Nassau Siegen, and in part at Sebastopolis in the Crimea under admiral count Wainowitz. In the former of these squadrons Paul Jones, the celebrated freebooter, served in the quality of rear admiral.

The naval armament of the Turks was an object of principal attention with the court of Constantinople. It was intended to be commanded by Hassan Ali, who had made so distinguished a figure in Egypt, and whose military reputation greatly surpassed that of the rest of his countrymen. It was destined for the conquest of the Crimea, the favourite object which had excited the Turks to their late declaration of war. When the capitan pacha sailed from the road of Constantinople on the twentieth of May, his fleet consisted of sixteen ships of the line and nine frigates, beside many smaller vessels; and it was altogether impossible that the navy of Cronstadt could arrive time enough to counteract his operations. His success however did not correspond with the expectations he excited; and the prince of Nassau displayed not merely the superiority of refinement and science over barbarism, but also threw contempt upon that inequality of force, which it has lately been the fashion to consider as decisive in naval engagements.

Hassan Ali appeared at the mouth of the Dnieper in the beginning of the following month. His adversary found himself totally unable to encounter the vast superiority of the Turkish force, and had therefore judiciously stationed his little fleet in the bay of Kinburn, commonly called the Liman, in shallow water where they could not safely be ap-

proached by ships of burthen. The Turkish admiral found it impracticable to bear down upon him with his whole force, and at the same time conceived he had sufficient reason for confidence in his smaller vessels, which amounted to fifty-seven, while those of the enemy did not exceed twenty-seven sail. He therefore sent in this force to the attack on the nineteenth of June; but the prince of Nassau, aware of his design, stationed his vessels in such a manner as to prevent an attack in line, and by his exertions repulsed the Turkish assailants. Two of their vessels were blown up, one sunk, and the rest driven back in confusion, till they got under protection of their ships of the line.

Hassan was little accustomed to brook a defeat, and he resolved to repair in person the miscarriage of those who acted under him. Forgetting the circumstance which appears to have influenced his conduct in the former instance, and hurried on by a blind impetuosity, he entered the Liman with his principal fleet, regardless of the shallowness of the navigation. Here, as might have been expected, his vessel immediately struck; but it was got off before the Russians could advance to the attack. The wind was unfavourable, and therefore the prince of Nassau put off the engagement to the next day, which was the twenty-eighth. In the mean time he had been reinforced with twenty-two vessels of one gun each, that were built at Kremenschuck. In the beginning of the conflict a Turkish sixty-four struck upon the sand and was assailed on all sides by the Muscovites. The contest lasted several hours, but the Turk was at length obliged to yield, and his crew was saved, though the

ship was blown up. A similar fate attended the admiral ship of the capitan pacha. The Turks were prevented by the batteries of Kinburn from escaping out of the Liman during the night. The next morning more of the Ottoman ships of the line were found stranded; and, the prince of Nassau having come up with his flotilla, a battle ensued, which lasted four hours and a half. In the result five other of the Turkish vessels were destroyed, as well ships of the line as frigates, and two taken. The number of prisoners were near seventeen hundred. Two thousand Turks are computed to have perished in the flames. Through the whole action they displayed a firmness and perseverance altogether unconquerable, and were only subdued by the ruinous situation in which they had placed themselves. The capitan pacha immediately after the action sailed for Varna at the mouth of the Danube.

The Turks were not long before they found themselves again in a condition to put to sea; and prince Potemkin, who was preparing for the bombardment of Oczakow, found that his undertaking would be impracticable, so long as the Ottoman galleys should be able to maintain their situation in its vicinity. He accordingly directed the prince of Nassau to attack them, which service was performed on the night of the eleventh of July. The engagement is said to have endured eight hours, and the Turks suffered so much as to be obliged to quit their station, while the Russian commander returned to his anchorage under the fortress of Kinburn. Accordingly on the next day the prince of Nassau, supported by the army on the other side, began the bombardment of

Oczakow with such success, as to set fire to the towns in several places; but, the heavy artillery not being yet arrived, prince Potemkin was not able to commence a regular siege. The Turkish admiral in his retreat directed his course to Sebastopolis, with an intention of burning the squadron of count Wainowitz, consisting of two ships of sixty-six guns, two of fifty, and eight frigates of forty guns each; but, after a battle of five hours, he was obliged to sail away without effecting his purpose.

It was fortunate for Russia that she had so skilful a commander at the head of her navy in the Black Sea, as to make the interference of the fleet of Cronstadt unnecessary for the defence of her Tartarian dominions. The extreme distance they had to traverse before they could arrive at the place of their destination, rendered the period of their arrival extremely uncertain; and the danger that would result to the liberties of Europe from the conquest of Turkey, together with the galling and unintermitted slavery in which the powers of the North, who were unable to resist her, were held by the czarina, might excite a reasonable apprehension of hostilities nearer to the metropolis of the empire. England and Prussia contemplated her projects with disapprobation and jealousy. Poland, Courland and Sweden looked with an impatient and anxious expectation for the moment when they might safely shake off the superiority, which deprived them of all external authority, and distracted their centre with contention, faction and discord.

The monarch of the last of these countries in particular was in the vigour of his age, bold, enthusiastic

and enterprising. The people over whom he reigned had indeed lost all political consequence and all internal harmony since the fatal reign of king Charles the Twelfth; but previously to that period they had figured among the most envied powers of Europe, and had twice in a manner given laws to the most eminent of their neighbours. The imbecility that succeeded upon the death of that celebrated monarch, had for half a century rendered them a prey to their ambitious and intriguing rivals. There were in the diet, says the royal historian of Prussia, a French party and a Russian party; but there was not an individual among them that supported the party of the nation. The present sovereign had endeavoured to remedy this inconvenience; he had counteracted an aristocracy which could never have been productive of benefit to his people; and he had not thought proper to disseminate principles of impartial liberty, as the most effectual balance to this dangerous inconvenience. He had found it necessary to employ the artificial influence of France in opposition to the grasping ambition of the empress of Russia, but he was too enlightened and too proud to submit implicitly to the dictates of either. For six years from the revolution of 1772, assisted by the judicious and moderate counsel of count Charles Scheffer the governor of his youth, and baron Lilljencrantz minister of the finances, he had reigned with great tranquillity; but the diets of 1778 and 1786 had enabled the higher orders of the state to recover a share of their authority, while the intrigues of Russia were daily becoming more formidable to the prince on the throne.

Such were the circumstances that induced Gustavus the Third to meditate a project of hostilities against Russia. It can scarcely be doubted that he was encouraged in these views by the king of Prussia; and he was himself exceedingly anxious to engage the court of Denmark, which was equally exposed to the oppressive tyranny of Russia, and which, though narrow in its extent of dominions, was of some maritime importance, to make a common cause with him in the present crisis. Actuated by motives of this sort, he visited the court of Copenhagen in the close of the year 1787, and again in the spring of 1788. He hoped to persuade the prince royal, his near relation, of promising hopes, and whose early youth might be expected to render him susceptible of projects of ambition and independence; and he exerted for this purpose his eloquence, and those attractive and amiable manners by which he is peculiarly distinguished. But the gold of Russia, as it should seem, and the sinister counsels of the corrupt courtiers of the prince, prevailed over the powers of his understanding. Gustavus suffered not merely from his hostility, but from the ambiguity of his designs, and departed with a persuasion that he might depend, if not upon his active support, at least upon his strict neutrality.

The conduct of the king of Sweden at this time with the court of Russia was such, as we must either ascribe to the most perfect frankness and candour, or to an unprecedented neglect of the established rules of policy. He professed to enter into the war as the ally of the grand signior, and his proceedings were precisely such as might have been expected

expected from a decisive preference of the interests of that prince to his own. His preparations were commenced in the close of the year 1787; and it was on the ninth of June 1788 that the duke of Sudermania, brother to the king, set sail with twelve ships of the line from the port of Carlscroon; at the same time that a number of troops rendezvoused at Stockholm seemed only to wait for a favourable wind to transport them to the frontiers of Finland.

It was in this situation that count Rasumowski, ambassador from the czarina to the court of Stockholm, delivered an official note to the Swedish administration on the eighteenth of June, demanding an explanation respecting these warlike preparations. It will not be easy to understand the transactions that followed upon this note, without recollecting the nature of the Russian ambassador's situation in the court of Gustavus. He was not considered here simply as what his title imported, the representative of his mistress, to transact with the servants of the king or to communicate intelligence to her administration. He was regarded as the head of a party in Sweden, as a visible centre of cabal and intrigue, and the animating soul of a body of men, who, instigated by the monarchy that delegated him, had frequently shaken the throne of Sweden to its foundation. The Russian party in that country had suffered a temporary defeat from the decisive conduct of Gustavus in the commencement of his reign; but they had since recovered the blow, and their machinations became every day more formidable. In this light the expressions of count Rasumowski in the state paper we have mentioned will appear exceptionable, where he

"declares, to the administration of the king, as well as to all persons of the Swedish nation possessing any share in its government, that the czarina entertained dispositions towards them the most entirely pacific, and took a sincere interest in the preservation of their tranquillity."

The mind of the king had probably been previously irritated by the intrigues of the Russian minister; and he accordingly conceived the warmest resentment against the language of this note. He declared he could no longer regard count Rasumowski as the representative of a friendly power, and insisted that he should immediately quit the court and territories of Sweden. In a note addressed to the diplomatical corps in explanation of this proceeding, and dated on the twenty-third, Gustavus observes, that he had remarked with astonishment the language that for some months past had been held by the Russian ambassador. He had endeavoured to tranquillise his own alarms on this subject: he had wished not to suffer himself to credit the efforts made by count Rasumowski, to plunge the nation once more into the errors that had seduced them in a period of anarchy, and to diffuse anew that spirit of discord which the king had happily exerted himself to extinguish. But the note of the eighteenth of June had dissipated these doubts. He there saw the ambassador trampling on all the established practices of independent nations. Appointed to declare the sentiments of his masters, an envoy could address himself to the monarch alone. Every other authority was foreign to him; every other witness superfluous. Such was the law, such the proceeding of every court in Europe, which had

no instance been violated but for capitious purposes, as were those that had formerly been pursued by Russia in the court of Stockholm.

It was natural in a misunderstanding of so peculiar a nature as that of Peterburgh and Sweden, where the controversy seemed in many respects to assume the character of personality, that the sovereigns should employ expressions of more harshness and invective than are usual in similar situations. The empress of Russia by way of reprisal thought proper to order the envoy of Sweden to quit her territories, and she also explained her conduct in a circular note to the ambassadors resident at Peterburgh. It is unnecessary to transcribe all the sarcastic and unusual expressions interspersed in this paper. Among other allegations she observes, that the king, beside being restrained by that good faith which ought more deeply to be impressed in the hearts of sovereigns than of other men, was forbidden by his solemn engagements to his people to undertake any war without first assembling, consulting and obtaining the consent of his subjects. She adds, that she had been obliged to imitate the conduct of Gustavus towards the Russian ambassador, but with this difference; that her conduct had been characterised by sincerity and candour, while that of the king of Sweden was full of artifice, duplicity and falsehood.

An incident at this time occurred, which will by different persons be regarded either as an unpardonable instance of neglect on the part of the Swedes respecting an advantage which fortune seemed to have thrown into their hands, or as a fresh example of that sincerity and plain dealing for which the nation has been

so eminently illustrious. In the short interval between the requisition of count Rasoumofski and the determination of Gustavus, the duke of Sudermania, who had for some time been cruising with the Swedish fleet in the Baltic, fell in with the squadron of vice admiral Dessen, which was proceeding from Cronstadt to Eléneur, and consisted of four ships of the line, three of them of one hundred guns each, and four frigates. The Swedish commander, instead of improving this opportunity to strike a fatal blow at the Russian navy, amused himself with demanding the salute from admiral Dessen; and that officer with admirable presence of mind replied, that, though by the stipulation of treaties there could be no question of salute between Swedish and Russian ships, yet he was willing to pay a personal compliment to the duke of Sudermania.

The king of Sweden quitted the port of Stockholm on the twenty-fourth of June, and arrived with his army in Finland on the second of July. Troops had for some time been collecting on the frontiers of both countries, and hostilities are said to have commenced several days before the arrival of the king, both parties warmly contending that they had not been the first in offensive attack. In the mean time the Russians possessed the greatest advantages upon this supposition, as they had in former treaties been the party to strip the other of their territories, and had taken care to secure the strongest passes to themselves, while the frontiers of Sweden were left entirely defenceless. Soon after the appearance of Gustavus two Russian frigates were taken and brought into the port of Sweabourg, while the Swedish troops took possession of the

the pass of Pytis, and formed the blockade of Nyssot.

No sooner had the king landed his army than he directed his chargé des affaires at the court of Petersburg, to communicate to the czarina the terms upon which he was willing to consent to the preservation of peace. In this paper he demanded in the first place the exemplary punishment of count Rasoumofski for the illicit means he had employed in troubling the tranquillity of Sweden, and for having dared to intrude himself into the domestic concerns of an independent kingdom. He expected that the empress should cede to him all that part of Finland and Carelia, together with the district of Kexholm, which had been wrested from Sweden by the treaties of Nyssot and Abo, to indemnify him for the expence of his preparations. He required the czarina to accept the mediation of Sweden by authorizing him to offer to the Turks the cession of the Crimea and the regulation of the limits upon the footing of the treaty of Cainargi; or, if that did not prove acceptable to the divan, upon the footing on which they had stood previously to the war of 1768. He demanded for the security of his mediation, that the Russians should disarm their fleet, and recal their vessels from the Baltic and their troops from the newly acquired provinces, while the king of Sweden should be permitted to remain in arms till the conclusion of peace: and he added, that he would not depart in a single point from these propositions.

Gustavus did not expect an answer to demands of this nature; and the only effect they produced on the court of Russia was to ac-

celerate a manifesto, dated on the eleventh, and which only deserves to be mentioned, for the language in which it describes the Swedish resolution of 1772. At that time the king, we are told, violently overturned the form of government of Sweden, the secure basis of the power of the senate and the liberty of the people; and took into his own hands an absolute and uncontrollable power. Such language, though in part justly descriptive of the event, would scarcely have been held by any foreign state, but for the purpose of exciting his subjects to disaffection.

The principal action of the campaign was the naval battle off Hoogland, in the gulph of Finland. One of the peculiarities of the conduct of Sweden upon this occasion was their not suffering the Russian fleet to sail for the Archipelago, and taking advantage of its absence to attempt a blow against the heart of the empire. In this proceeding there seems to be something of the haste and precipitation, which have frequently characterized the actions of Gustavus, and have sometimes been productive of success and sometimes of misfortune. He might have found it difficult to surmise the vigilance of the czarina, and he was constitutionally averse to the patience and reserve which such a plan of conduct must have required. He was desirous of effectually assisting his southern ally; and he believed, it may be, that he should more completely humble the despotism of Russia, by destroying its grand fleet, than by suffering it to pursue its course and reap new laurels in the Archipelago.

Admiral Greig sailed from the port of Cronstadt on the fourth of July,

ly, and on the seventeenth he fell with the fleet which the duke of Södermanland commanded, having under him to assist with his counsels admiral count Wrangel. The engagement which ensued, and which lasted five hours, was fought with considerable skill and obstinacy on both sides. The forces were nearly equal, the Russian fleet consisting of seventeen ships of the line, and the Swedish of fifteen, of an inferior weight of metal, but reinforced by five frigates, one of forty-four and the rest of forty guns each, which occasionally ranged themselves in the line of battle. There were lesser frigates and small vessels on each side. In the engagement the Russians captured the Prince Gustavus of sixty-eight guns carrying a flag; and the Swedes took a Russian seventy-four, and reduced another ship of the line to so disabled a state that it could not be repaired. The fleet of both parties in general suffered considerably in the battle.

While the fleet of the king was employed in this manner, the monarch in person advanced to besiege the fortress of Fredericsham. On the nineteenth his forces encamped within a few miles of the place, and on the following night their advanced guard was attacked by a select party of the garrison, whom they drove back in disorder. A few days afterwards a detachment of six thousand men was embarked at Sweabourgh with orders to attack the fortress in the rear, while the king should advance against it in front. They were detained several days by contrary winds. At length on the first of August two cannon shot, the appointed signal of the disembarkation, were heard, and Gustavus sent forward a party towards the walls

of the fort. It was then found, that the signal proceeded from the Russians, and that the troops were not disembarked. The Swedes however made good their retreat. On the next day the landing was effected, the governor of the fort caused the suburbs to be burned, and every thing seemed ready for an immediate storm.

The king of Sweden had undoubtedly promised himself, that, in the present unprovided state of the Russian frontier, the flower of the empress's army being marched to the most distant part of her dominions, he should obtain the most decisive advantages in a single campaign. But these expectations were suddenly reversed. Instead of finding himself in possession of the Russian frontier, his own dominions were invaded on a side where he least expected an enemy, his army was rendered inactive and useless, and his crown was exposed to the most imminent danger.

Repeated difficulties had been made in the Swedish army respecting the prerogative of the king to commence hostilities against Russia, it being expressly provided by an article in the constitution, that he should not undertake an offensive war without having obtained the consent of the states. From this consideration several Swedish officers had resigned their commissions immediately upon entering the province of Finland. In the mean time the flame of disaffection and discontent perpetually increased; and, when the king issued his command for the troops to advance against the fortress of Fredericsham, he encountered an unexpected and invincible resistance. Several officers at first remonstrated with him, that there

there was a marsh between him and the enemy the passing of which would be found impracticable. Their anxiety for his safety would not permit them to suffer him to expose himself to so great a danger; and they hoped his regard for his subjects would prevent him from sacrificing their lives to no purpose. The king was deaf to their representations; and at length, throwing off the mask, they declared that they could not engage in an enterprise so contrary to law, as an offensive war without the consent of the states. From the officers the king turned to the troops. But they were already gained. One regiment set the example, and the greater part of the army laid down their arms. Gustavus found himself obliged immediately to desist from his undertakings. He broke up the siege of Fredericsham, he dissolved the blockade of Nyslöt, and precipitately put an end to his offensive operations. The business of the campaign was concluded in a moment.

Having cantoned his troops in the frontier of Russia, the king soon after set out for Stockholm. Previously to his departure he published a manifesto against the czarina, considerably more energetic in its style than the papers which had preceded. He charged her with having, previously to the Turkish war, expressly conceived the project of annexing Swedish Finland to her dominions. He added, that he had hitherto been unable to prevail upon himself to disclose to the eyes of Europe the errors into which a part of his subjects had been led, rather by the intrigues of Russia, than by any disaffection inherent in themselves. Accustomed to regard his people with the eyes of paternal ten-

derness, cherishing his subjects as his children, he felt how much it cost a father to discover faults, that he would willingly have buried in oblivion. But nothing short of this could illustrate the unjust conduct of a neighbouring power and the injuries sustained by the king. The interest of the nation at large demanded that Europe should be informed of the extent of the calamity with which the state had been menaced, of the plots that had been formed under cover of an insidious peace even against the person of the king, and of the true nature of that conduct, which Russia had pursued under the guise of moderation, of that conduct, which concealed purposes abundantly more destructive, than the calamities ordinarily attendant upon war.

During the progress of these hostilities count Rasomoufski still continued to reside in the capital of Sweden. At first he refused to depart till he was recalled by his court; and that obstacle being removed, he insisted upon returning home through the province of Finland, while the king, refusing this, gave him his choice of every other route. It is now sufficiently visible why count Rasomoufski laid so much stress on this circumstance, or at least why the king was naturally jealous of his presence with the army. Meanwhile his residence at Stockholm was it seems more useful than his departure by any other road; and accordingly having continued there till he saw his projects advanced to considerable maturity, he quitted the capital and kingdom on the eleventh of August.

The motive, which had obliged the king so precipitately to withdraw himself from the army in Fin-

land,

and, was chiefly derived from the unexpected determination of the court of Denmark. Gustavus, as we have remarked, had been extremely assiduous in cultivating the friendship of the prince royal, in whose hands the regency was vested, and every exterior token seemed to imply the success of his efforts. The prince set out upon a tour in Norway in the month of June, and he was every day expected to pay a friendly visit to the frontiers of Sweden, whither Gustavus had sent certain officers of his court to compliment him upon his arrival. Prince Charles of Hesse, brother of the reigning landgrave, and the Danish viceroys of Norway, had preceded him in this tour; and, being received with great urbanity and politeness by the Swedish officers, had visited the fortifications of Warberg, Elfsborg and Gottenburg. But all these amicable appearances were suddenly changed. The prince royal, about an abrupt period to his tour in the beginning of August, the Russians applied for the succours stipulated as it should seem by treaty, their demand was granted by the Danish court, and it was resolved that the troops should be, not transported into Russia for the defence of her territories, but marched against the southern frontier of Sweden, which was altogether unprepared for defence.

Difficulties on every side seemed to arise to crush the falling monarch. The Swedish constitution was of a peculiar nature, and, previously to the revolution of 1772, had placed all the substantial power in the diet, where from the actual state of Sweden the nobility usually more than overbalanced the other three orders, and during the recess of the diet in the senate,

the members of which were all persons of hereditary distinction. At the revolution the king, in order to annihilate the irresistible influence of the senate, had made it an article in the new form of government, that no measure belonging to the ordinary functions of administration should be carried in opposition to the king, unless the senate were unanimous in approving it; and it could hardly be supposed, that a monarch, possessing all the influence annexed to his office, could in any case fail to gain one senator to his party. But by a strange oversight the case of the king's absence from his capital was entirely unprovided for; and, as he possessed no constitutional mode of opposing their resolutions by proxy, their power became in that event as formidable as ever. Accustomed to be guided, the senate of 1788 for some time shewed themselves sufficiently docile, explicitly approving all the measures of the king in the Russian war. But they at length caught the contagion that infected the army, and resolved without the privacy of Gustavus to assemble a diet, under pretence of settling the misunderstandings and contentions of the kingdom.

No sooner had the king quitted the army in Finland than the officers entered into an avowed correspondence with the court of Russia. They sent deputies to Petersburg proposing a cessation of arms, till the Swedish senate should have determined on the measures it would be proper to adopt, to bring back the sovereign to his dependence on the constitution, and to oblige him to abandon a war which he had rashly and unjustly commenced. The representatives of the army were received with great cordiality by the czarina,

ezarina, and their request readily granted. The negotiation was carried on under the eyes and in defiance of the counteraction of the duke of Sudermania, who had come on shore to assume the command of the army in the absence of his brother, and who thought proper in the sequel to confirm the articles of convention, designing by that means to conceal as much as possible the anarchy and disobedience that had erected their standard in Sweden. The royal army retreated from the frontiers of Russia, and the enemy took immediate possession of the defiles and passes through which only their country could be penetrated. One officer alone, lieutenant general Platen, declared his dissent from the capitulation, and maintained his station in Carelia, declaring that he could not submit to be bound by the signature of his commander in chief, when that signature was extorted from him.

The first measure of the king of Sweden under this complicated difficulty was to dispatch a messenger to Copenhagen, probably subsequent to their decision upon the demands of Russia, but before the decision was declared, requiring the mediation of that court, in order to his obtaining a just and equitable peace with the empress of Russia. He next entered his metropolis, and by his sudden arrival annihilated the resolution of the senate for assembling a diet. At Stockholm he indeed found a strong party of the nobility inimical to him, but the people at large were enthusiastically prepossessed in his favour. Some of the officers, who had resigned their commissions, repaired to the metropolis, where they could not appear in public without experiencing the

most mortifying reception. The very sight of a cockade was sure to be a mark for the hisses and scorn of the populace, and every one that wore it was exclaimed upon as the pensioner of Russia. The king arrived on the first of September, and, having immediately marched all the regular forces of the capital to the defence of the southern provinces, he addressed the inhabitants, expressing his entire confidence in their loyalty and affection, and declaring that he deemed the royal family no less safe under the protection of the citizens of Stockholm than under a military guard. He therefore requested them in this emergency to take the defence of the capital upon themselves; and the inhabitants, grateful for these marks of his attachment, speedily enrolled themselves to the number of two thousand, clothed themselves in a uniform, and assumed in all respects the appearance of regular troops.

The king resided for a few days during these transactions at his country seat of Haga in the neighbourhood of Stockholm, and on the twelfth set out for the province of Dalecarlia, the most westerly division of the kingdom of Sweden. This province, celebrated for its mines of copper, had been the retreat of Gustavus Vasa during the usurpation of Denmark, and had at all times been distinguished for its attachment to its sovereign. The king upon this occasion threw himself upon their generosity; he descended into the mines, and addressed their laborious inhabitants. The Dalecarlians offered him a guard of three thousand select young men, and promised that that number should be doubled if necessary. The king replied, that he hoped he should never

stand in need of a guard against their own subjects, but that, if they would follow him in the defence of their country, he would gratefully accept of their assistance.

From Dalecarlia the king proceeded with this new body of volunteers to Wermlandia, the adjoining province on the southerly side, where he still farther recruited his forces; and arrived on the twenty-sixth at Carlstadt. A considerable reinforcement from Swedish Pomerania was also transported to Calmar and the other garrisons upon the Baltic, and the whole kingdom bore the face of hostility and resistance. Meanwhile Gustavus had received the notification of the court of Denmark, which seems to have been dispatched previously to their receiving his request of mediation; and he replied on the eleventh of September, the day before he set out for Dalecarlia, that after what had passed he had little expected to see peace of sixty years continuance suddenly violated; that he had till this moment been ignorant of the pledged engagements of Denmark and Russia; that in the mean time the king, as was the usage of all civilized states, sent his reinforcements to the territories of Russia, and the existing theatre of hostility, and he would consent, as the king of Denmark required, to the regarding him merely as an auxiliary; but that, on the contrary a direct invasion was made on the territory of Sweden, and he would regard the peace as violated, and the Dane as the aggressor.

The auxiliaries to be furnished by the court of Copenhagen consisted of a fleet to the amount of six ships of the line and an army of twelve thousand men; and the period fixed for the commencement of hostilities was 1789.

the twenty-fourth. Vice-admiral Dessen, immediately after his rencontre with the duke of Sudermania, had sailed for Elfsineur, where he was stationed for the purpose of intercepting the commerce of Sweden at its entrance into the Baltic; and, in order to counteract his efforts, three Swedish frigates cruised at Gottenburg a few leagues nearer to the German ocean. At the appointed time the Russian admiral was immediately joined by three Danish ships of the line, and the combined fleet set sail for the Baltic. Thus circumstanced we might imagine the duke of Sudermania to have been placed between two fires, but he prudently laid up his fleet in the port of Sweabourg in Finland, and did not return to Carlscroon till just before the setting in of the winter.

Prince Charles of Hesse Cassel, commander in chief of the land forces of Denmark, sailed from Jutland to the province of Norway in the beginning of September; and was accompanied in his campaign by the prince royal. He entered the territories of Sweden on the day appointed, and on the twenty-sixth took possession without opposition of the port town of Stromstad. The headquarters of the army stationed to oppose him under general Hierta were at Wennerburg, and a detachment was placed in a strong point nearer to the sea at Quistrum. This force, which consisted of about seven hundred men, the prince of Hesse was fortunate enough to surround, and on the twenty-ninth they surrendered at discretion. The prince immediately sent forward an officer to summon the town of Uddewalla, an advantageous post about forty miles from Gottenburg, which he entered on the first of October.

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He next summoned Gottenburg itself, which was the principal object of his expedition, and respecting which it had even been reported, that it was promised by the czarina to be guaranteed to the crown of Denmark, to indemnify them for the expences of the war.

The officer, who was sent to summon the fortress of Gottenburg to surrender, reached that place on the fifth, and was introduced to the king of Sweden in person. The monarch had travelled one hundred miles on horseback, almost alone, and not without danger of being taken by the enemy, to prevent the catastrophe of this important place. He found that the governor had before his arrival called together the inhabitants, and recommended to them an immediate submission. The king reached Gottenburg on the night of the third, and the next morning, having assembled the citizens, he informed them that he regarded their town as one of the most precious jewels in his crown, and adjured them to assist him in preventing it from falling into the hands of the enemy. The effect of this proceeding was immediate. They declared that they would submit in every thing to his direction; and the king, having first changed the governor of the fortress, proceeded to make every preparation for an obstinate defence.

But the termination of this business was more propitious than it might be expected to have been. The king of Sweden had probably been encouraged in his hostilities against Russia by the courts of London and Berlin; and they did not desert him in this emergency. The British government had received repeated affronts from the empress of

Russia, none of which were forgotten. The measure of the armed neutrality, though it seems to have been founded in ideas of perfect equity, was regarded by her as a deep wound given to her interests at a time when she was least able to resent it. The czarina had also suffered the court of London to be repeatedly in vain for a renewal of the commercial treaty, which, having expired in April 1786, received a temporary prolongation for twelve months, and after that was suffered to be entirely superseded. In consequence of these transactions the intimate friendship and alliance, which had subsisted between England and Russia, ceased, or rather was exchanged on the part of the former for a painful and restless emotion of animosity and revenge. The king of Prussia on the other hand was actuated by ambition and a sort of puerile ardour for fame, to which he had been encouraged by the success of his early fraternal expedition against Holland. He was accordingly desirous of rivalling the insolent and despotic sway of Russia among the neighbouring powers. He had already commenced a series of intrigues in Poland, and he was equally desirous of suppressing the influence of the czarina in Denmark and Sweden.

It was singular that at this time neither the courts of London, Berlin nor Versailles had any authentic and titled representative in the dominions of Sweden. The place however of a thousand negociators was amply supplied by Mr. Hugh Elliot the English envoy to the court of Copenhagen, who upon the first notice of hostilities passed over into Sweden, and met king Gustavus at Carlstadt.

Carlsbad. It must have been no small consolation to the agitated monarch, after all his fatigues and anxieties, to be promised the effectual support of the kings of England and Prussia. Cheered by this suspicious mediator, the king took the earliest opportunity of signifying to the court of Copenhagen, that he was contented to regard their forces merely as auxiliary till the event of the present negotiation should be known; and to publish a declaration to his subjects, in which, at the same time that he exhorted them to firmness and exertion, he acquainted them with the hope he had formed of the immediate retreat of their southern invader.

Mr. Elliot lost no time in endeavouring to fulfil the expectations of his royal client. He addressed two letters to the prince of Hesse, requiring him in the name of the allied courts to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities, to which the Danish commander returned no favourable answer. Upon his arrival at Gottenburg on the sixth of October, he wrote a third letter, in a style still more emphatical. "At this very moment," said he, "war is perhaps declared against Denmark by Prussia and England; but, if your highness will consent to what I propose, I will immediately dispatch couriers to stop if possible the invasion of a Prussian army in Holstein and the sailing of our fleet." He requested the prince of Hesse to read his letter to the prince royal. "It is written by the ambassador of the king his uncle, by a man wholly devoted to the prince, and who risks his own life to prevent the effusion of the blood of others."

The Danish commander was placed in a very critical situation.

He had Gottenburg in view, and as he believed in his power. But he could not obtain it in the manner he had at first expected to have done by the voluntary surrender of the inhabitants. They were resolved on an inflexible resistance, and he was unwilling to lay this populous and flourishing city in ashes. The threats also of the courts of London and Berlin were matters of serious consideration, and the attack of Gottenburg was represented by Mr. Elliot as the signal of the most determined hostilities on their part. Under these circumstances the resolution of the Danish princes was in favour of compliance; a cessation of hostilities was immediately granted, and was formally signed on the ninth of October.

Though from incidental circumstances this important transaction had been completed by the English envoy, the court of Berlin fully concurred in the measures that were adopted. A Prussian envoy arrived at Gottenburg in the following week, and presently after, in compliance with the spirit of the triple alliance recently concluded, the Dutch ambassador at the city of Stockholm repaired to the scene of negotiation. A Prussian declaration, which had been prepared at the period of the mission of Mr. Elliot, was delivered at the court of Copenhagen, threatening an invasion of the duchy of Holstein; and it produced the immediate effect of causing orders to be sent to the prince of Hesse to evacuate the territories of Sweden.

By the time that the cessation of hostilities had been completed, the strength of the king of Sweden in this part of his dominions was so far increased, as to have enabled him

to place the Danish invader in a very precarious situation. The volunteers of Dalecarlia, who had armed and equipped themselves without assistance from the public revenue, amounted to four thousand men. They were reinforced by the volunteers of Wermlandia. The garrison of Stockholm was marched in the beginning of September. Detachments were every day received from the army in Finland. The Pomeranian troops reached Sweden in safety, though the fleet of admiral Dessen had cruised for the express purpose of intercepting them. It is difficult to pronounce, whether it were circumstances of this sort that influenced the mind of Gustavus, in the difficulties he afterwards created respecting the terms of compromise. A small fleet of provision boats belonging to Denmark was taken by the Swedes on the eleventh and twelfth of October; and as the articles of cessation mentioned only the land forces, the king refused to restore them. The prince of Hesse alledged on his part that he had not been influenced by this omission, and had sent immediate notice of the cessation to the Danish admiral. When at length they were conceded, the king was still unwilling to part with the Swedish cannon that had been taken at Quistrum and were found on board; and these were presented to him by the prince royal. The king also complained, and that as it should seem without any very urgent reason, of the modes pursued by the prince of Hesse in obtaining provisions upon the Swedish

territories, and threatened upon the ground a renewal of hostilities; and he afterwards excused himself as having done this more for the sake of shewing attention to his subjects than for the prince of Hesse. Various passions contended in the breast of Gustavus. He felt a deep resentment of the invasion of the Danes, and he regretted the not being permitted, when he conceived it was in his power, to make them deeply repent it. Meanwhile the points which were thus in debate between him and the prince of Hesse, were matters of so extreme delicacy, that we have some doubts in deciding respecting them. Mr. Elliot however, who had at first entered with ardour into the cause of the king of Sweden, condemned him, as it appears with some acrimony, in these proceedings, and he was supported in his decision by the envoy of Prussia. But the scene rapidly advanced towards its close. The first suspension of arms had been for a week only*, but it was speedily prolonged to a month, and upon the expiration of that term a cessation was adjusted for six months concluding with May 1780. The Danish troops finally evacuated the territories of Sweden on the twelfth of November.

We see, in the miscellaneous transactions of the Swedish campaign, the various and mixed character of Gustavus exhibited upon an interesting theatre. The desire of annihilating by one spirited and adventurous blow the odious usurpation of Russia was laudable and just. But the king did not nicely calculate the

* The London Gazette has made two mistakes in this particular. It has placed the date of the convention on the tenth instead of the ninth, and has translated "huit jours [a week]" by the words "eight days," so making the suspension expire on the eighth instead of the sixteenth of October.

different parts of his system, and there is hardly one of his measures that might not have been better timed or more judiciously executed. He had a great and animating cause to plead against the czarina; but in his papers upon the subject he mixes right and wrong, truth and falsehood together, and plainly imagines that specious fiction might be of as much service to him as ingenuous truth. His talents, his eloquence, his mild and amiable manners prepossess us in his favour. We cannot refuse our compassion to a prince of proud and independent spirit, intrigued against by a foreign minister, solicited to by a neighbour, betrayed by his subjects, deserted by his friends, invaded without hostility; unappalled by all these calamities, flying from one end of the kingdom to the other, rousing the poorest of his subjects to arms, penetrating through the midst of the enemy, and appearing as it were by enchantment to arrest his insulting progress. But we feel the bitterest regret to find such a character full of error and imperfection, opposing aristocracy, but grasping at despotism; full of luminous conceptions, but ignorant of the value of truth and integrity; and in all things guided, not by severe and inflexible justice, but by the precarious ebullition of a transitory feeling.

The transactions of Sweden have occasioned a considerable interruption in our narrative of the theatre of the war in Turkey. We left the emperor at the head indeed of his army, whither he had probably come in pursuit of fame, but discouraged by the obstinate and undaunted resistance of the Turks, and suddenly changing his lofty ideas of conquest and extended dominion for the ill-

judged timidity and caution of a defensive war. Yilouf, the visier, at the head of the grand Ottoman army, advanced by a slow and tedious progress, reaching Sophia on the nearest confines of Bulgaria in the close of May, and not arriving at Nissa, one hundred and thirty miles south west of Belgrade, till the beginning of August. But his arrival was not the less certain, or the less to be dreaded by an army, that found itself completely checked and counteracted by the detachments and precursors of his march. Since the imperialists had determined upon a defensive war, the Turks had already shown themselves sufficiently disposed to an attack. They had assailed the lines of the prince of Lichtenstein in June, and the posts of the main army at Semlin in the following month; and, though these efforts had not been attended with success, they sufficiently displayed the adventure, the intrepidity and fierceness of the Ottoman troops.

Upon the arrival of the visier the war assumed a more formidable appearance. Two successive attacks were made upon the quarters of general Fabris in Transylvania; and, though they are said to have been defeated, that officer thought proper to decamp from Hermanstadt and remove to Talmasch nearer to the kingdom of Hungary. At the same time a considerable body of Turkish troops made an irruption into the Bannat of Temeswar, when they intrenched themselves in spite of the opposition of general count Wartenleben, who was stationed with eight thousand men for the defence of that province. Upon intelligence of their success the visier immediately dispatched a reinforcement chiefly consisting of cavalry

under the seraskier of Georgia, who crossed the Danube on the seventeenth of August. Count Wartensleben prepared to receive the invaders at a defile in the front of his camp; and the emperor, apprehensive for the safety of this little army, broke up his camp at Semlin, and entered the Bannat with the principal army. But the Turks lost no time in their operations; and, during the imperial march, attacked the defile upon which Wartensleben had placed his dependence, carried an advanced post, and put to the sword a considerable part of one of his regiments which was stationed in it, without giving quarter to either officers or soldiers. The defile however seemed to be only their secondary object; and during the action a large party of Turks made a circuitous march in order to drive the commander in chief from the heights where he was advantageously posted in the neighbourhood of Meadia. In both these attacks they displayed great gallantry, but were ultimately repulsed. Undismayed however by this miscarriage, they began on the twenty-fifth to erect batteries on a mountain about a mile from the Austrian camp, and on the twenty-sixth and twenty-eighth attacked one of Wartensleben's principal redoubts, which they carried in the last assault. On the same day they transported heavy cannon to the summit of a hill, which had been judged by the imperialists wholly inaccessible, and from whence they had the entire command of their camp. These circumstances, added to the delay of succour expected from the emperor, determined count Wartensleben to quit his position, and retire towards Caransebes, which he effected on the following day with

no great loss, though continually harassed in his retreat by the Turkish forces. The consequence of this motion was that the town of Meadia together with some neighbouring villages and magazines fell into the hands of the seraskier. The progress of the Turks in Transylvania kept pace with the operations upon the Danube.

The campaign in the Bannat was rendered an object of still greater moment in the beginning of the ensuing month, the emperor having effected a junction with Wartensleben, and the Turkish commander in chief united his camp with that of the seraskier. The imperial army, whose camp was pitched at Illova near Caransebes, was attacked on the fourteenth by that of the visir, who attempted, by fetching a circuit about the right wing of the enemy and attacking him in flank, at once to drive him from his intrenchments and cut off his retreat. In this attack however they were unsuccessful. But the exultation of the Austrians was of short duration. They learned on the nineteenth that the detachment which had been stationed at Moldava north west of the Danube, had been driven from thence to Weiskerchen and from Weiskerchen to Werschetz; and in consequence the grand army found it necessary precipitately to break up their camp, and fall back upon Transylvania, leaving all the low country of Hungary to the mercy of the enemy. The imperialists were now reduced to the greatest extremity. Having quitted Illova in the evening of the twenty-first, two columns of the army crossed each other in the dark, and being seized with a sudden panic, some of the Austrian corps fired upon each other. The

servants

servants of the army having caught the alarm, threw the loads from the horses and carriages, and fled in the utmost confusion. Lugos, which was the grand seat of the Austrian magazines, was the destined place of their retreat. But the terror of the enemy had preceded them to this place, and the army baggage had already been sent off to Temeswar. Some Walachians, accused of having given the alarm at Lugos, were broken upon the wheel by a summary process. In the mean time the Turks incessantly harassed the rear of the retreating emperor. Such was the account communicated from Vienna. But at Constantinople the event was placed in a different light. It was confidently asserted, that the visier had attacked the Austrians in their camp, and forced them to a precipitate flight. As a proper sequel to such a series of advantages, the grand signior was publicly saluted by the title of Gazi or victorious, and the declaration of his success was read in all the mosques of the capital, which is the Turkish mode of proclaiming their military triumphs. Meanwhile the imperialists in their retreat from the Danube burned Panczowa and fourteen other villages, to prevent them from affording harbour or relief to the enemy.

These were among the last operations of the campaign. The season of the year became rainy and inclement; the timariots or feudataries of Asia, who had engaged themselves only for a summer's campaign, became impatient to return to their respective provinces; and the visier, who had been able to raise his army to a decisive superiority over that of the emperor, could not induce them to despise climates and seasons.

Almost immediately after the advantages by which he had driven the Austrians back upon Transylvania, he found himself obliged to meditate a retreat. The emperor immediately broke up his camp in imitation of the Turkish commander; and, in proportion as the latter receded towards the banks of the Danube, the former directed his march to his former encampment at Semlin. At one of the villages in his way a division of his army was attacked by a considerable body of Turks, who with their usual intrepidity and success cut to pieces a body of Austrians to the amount of three hundred and fifty men; and in crossing the Danube, which was in their rear, preserved the utmost order, and carried off their pontons in their retreat. This action took place on the twentieth of October, and on the next day the emperor took the redoubt of Vipalanka, when a stand was made by one thousand men of the Ottoman army. Of all the posts he had reduced in the Bannat the visier retained only the desile, upon which count Wartenleben had originally placed his hopes of resistance, and which had not been taken till after three weeks siege by the whole Turkish army.

The campaign in Croatia had been more favourable to the Austrians than the campaign upon the Danube. Prince Charles of Lichtenstein, the original commander, having resigned on account of his health, he was succeeded by marshal Laudohn, the celebrated officer who had made head against the king of Prussia in the Bavarian war. Immediately before his arrival in Croatia the commander per interim had attacked the Turks in their camp under the walls of Dubieza on the ninth of August,

and after a severe contest had obliged them to yield their trenches to the victorious enemy. The siege of Dubicza was now commenced; but the Turks, undismayed by their recent disaster, returned to the relief of the garrison both before and after marshal Laudohn had assumed the command, who arrived in the camp on the eighteenth. They were however in both instances repulsed, and the fortress at length surrendered to the Austrians on the twenty-sixth. From Dubicza the army proceeded to Novi, before which place the trenches were opened on the tenth of September. The Austrians were here again attacked by the army of the Turkish pacha, but without success; and, having effected what was deemed a practicable breach, a general assault was given on the twenty-first, in which marshal Laudohn was repulsed. The fortress was a second time assailed, and the garrison surrendered on terms of discretion on the third of October. The siege of Turkish Gradiska was next attempted; but the inclemency of the season, and the overflowing of the river, obliged the Austrians to put an end to the campaign before the fortress was reduced.

We have already mentioned the negotiations of the emperor with the rebel pacha of Scutari. The Austrian envoys were at first received with great attention and cordiality by the savage chieftain, but when they departed they were intercepted in their return, three of them assassinated, and the one who survived effected his escape with great difficulty. The pacha, it seems, conceived that he had now found a proper opportunity to reconcile himself to the Ottoman Porte; and, having sacrificed these Germans to his cruel po-

licy, is said to have sent their heads as a present to the grand visier. But Yssouf received his overture with indignation, declaring, that his presents were not less odious than his principles were detestable, and that the period would infallibly arrive when he would suffer the adequate vengeance of his complicated villainies. The Turkish commander indeed seems in many instances to have acted with great magnanimity and generosity. The emperor is said to have remonstrated with him respecting the decapitations and other mutilations practised by his partisan troops on the dead bodies of the imperialists; and the visier issued strict orders to prevent such practices for the future. The officers of the emperor who so eminently distinguished themselves in defending the desile of Temeswar, he treated with particular humanity, complimenting them highly on their valour and abilities, and immediately dismissing them under a proper escort to the emperor's camp. On the other hand many barbarous stories were related of the Turks by their christian antagonists, but these may easily be accounted for, by supposing them to have happened without the countenance and in defiance of the vigilance of Yssouf. We are unwilling to subtract any thing from the horrors of war, which will make it the everlasting abhorrence of the philanthropist and the philosopher; but then neither can we consent unnecessarily to load with imputations an eminent individual. It is on all hands acknowledged that the military skill exerted by Yssouf in this campaign was consummate and uncommon, and we do not see the necessity of gratuitously supposing the man of talents to be a knave. It

as under the patronage of this visier at the project was commenced of printing at Constantinople a translation of the Encyclopédie. An armistice was concluded on the twenty-first of November between the Austrians and the Turks, by which both parties agreed not to re-commence hostilities without giving a ten days previous notice.

The operations of the Russian forces were directed against Choczim and Oczakow. In the former of these undertakings they acted rather as auxiliaries to the emperor's general, the prince of Saxe Cobourg, who had bombarded the city previously to his junction with general Soltikow on the last day of June. After their union the attack became more powerful. Five batteries were opened against the city on the twentieth, and the cannonade became so destructive as in a few days to reduce almost the whole to a pile of ruins. On the twenty-sixth the fortress was summoned to surrender on the presumption that the provisions of the garrison had been wholly destroyed by the bombardment. The governor demanded an armistice of three days; but in the sequel, finding that the corn in his hands, though enveloped in fire and smoke, was not wholly incapable of use, he gave notice to the besiegers that he would hold out to the last. The capture of this important place occupied the united armies two months longer, and in the mean time a detachment under the imperial general

Spleney recovered Jassy, which had been lost amidst the numerous checks of the campaign, on the third of September. Choczim surrendered on the twenty-ninth; and marshal Romanzow, being delivered by this event from the inactivity in which he long remained on the Bog, drove back the Ottoman parties upon Besfarabia, and fixed the head quarters of his army at Falczin.

Of the siege of Oczakow we find no very interesting particulars. The capitan pacha, though he appeared in the neighbourhood of this fortress, seems not to have dared, after the repeated checks he had received, to venture upon any very strong measure for its relief. It was however defended with the same perseverance that the Turks had displayed in the other parts of the frontier, and the besiegers and the besieged were crowned with alternate success. Prince Potemkin was repulsed in an endeavour to reduce the garrison by storm on the first of September, and he opened the trenches for a regular siege four days after his repulse. After an obstinate contest, in which the Russians at length became exposed to the rigours of a winter campaign, the city was taken by storm on the seventeenth of December. The assault was given in consequence of the powder magazine of the fortress being blown up by a shell. Six thousand Turks were killed, and three thousand taken prisoners. The loss of the Russians amounted to four thousand men.

CHAP. V.

Domestic Transactions. Royal Indisposition. Meeting of Parliament. Expected Change of Administration. Right of the two Houses of Parliament to elect a Regent asserted. Mode adopted by them for that Purpose.

FEW events of any material importance occur in the domestic transactions of Britain during the summer of the year 1788. A small number of changes in the law offices of the crown took place in consequence of the office of lord chief justice of the king's bench being resigned on the third of June by the celebrated earl Mansfield. This nobleman had filled his high situation for a period of near thirty-two years, during which his decisions have by some persons been censured, and in particular cases justly condemned; but in all which time his unwearied assiduity, his penetration and his genius have been the object of universal admiration. His immediate successor was sir Lloyd Kenyon late master of the rolls, and this promotion gave occasion to a general remove of law officers, by which Mr. Richard Arden became master of the rolls, Mr. Archibald Macdonald attorney general; and Mr. John Scott solicitor to the king. The appointment of Mr. Arden occasioned a public misunderstanding and contest between the two principal members of administration, Mr. Pitt and lord Thurlow. Mr. Pitt had lately complimented his colleague in office by presenting his brother, doctor Thurlow, to the bishopric of Durham, and appointing to the lord chief justiceship of the king's bench the lawyer whose pretensions were favoured by the lord chancellor. He conceived therefore that upon this

occasion he had a right to consider his own personal friend. Lord Thurlow on the contrary recollected that the master of the rolls was the assessor and deputy of his own office, and consequently believed that he had a right to select the person who should fill that station. This right he asserted with that intrepidity and clamour which constitute a part of his character; but the cool and inflexible perseverance of Mr. Pitt was ultimately victorious. A farther material change of some importance was the appointment of the earl of Chatham, brother to Mr. Pitt, on the twelfth of July, to succeed lord Howe in the office of first lord of the admiralty. We proceed from these individual considerations to the more direct topics of history.

In the preceding chapters of our history, events have been recorded that in the common and received estimate are to be regarded as brilliant and honourable to our country. We have seen England recovering her weight in the scale of nations that is, we have seen her forward upon all occasions to intrude herself upon the concerns of her neighbours, busied in the preservation of an imaginary balance that is in no danger of being destroyed, and plunging us to that chaos of foreign connections which at the commencement of the present reign seemed to have been completely and for ever exploded. We silenced in Holland the mu-

ers of men that were presumptuous enough to think they had a right to free, and we assisted the king of Sweden, by rescuing him from a foreign enemy and lending him the support of our name, to triumph over a prevailing party in his own country. We had been strongly suspected of having kindled the flame of war among the Turks, and we seemed ready, if not effectively, to take up arms in their favour, at least by the firmness of our language and the boldness of our countenance to keep their adversaries in awe. This picture undoubtedly forms a striking contrast to the weak, the debilitated and the ruinous situation in which he appeared at the close of the last war. We believe it will not be difficult for the careful enquirer, who will follow the train of incidents we have successively had occasion to record, to judge how far this specious elevation is to be ascribed to the ability, and how far it depended upon circumstances totally unconnected with the ability of the existing administration.

This flattering and intoxicating prospect threatened to have a sudden and calamitous termination in the close of the year 1788. The health of the sovereign had suffered a gradual decline, a circumstance that was not ascribed to the freedom of indulgence and the softness of luxury, but on the contrary to too severe a regimen, too laborious exercise, too rigid abstemiousness and too short intervals of rest. As a remedy for the symptoms that discovered themselves, the king determined to visit the medicinal waters of Cheltenham, and accordingly travelled into that part of the kingdom immediately after the prorogation of parliament, and did not return to the metropolis till

the eighteenth of August. No benefit answerable to the expectations that had been formed resulted from this excursion. His health was in a precarious state, and on the twenty-second of October symptoms were observed by one of the royal physicians of that alienation of mind, which was afterwards the occasion of so many important and interesting transactions. For some time it was thought proper to observe as much secrecy as possible respecting the nature of the king's indisposition. The retreat of the sovereign at Windsor was favourable to this purpose, and for several days an opinion was entertained by the people in general, that his indisposition was a fever, and that it had risen to so alarming a height as to threaten a speedy dissolution. The real nature of the case however could not long be suppressed. By the structure and practice of the English constitution almost every species of public business is in some manner implicated with the royal prerogatives. The administration of political government in particular was by the present event virtually suspended from its functions; and, notwithstanding the critical situation of Europe, and the very active share we had lately taken in its concerns, it was now deemed impracticable to return any sort of answer to the dispatches of foreign courts or of our own ambassadors. In this situation the most natural expedient was to suffer the two houses of parliament, which stood prorogued to the twentieth of November, to meet at that time, and either adjourn for a short interval, or immediately proceed to discuss the measures it would be proper to adopt at the present crisis. Circular letters were accordingly addressed to the members of the legislature

lature on the fourteenth, signifying to them, that the indisposition of the sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for the farther prorogation of parliament. In that case the two houses must of necessity assemble, and the attendance of the different members was earnestly requested.

Parliament being assembled, the lord chancellor observed in the house of lords, that the reason of their being thus unusually called together, without the ordinary notice for the dispatch of business, arose from the severity of the king's indisposition, which had rendered it impossible for him to approach the royal person in order to receive his commands. Lord Camden remarked, that the customary practice of giving forty days notice previously to the meeting of parliament, was not in his opinion absolutely necessary. There was an express act of parliament, that limited the notice in case of treason or rebellion to fourteen days; he therefore recommended an adjournment for that term, and at the same time moved, that the chancellor, by order of the house, should address an official letter to every individual peer. Mr. Pitt stated to the house of commons, that every authority had been consulted respecting the present singular situation of affairs; but they did not point out either the possibility of directing a new prorogation, or enable ministers to open the session of parliament in any regular way. Under these circumstances it would be highly improper for the house to proceed to the discussion of any public business, and was absolutely necessary to adjourn. He therefore recommended the interval of a fortnight, when, if

the king's illness should unhappily continue, it would be indispensable incumbent upon them to enter upon the immediate consideration of the state of public affairs. Mr. Pitt farther moved a call of the house for the fourth of December, and that the speaker be directed to send circular letters requiring the attendance of every member on that day.

The nominal ministers of the sovereign, by the expedient we have described, removed in the most judicious manner the difficulties, which at first presented themselves respecting the legal assembling of the two houses of parliament; but the questions that remained were more essential in themselves, and more likely to interest the passions of mankind. The uniform tenour of all precedents afforded by the history of England, were in favour of a protectorate or regency, under which the whole or a considerable part of the political power should be confided to the next heir to the crown, or to the adult of the royal family most nearly related to the king. A circumstance that rendered this consideration more material upon the present occasion was, that the prince of Wales entertained an avowed partiality for the political connection that had lately been instrumental in obtaining for him the discharge of his debts, and an increase of his annual income, as well as some personal resentment to the ministers now in possession of office. Accordingly, soon after the indisposition of the king had been ascertained, the prince dispatched an express to Mr. Fox, who was at that time in Italy, requesting his immediate presence to assist him in forming an administration. Mr. Fox arrived in London on the twenty-fourth of November, and the rapidity

quidity with which he travelled had been such as to occasion an indisposition, which for some weeks had an alarming appearance. Lord Thurlow assented to become a member of the proposed administration, and the principal offices of state were to be thus arranged. The duke of Portland to be first lord of the treasury; lord John Cavendish to be chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Fox and lord viscount Stormont to be secretaries of state; the earl of Sandwich first lord of the admiralty; lord Loughborough lord high chancellor; lord Thurlow lord president of the council; the earl of Carlisle lord privy seal; earl Spencer lord lieutenant of Ireland; Mr. Burke paymaster of the forces; Mr. Sheridan treasurer of the navy and president of the board of East India company; Mr. Thomas Erskine attorney general; and colonel Fitzpatrick secretary at war.

The present ministers were willing to perpetuate themselves in office, and probably conceived, as the duration of the king's illness was uncertain, and he might soon be able to resume the reins of government, that it was for the interest of the country at large, and, as they took care to add, would conduce to the satisfaction of the sovereign, that as few changes as possible should take place in the interval. There were three modes of proceeding that might be adopted in the present instance, and three forms of executive government that might be employed for the present temporary purpose. When king George the First and king George the Second visited their dominions in Hanover, with the expectation of a speedy return, and the power of directing while at a distance the most essential

concerns of the crown, they had frequently appointed a council of regency consisting of the principal members of the existing administration. Parliament therefore might either be called upon to nominate such a council, or they might constitute the Prince of Wales regent, at the same time declaring that none of his proceedings should be valid unless approved by a council so appointed; or they might constitute the prince sole regent, but under such limitations and restrictions, as should be calculated to supersede as much as possible all important changes, and to prevent him from the adoption of any decisive measures.

These three projects are supposed all of them to have passed successively under the contemplation of ministers. The two first were rejected as untenable; the most obvious objection against the last, was that the government of England was a limited monarchy. It is supposed to have been the project of its institutors, to reserve as many privileges and immunities as possible to the people at large, and to grant no other powers and prerogatives to the monarch than were absolutely necessary to the conducting with dignity and firmness the executive administration. If the prerogative of the king was found to be too extensive, it ought not merely to be taken away from the regent, but for ever abolished. If it were precisely what the general welfare required, it ought to exist as completely under a regency as at any other time. It was said that care ought to be taken to prevent the future inclinations and designs of the monarch from being invaded. But the prerogatives of the king were not granted him for his own gratification;

gratification; they were trusts for the people: and, if those trusts were to be exercised at all, the consequence seemed to be inevitable, that they were to be exercised with uniformity and constancy. The legislature however, in their subsequent transactions, seem to have been rather influenced by partiality and compassion for the monarch, than by considerations of immutable truth and universal happiness.

Another mistake they committed appears to have been not less important. The same stroke, which had deprived the country of its sovereign, had in reality put an end to the offices and situation of ministers. They were at present ministers of courtesy, and had in propriety no greater power than the most private and undignified member of the legislature. But it is impossible not to remark upon this occasion the effect of reputation and popularity. Mr. Pitt and his colleagues in office were in possession of the public favour in a degree in which perhaps no ministers in the British annals ever enjoyed it for so long a period of time. Upon Mr. Fox and his associates remained a part of that odium which the coalition and the India bill had originally excited. The prince of Wales himself was still less popular. Dissipation and irregularity of conduct, though not to be classed among the vices of the heart, seem to be less venial in the estimate of the mass of mankind than almost any qualities that can be named. A rumour had been spread of his having married a lady of the Roman catholic religion, and, though this rumour had been contradicted from the highest authority, it seems still to have been generally believed. Perhaps few persons were seriously apprehensive of an endeavour to abolish the established protestant religion;

but it had been said, that the fact itself amounted by statute to a direct forfeiture of all right to the crown, and it was remarked, that, if this statute were not executed, yet the having wantonly trifled in so express an instance with the law of the land, gave us but little hopes of future wisdom and prudence and right conduct in the person who had so glaringly offended. Thus the unpopularity of one party, and the elevated reputation of the other, led a majority of both houses of parliament to pay less attention to general and constitutional principles than under other circumstances might have been expected. The project of Mr. Pitt bore a striking resemblance to the conduct which he had a few years before condemned in Mr. Fox. The prerogatives, that were refused to the prince of Wales and placed in other hands, formed a power, that would be possessed by ministers when out of office, and would be a check and balance as it were to counteract the imperfect authority, which it was intended to leave in the hands of the actual government.

Upon the re-assembling of parliament on the fourth of December, a report of the board of privy council, containing an examination of the royal physicians, was presented to the two houses by lord Camden and Mr. Pitt, and it was suggested, that, when the delicacy of the subject and the dignity of the person in question were considered, parliament would probably perceive the propriety of acting upon this report, rather than of demanding that more direct and ample information to which in strictness they were entitled. In the meantime doubts were suggested by Mr. Vyner, Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, whether parliament could, consistently

ly with its privileges and its momentous situation, dispense with that sort of evidence upon which they were accustomed to proceed. These doubts had the appearance of being adopted by a majority of the house of commons, and accordingly administration changed its original design, and it was resolved on the eighth, that each house should appoint a committee of its own members to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. In pursuance of the usual mode of procedure in both houses, the committee of the house of commons was named on the same day, and the committee of the house of lords on the day following. The number selected in each house was twenty-one, and to the persons possessing the principal offices in government were added in the house of lords the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Portland, the earl of Derby, the earl of Carlisle, earl Fitzwilliam, viscount Stormont, and lord Loughborough; and in the house of commons Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and other leading members of opposition.

The report of the committee was laid upon the table of the house of commons on the tenth, when a farther proposition was moved by Mr. Pitt, for the appointment of a committee to examine and report precedents of cases, in which the personal exercise of the royal authority had been prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or any other cause. Mr. Fox embraced this opportunity of bringing forward an opinion, that was of considerable consequence to the cause of the prince of Wales, and which, if admitted, would instantly have put an end to those precautions and limitations upon the regency, which it was in the contemplation of ministers to sug-

gest. He said, that he was not anxious to prevent the adoption of the present motion; but he thought it incumbent upon him to remark, that it was the duty of the two houses to lose no time in providing for the present exigency. All that was requisite previously to their ultimate decision, he conceived had been obtained by the report just laid upon their table. By that report they had ascertained that the king was at present incapable of the executive government; and it was his firm opinion, that the prince of Wales had as clear and express a right to assume the reins and exercise the powers of sovereignty during the continuance of the present incapacity, as if his father were actually dead. He did not however mean that the prince of Wales could enter upon this exercise at his own pleasure, or was intitled to judge of the circumstances that caused it to be requisite. His right was perfect and entire, but the two houses of parliament, as the organs of the nation, were alone qualified to pronounce when he ought to take possession of his right. He commended the prince of Wales for not bringing forward his claim himself, and choosing rather with patient deference to wait the decision of parliament; adding, that his forbearance and moderation were to be imputed to his having been bred in the principles which had placed his family on the throne, and to his known veneration for those principles as the fundamentals of our constitution. Mr. Fox observed with respect to precedents, that there were notoriously none that applied to the present instance, and that he could therefore conceive of no just and adequate reason for the proposed delay.

Mr. Pitt never displayed more of that

that sort of ingenuity and presence of mind, that enables us to take advantage of all openings in our adversary's argument, than upon this occasion. In the character of first minister of the sovereign, he had frequently thought it necessary to be the determined advocate of prerogative; but he had here gained an opportunity of wiping away this shade upon the lustre of his reputation, of asserting in the boldest manner the doctrines of liberty and privilege, and retorting upon his opponents those charges of toryism and arbitrary power which had so frequently been brought against himself. He readily discovered, that he had an assembly to address that was perfectly disposed to adopt the cry he should raise; and he did not part with the proposition till he had turned it in every possible way, and derived from it all the advantageous consequences that it could be made to produce.

The question itself is of so abstract and refined a nature, that it may be argued with great plausibility on either side that an ingenious reasoner might find it his interest to adopt. It is unquestionably certain, that if we would speak accurately, princes have no other rights than those which are equally possessed by every member of the community. Every man is intitled to the security of his person, to have a fair and equitable construction put upon his conduct, and to the deriving benefit and advantage from the performance of such actions as may tend to the welfare of others. There is indeed one particular in which monarchs fall short of their subjects, as they can scarcely with propriety be conceived to be the possessors of private property. For all the rest, the prerogatives they are

supposed to possess, and the order of succession that may have been established in the community, these trusts and regulations provided for the good of the whole, and not rights conferred for the gratification of the individual. But then, if princes have no right to their crowns, let us consider what are the rights or discretion vested in a legislative assembly. Absolutely none. There is one single line of conduct which it becomes them to pursue, and that only have they a right to adopt. If they have a right to do the contrary, then there are two opposite rights, and these must necessarily be destructive of each other. If they have a right to do the contrary, they have then a right, a right divine, if you please, of doing wrong, which is precisely the proposition the most palpably false that ever was asserted. When it was remarked, and justly remarked, that kings had no rights, it ought to have been added, that legislative assemblies are exactly in the same situation. If the English constitution be a wise one, and the executive government ought under certain given circumstances to be vested in one man whom we call a king, it ought under other given circumstances to be vested in one man whom we call a regent, and parliament have no right or discretion to supersede this conclusion. If on the other hand we descend from this high, abstract and metaphysical language, and say because the benefit of the people is supposed to require it, that the king has a right to the crown, we are bound to say, if we can prove that the benefit of the people requires it, that the prince of Wales has a right to the regency.

We have mentioned the obvious principles upon which Mr. Pitt re-

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1789.

ed to the reasonings of Mr. Fox. feeling the ground upon which he stood, he did not hesitate to affirm, that for any man to assert such a right in the prince of Wales, otherwise than as it was voluntarily conferred upon him by the two houses of parliament, was little less than treason to the constitution of his country; adding, that unless by their sanction he had no more right, speaking of strict right, to assume the government, than any other individual subject in England. He desired, that every man in that house, and every man in the nation, would consider, that on their proceedings depended, as well the existence of the constitution, as the interest and honour of a sovereign who was deservedly the idol of his people. Mr. Burke animadverted upon the strong and invidious terms that had been employed by Mr. Pitt, when he had accused his opponents of treason, a language, that was destructive of the freedom of debate, and the privilege of parliament; and he proceeded to speak with warmth and indignation of the sentiments of the minister, observing that he had had the presumption to make himself the competitor of the prince of Wales. The motion for a committee of precedents was carried without a division.

A motion for a similar committee was offered in the house of lords on the day following by lord Camden; and, as it was determined to let slip the opportunity of animadverting upon the doctrine of Mr. Fox, it was specifically alluded to by this nobleman in the speech with which he introduced his motion. Thus challenged, the members of opposition in the house of lords thought it necessary to vindicate his sentiments. Lord Loughborough observed, that there was an act of king Charles the

Second, by which it was expressly declared, that no law could in any case be made but by the authority of the three branches of the legislature, and that every man asserting the contrary, should be liable to the penalties of treason. Could therefore any thing be more absurd than to say, that the two houses, that could not even make a turnpike act, might dispose by their own authority of the executive government? There were only two cases in which the throne could become vacant, and the interference of the two houses of parliament be requisite to fill it; the one, a total subversion of the government by a breach of the original compact, as in the case of an abdication of the crown; the other, when the royal line became extinct, and the king at his decease left no heir. It had been declared that the prince of Wales had no more right than any private subject. Could this be true? Was the prince of Wales a common subject? Did not the law, as expounded by lord Coke, describe him to be one and the same person with the king? Was it not equally high treason to compass or imagine the death either of the one or the other? It happened that at this time the two houses were legally assembled under the king's writs; but, if the case had been otherwise, it would surely have been warrantable for the prince of Wales, as heir apparent, to have issued writs, and called a parliament. Lord Loughborough was far from meaning, that the prince could violently rush into the sovereignty, but that, upon the authentic notification of the king's incapacity to the two houses of parliament, the prince ought of right to be invested with the royal authority. He begged leave to remind his hearers that there was a neighbouring kingdom that stood

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connected with us, and acknowledged allegiance to the British crown. If the regency were declared to be elective and not hereditary, how could we be sure that they would not choose a regent of their own, and thus lead to endless confusion and embarrassment? Lord Stormont supported the principles of lord Loughborough, adducing a similar argument from the act of union; and concluded with recommending an immediate address to the prince of Wales intreating him to assume the exercise of the royal authority.

Lord Thurlow expressed extreme concern, that, in the progress of a business so peculiarly critical, the slightest appearance of a difference of opinion or of unpleasant altercation should have arisen. Had they waited for the ultimate question, there would not probably have been found much disagreement on any side, and consequently much of the present discussion might have been spared. He observed, that nothing he had yet heard gave satisfaction to his mind, and he therefore wished, previously to the declaration of his opinion, to have the full advantage of every precedent and every analogy that could be found. He added however, that the doctrine maintained by lord Loughborough was perfectly new to him, and that much stress could not surely be laid upon a metaphorical expression, such as had been cited from lord Coke. At the same time he commended that nobleman for having spoken of a prince of Wales in the abstract, without affecting to rest any part of his argument on the personal virtues of the present heir apparent, who should always have his applause, when the expression of it would not be an act of impertinence.

Mr. Fox on the following day in the house of commons spoke with

considerable severity of the manner in which his opinion had been introduced in debate in the other house by lord Camden. Upon this occasion he thought proper to enter into a further explanation of his sentiments. In the first place he declared, that in what he had said he had merely delivered his private judgment, and by no means spoken from the authority of the prince of Wales. With respect to the doctrine itself, the prince in his conception had the right, but the adjudication of that right was in the two houses of parliament. Thus the election of representatives to that house was in their constitution at large, but in all questions of underelection the house of commons adjudicated the right of the different pretenders. He should therefore have thought that the prince of Wales might with propriety, if he had thought proper, have sent a message to either or both houses of parliament, stating his claim, and calling upon them to pronounce upon it. Mr. Fox acknowledged, that more difference of opinion had prevailed upon the subject than he could have expected, adding that he was not solicited about terms, and whether the prince of Wales possessed an inherent right or an irresistible claim, provided the sole administration of the government with the unlimited exercise of all the regal functions, were vested in him. Of this he had not altogether lost the hope, and he called upon Mr. Pitt to declare the system he intended to pursue, as a point of more consequence than the abstract questions about which they had hitherto been employed.

Mr. Pitt declared, that the question that had been started respecting the rights of parliament, was of much greater magnitude and importance than those which related to the

ent exigency, and he hoped there would be an unanimous concurrence of opinion that it was impossible to dismiss the question of right, without its being fully discussed and decided. It was a question that shook the foundation of the constitution, and upon which all that was dear to us as Britons depended. It was a question that involved in it the protection and security of our liberties, and the safety of the state. Mr. Pitt granted, that, if there were no parliament in existence, the heir apparent, in concert with other persons in high situation, might have issued writs and convened the legislature. Such a proceeding would be justified by the necessity of the case; but that it would be a legal and formal summons he must absolutely deny. With respect to the measures which it might be now necessary to adopt, he was willing to acknowledge, that, as a matter of discretion and on the ground of expediency, it was highly desirable that whatever part of the regal power was exercised at all, should be vested in a single person, and that person the prince of Wales. He also thought it most constitutional, and most conducive to the public welfare, that the regent should exercise his authority, assisted by any permanent council, and with the free choice of his political servants. He could not at the moment pronounce what part of the royal authority ought to be given and what withheld; but he had no objection to declare, that whatever was requisite for vigour and dispatch ought to be given, and on the contrary whatever might possibly be employed so as to embarrass the king when he should exercise his power ought to be withheld. Mr. Sheridan expostulated

upon the impropriety and danger of bringing to a vote the abstract right of the prince of Wales, and urged Mr. Pitt to reflect maturely before he provoked by the rashness of his measures that claim to be asserted, which had not yet been preferred. The warning which was thus conveyed Mr. Pitt regarded with perfect indifference.

The day appointed for the house of commons to resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation was the sixteenth, and on the preceding day an ultimate attempt was made by lord Fitzwilliam and others in the house of lords to deprecate the discussion of this delicate topic. The duke of York in particular expressed his wishes that the question might be waved. No claim of right had in fact been advanced by the prince of Wales, and he was confident that his brother too well understood the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick upon the throne, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people expressed by their representatives. The duke of Gloucester confirmed the declaration of the duke of York. Lord Thurlow spoke with great energy of his sentiments of affection towards the king. Nothing could be more disgraceful than to desert the sovereign in his present distressed and helpless situation. His own debt of gratitude for the favours conferred on him was ample, and, when he forgot that debt, might God forget him! He bestowed his applause upon the language of the duke of York, and declared that no man could be more determined than himself to avoid frivolous and unnecessary decisions. Questions of right were generally in-

vidious, and he was willing to bind himself by any words however strong, not to vote for any question that had not the straitest direction to the public good. He must however observe, that it would be in the power of any member of that house to provoke discussions, the avoiding which appeared to be so generally and anxiously desired. He must therefore recommend discretion, as that, without which unanimity could not possibly be obtained.

The two leading resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt in the committee upon the state of the nation were entirely of a declaratory nature, the first affirming that the personal exercise of the royal authority was interrupted, and the second that it was the duty of the two houses of parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect. Mr. Pitt acknowledged, that in his conception any abstract or theoretical question would be wholly unnecessary, and the discussion of it altogether unproductive of utility and advantage. But he denied that the question of right which he now offered to the house of commons was of that nature. It was on the contrary an enquiry that stood in the way of all their subsequent proceedings. They were free neither to deliberate nor decide, while the doubt of an existing right hung over their heads; they could not speak intelligibly or to any purpose, till they knew their proper character, and whether they were exercising their own privileges for the safety of the crown and the welfare of the people, or were usurping that which had never belonged to them. Mr. Pitt asserted the utility of the report of the committee, and entered into an investigation of the precedents that had been adduced.

They fell under the heads of infant absence and indisposition. In the minorities of king Edward the Third and king Richard the Second, parliament, whether wisely or weakly, was not now the question, had appointed councils of regency to exercise the royal authority. The third instance occurred in the infancy of king Henry the Sixth. The duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, had at that time called together the parliament, one of the first of whose measures was to ratify the manner in which they had been convoked, and considering the sanction of the duke as a sufficient authority. The first nobleman had gone farther; he had claimed the regency, and applied to parliament to recognize his right. What was the answer? They asserted, that neither his birth nor the will of the late monarch gave him any power to exercise the royal authority. Having thus established their own privileges, they then declared the duke of Gloucester himself protector, and confided to him the person of their infant sovereign. Here then was an instance in which the claim of right had been directly advanced, and explicitly decided by the authority of parliament. The next sort of precedents were those that were founded in the king's absence in foreign realms. These cases his adversaries had asserted to be clearly in their favour, and they appeared in a triumphant tone to the regencies of Lionel duke of Clarence and of Edward the Black Prince when a minor. Granting these to be as decisive as the advocates of the present novel doctrine could reasonably expect, what did they decide? Clearly the truth and certainty of the present resolutions. It is right to represent the king's

the heir apparent, it must be a perfect and entire right, a right that admitted of neither mode nor limitation. If any thing short of the whole power were given, it would manifestly fall short of the extent of the claim, and consequently be an acknowledgment that no such claim existed. Mr. Pitt ventured to assert, that the powers vested in the custos regni had always been less than those of the king. He called upon his hearers to advert to the ancient records, and concluded, that, because the power of bestowing benefices for instance had occasionally been given, their prerogatives had always been subject to some limitation. In modern times the appointment of lords justices had been the usual resource, and that frequently when a prince of full age was resident in England. There was one other precedent that remained, where the exercise of royalty had been interrupted by indisposition; and this appeared to him to be more a case in point than any of the rest. The precedent to which he alluded was that of the protectorate of the Duke of York in the reign of king Henry the Sixth. The heir apparent had indeed at that time been a minor, but this variation in the record was fully supplied by the revolutionary patent that parliament had directed to be issued, granting the regency to the prince of Wales when he should attain full age, with precisely the same powers as those of the Duke of York, that is, with such limitations and restrictions as amounted to a positive denial of his hereditary right. From all these examples Mr. Pitt concluded, that the whole stream of history was in his favour, and that the house could not refuse the resolutions he offered, in consistency

with precedent and the forms of the constitution. They were now called upon to declare their inherent rights; and, if they failed to do it fully and explicitly, their conduct would undoubtedly be ascribed to motives of personal interest, rather than a regard to the honour and safety of the crown, and an attention to the true interests of their country. He remarked, that the claim of right had originally been asserted by Mr. Fox in much stronger and more elevated terms than those which it was now thought prudent to employ; and he had no doubt that it was the sense of the country at large, that no such right had the shadow of existence.

Mr. Fox apologized from indisposition for not entering methodically into a farther justification of his opinion, respecting which indeed he had argued enough upon former occasions. Any man however would have imagined, from the weakness of the arguments advanced on the other side, that those who adduced them, had wished to provoke him to the most unqualified assertion of the doctrine he had suggested. From the extreme futility of their reasonings, from the glaring absurdity of their inferences, the false premises they had laid down, and the irrelevant and inapplicable precedents upon which they pretended to rely, they perhaps thought that they held out a temptation so strong, that flesh and blood could not withstand it. Could the minister and his friends suppose that the house would think them serious in supporting their system by the series of precedents that was now offered? How miserable must be that system the prominent features of which were so highly disgraceful! Was the practice of the present times, times so enlightened,

and in which the principles of the constitution were so well understood, to be grounded on precedents drawn from the dark and barbarous period of king Henry the Sixth? Were the rights of the house of commons in one of the most difficult moments that had ever occurred, to be maintained and vindicated by an example, in which the house of lords had usurped an exclusive authority, and in which the rights of the commons were so ill understood, that its speaker was at that very moment in prison on a commitment of the house of lords? Mr. Fox called upon his hearers to reflect upon the catastrophe of that period, the infamous transactions of which were chosen for the model of that day's proceedings. That period had immediately led to the wars of the houses of Lancaster and York, and had introduced those dismal scenes of anarchy, confusion, bloodshed and tyranny, that were a disgrace to the annals of England, and had reduced the kingdom to unparalleled distress. With respect to the other precedents, there was not one of them that related to the case of a prince of Wales arrived at full age. If however they tended to prove any thing, it was the prince's right. In the reign of Edward the Third the Black Prince at only thirteen years of age was declared regent, and afterwards, during the absence of Edward and his son, the appointment had fallen on the next brother, the duke of Clarence. In the reign of Henry the Sixth the right of the prince of Wales, though only a year old, was fully and explicitly recognized. But, overlooking all these distant examples, Mr. Fox was perfectly of opinion that all precedents prior to the revolution were foreign to the pur-

pose, because at the revolution only civil liberty was clearly defined, and the rights of the different branches of the legislature ascertained. It was, Mr. Fox contended, undeniably evident, that the act of settlement must be altogether overlooked, if the prince of Wales were passed over, and the doctrine of Mr. Pitt established. The act of settlement might clearly be defeated, and the succession to the crown might be altered, if the regency were vested in any other hands: and such had indeed been actually the case in the minister's favourite precedent, that of the protectorate of Richard duke of York.

Mr. Fox asserted, that the plan of Mr. Pitt would radically alter the government, and overturn the constitution. The right to make laws rested in the entire legislature, and not in the concurrence of any two of its branches. The constitution supposed each of its three branches to be independent of the other and actually hostile; and, if that principle were once given up, there was an end of our political freedom. The safety of the whole depended, not upon the patriotism of any one branch of the legislature, but rather on the separate interests of the three, prone to the extension of their individual power, and concurring through different views to the benefit of the community. Any man familiar with the theory of the constitution would naturally think, and if he were questioned, readily answer that the monarchy was hereditary but, if the doctrine of that day prevailed, the answer must be: "I cannot tell; ask his majesty's physicians. When the king of England is in health the monarchy is hereditary but when he is ill, and incapable of exercising

exercising the sovereign authority, it then elective." A subtle and positive lawyer might indeed be found, who would alledge, as the solicitor general, sir Archibald Macdonald, had done, that the monarchy, it was allowed, must be hereditary, but the executive power might be elective. The political capacity it seemed of the king was immutable, but his natural capacity was liable to variations. Thus an hereditary monarch existed stripped of the regal functions, while the person who occupied his place in the constitution, was liable to be elected and modified by the other branches of the legislature. The legal metaphysics, that thus distinguished between the crown and its functions, were to him unintelligible. The investigators should be schoolmen and not statesmen, if a question, that so deeply involved the existence of the constitution, were to be thus discussed. But he would put an end to the argument at once by asking, where was that famous dictum to be found, by which the crown was guarded with such inviolable sanctity, while its powers were left to the mercy of every assailant?

Mr. Fox ridiculed the subtlety of Mr. Pitt's reasonings that the prince of Wales had no more right than he had, at the same time that he confessed that parliament was not at liberty to think of any other regent; and all this for the paltry triumph of a vote over a political antagonist, and to insult a prince, whose favour he was conscious he had not deserved. For himself he had never made it his pride to combat with the crown in the plenitude of its power and the fulness of its authority. He wished not to trample upon its rights, while it lay extended at his feet, deprived of its functions

and incapable of resistance. Let the minister pride himself on a victory obtained against a defenceless foe; let him boast of a triumph, where no battle had been fought, and no glory could be obtained; let him take advantage of the calamities of human nature, and, like the unfeeling lord of a manor, riot in the riches to be acquired by shipwrecks, by rigorously asserting a claim to the waifs, estrays, deodands, and all the accumulated profit of the various accidents which misfortune could throw into his power; let it never be his boast to have gained such victories, obtained such triumphs, or availed himself of wealth so acquired. Mr. Fox was ready to admit that Mr. Pitt's administration had been in some respects intitled to praise. The whole conduct of the Dutch transaction in particular was wise and vigorous, laudable in its design and effectual in its execution. Of his other measures he certainly entertained a very different opinion. The minister however appeared to have been so long in the possession of power, that he could not endure to part with it. He had experienced the entire favour of the crown and enjoyed the advantage of exerting all its prerogatives; and, finding the whole not too much for the successful administration of government, he had determined to cripple his successors, to deprive them of the advantages which he had possessed, and circumscribe their power of being useful to their country; as if he dreaded that their prosperity would cast a shade upon his fame. With regard to Mr. Pitt's motives he was unable to assign them; but, if there were an ambitious man in that house who desired to drive the empire into confusion, his conduct, he conceived, would

be exactly that which the minister pursued. Mr. Fox on his part had nothing to wish for, but that his hearers would faithfully employ their vigilance and not vote the resolutions without being perfectly aware of their tendency.

Mr. Pitt replied in an animated manner to the animadversions of Mr. Fox. He styled the attack that had been made upon him unfounded, arrogant and presumptuous. Whether to him belonged the character of mischievous ambition, that would sacrifice the principles of the constitution to the desire of power, he must leave to the house and the country to determine. They would decide whether in the present unfortunate crisis, any consideration that affected his own personal situation, or any management for the sake of preserving power, appeared to have the principal share in his measures. As to his being conscious that he did not deserve the favour of the prince, he could only say, that he knew but of one way in which he or any man could deserve it, by having uniformly endeavoured in a public situation to do his duty to the king his father and the country at large. If in thus endeavouring to deserve the confidence of the prince it should appear that he had in fact lost it, he should indeed regret the circumstance, but he could boldly say that it was impossible for him ever to repent of it. Mr. Fox had thought proper to announce himself and his friends as successors to the present administration. He did not know upon what authority this declaration was made; but he thought the house and the country were obliged to him for this seasonable warning of what they had to expect. It was well known to be the express system of Mr. Fox, to aim at the power,

through the strength of a party, of nominating the ministers of the crown. This was the strongest additional reason, if any were wanting, why the house should carefully consider the extent of the powers they granted, and seriously reflect before they made themselves accessory to the creating a permanent weight and influence in the hands of a party, which would be dangerous to the just rights of the crown, when the moment should arrive, so much to be wished and perhaps so soon to be expected, in which the king should resume the exercise of his constitutional authority. The resolution was farther opposed by Mr. Bastard and Mr. Powys, and supported by Mr. Marham, Mr. Grosvenor, and the speaker, the former entering into its express vindication, and the two latter voting on the side of Mr. Pitt. The house having divided, the numbers appeared, ayes 268, noes 204.

The third resolution, which was intended by Mr. Pitt to complete the present proceeding, was slated to the house on the same day, but was not regularly debated till the twenty-second. Its tenour was to declare, that it was necessary, for the purpose of supplying the present defect, and maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, that the two houses should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given to the bill, which they might adopt for constituting a regency. The object of this proposition was sufficiently obvious. Administration had determined not to confide the regency to the prince of Wales but with certain limitations and restrictions, and they conceived it incumbent upon them to fix those restrictions in the present maimed and defective state of the legislature. They

were at present secure of a parliamentary majority, and they did not choose to trust to the influence that might be produced upon that majority by an intermediate change of administration. Indeed the resolution of right had a meaning and tendency perfectly similar to the resolution that followed it. All parties were agreed, that the prince of Wales was the proper person to be nominated sole regent, and that, if parliament possessed a discretion, it would be unwise and unsafe for them to exercise it for any other than this individual purpose. The utility of deciding the right could only be to enable parliament to follow up that decision with certain restrictions; and, if restrictions had not been intended, if it had been intended to confide the whole royal authority, the decision of the right was nugatory and unmeaning. It was true, strictly speaking, that the prince had no right to the regency, and it was true that his father had no right to the crown; but in both instances, and equally in both instances, the welfare of the public was supposed to require, that the crown should be confided to the male representative of the house of Brunswick, and the regency, when a regency was necessary, to the next heir in immediate succession. The term right in each case expresses a fallshood and is productive of error, and it would undoubtedly be highly salutary that the language of politics should be reduced to the severe and accurate expression of truth. But the term right seems to be in no respect more innocent and defensible in one case than it is in the other. With respect to the matter of the third resolution, its object was to authorize a sort of extravagant and incredible fiction, no example of which, at least

for several centuries, had occurred, and which was totally unnecessary to the purposes intended by ministry. Their apprehensions respecting the fluctuating state of the present majority were natural and perhaps just: but the most simple and dignified mode of proceeding in that case, if limitations were necessary, was to have passed a bill through the established forms, and then at once to have presented the regency to the prince of Wales and this bill for his assent. They would thus have secured the object that really engaged their anxiety, the acceptance and success of the bill, and might have been equally confident of the assent of the prince of Wales as regent being the inevitable consequence.

Lord North reasoned with considerable acuteness upon the project suggested in the third resolution. The object professedly in contemplation was to direct, by a vote of the two houses, the lord chancellor to affix the great seal to a commission, authorising certain persons to declare the royal assent on the part of the king. But how were they to be informed of the royal pleasure? This was clearly impossible. A person was to be set up without power or discretion, and this pageant, this fictitious being was to give the force of a law to the decisions of the two houses. Was it ever before heard of, that there could be a power of giving assent, without the power of refusing that assent? Would any man seriously maintain that the third estate, thus conjured up, was really distinct from the other two? It was a maxim of law as well as of reason, *Qui facit per alium facit per se*. The truth was, and it was impossible to controvert it, that the whole power proposed to be exercised was the proper and individual act of the lords and

and commons, unparticipated by any other estate or party in the world.

Mr. Fox earnestly pressed for an immediate address to the prince of Wales. He entered into a discussion of the precedent of the revolution, and observed, that the mode in which the two houses had proceeded to elect king William, was a proper model for their conduct in the present instance. King William, with all his great and glorious qualities, certainly did not possess such a knowledge of our constitution, as to have had any preference as to the manner in which the crown should be conferred upon him. Whether it came to him by a declaration of the two houses, by address, or by an act passed with the affectation of legal forms, was a circumstance that he would have regarded with perfect indifference, and respecting which of consequence the convention acted upon their own judgment. And what was the proceeding they adopted? They might have ordered a new great seal to be made; they might have erected a pageant, and, assuming the empty form without the reality or essence of a parliament, have committed an insulting fraud, and in mere mockery of legislation have passed an impotent act, conveying to king William the crown. But knowing and feeling the powers possessed by the two houses, and possessed by the legislature, knowing that the two houses could act only by resolution and address, and the legislature only by statute and bill, they pursued the line of conduct dictated by the constitution. Mr. Fox readily admitted, that, by addressing the prince of Wales to take upon him the exercise of royal authority, they would do an informal act: to make the chancellor put the great seal to a

commission was also informal. Let the two acts be examined. Do the first, and the prince instantly holds the parliament, the legislature is complete, and the informal act is made a law. Do the other, and not a step is gained, since this in its very nature was unconstitutional and inefficient. Ministers proposed one means; their opponents another. The proposition of the latter instantly reproduced legislature; that of the former a monster unknown to the constitution. The former chose an inconvenient regent for the purpose of getting at the proper one; the latter arrived at the proper one at once. The former did that by a fraud or fiction, which the latter effected without exceeding the real functions of the two houses of parliament.

Mr. Pitt defended the project he had offered to the house from the charges of being an extravagant fiction and a legal forgery. If such were the genuine description of every act done in the name and without the knowledge of the king, how was the regent to proceed? Was he to act in his own name or in that of the sovereign? In his own name he could not act without dethroning the king; and in the king's name he could not act without recourse to this reprobated fiction. It was this fiction that governed the proceedings of the courts of justice, that gave protection to our properties and our rights, and that resulted from the very nature of an hereditary monarchy. It supposed the same power to pass instantly in succession from one person to another, the political capacity of the king remaining always entire. It preserved sacred and inviolate the person upon the throne, and had protected it amidst the imbecility of infancy.

ry, and the decrepitude of age. Certain forms of law were evidence of the will of the king, and, when they appeared, could not be reversed again. Of this nature was giving the great seal. If the chancellor was now to put the seal on any act, it could not be contradicted, its legality could not be disputed, it must be received by the courts of justice, and proceeded on as law. In the mean time, the actual imbecility of the king being known, the personal danger incurred by the chancellor in an action of this sort was such, as would deter any man from committing it. It seemed however to afford a natural source in such an emergency as the present, and parliament might authorize and indemnify the chancellor in such an extraordinary exertion of his office. When the resolutions passed for the second time under the revision of the house, an amendment upon the second of them was moved by Mr. Dempster, declaring, that it was the duty of the two houses of parliament to provide the means of supplying the present defect, by presenting an address to the prince of Wales, heir apparent and of full age, requesting him to take upon himself the administration of the civil and military government during the royal incapacity. The house divided upon this amendment, ayes 178, noes 251.

The resolutions which had thus been passed were communicated to the house of lords on the following day, and were taken into consideration on the twenty-sixth. The debate was opened by the earl of Abingdon, who argued decidedly in favour of the projected act of parliament. He observed, that by an act of king William every person, that should hold communion with the see of

Rome, or should marry a papist, was expressly excluded from succeeding to the throne; and he asked, supposing a case to occur within the provision of this statute, who was to be the judge of its force and application? By the doctrine recently maintained he was bound to conclude, that the legislature alone, of which the king is one of the constituent parts, was competent to this decision. Was it then necessary, in order to exclude a king from the throne, that he should assent to his own exclusion? No: the exclusion appertained to the lords and commons of Great Britain and to them alone, as the trustees and representatives of the nation. But, if this were so, where there was an hereditary right, where that right had taken place, and when the crown was already on the head of the king, how could it with any colour of reason be objected to, where there was no right at all?

Lord Rawdon moved an amendment similar to that of Mr. Dempster in the house of commons, and this amendment was supported by lord viscount Stormont and lord Loughborough. Lord Stormont recommended it as being precisely the same, in the form in which it was offered by lord Rawdon, with that adopted by the convention parliament, when it was resolved to address the prince of Orange, excepting only the reference to the royal incapacity: and he farther observed, that by an act of king Henry the Eighth, not only the annexation of the great seal was necessary to every commission for giving the royal assent to an act of parliament, but it must also have the authority of the king's sign manual; so that in order to their adopting the project of administration, it was requisite for them

to dispense with an express act of parliament. Lord Loughborough remarked upon the words of the commencement of the second resolution, where, instead of leaving a blank as had been usual for the insertion of "the lords spiritual and temporal," the house of commons had undertaken to prescribe and declare what were the rights and duties of that house. He denied that the majority of the precedents that had been adduced were in point, since they had occurred in a complete legislature, while in the present instance they had not even ventured to consider themselves as a parliament. The speaker of the house of commons, though he thought without much occasion, had doubted whether he had authority to issue a writ; not one of the standing orders had been enforced; the votes had not been printed; and lord Loughborough even hesitated, whether parliamentary privilege, so far as it related to the other house, at that moment had existence.

Lord Lansdown expressed himself decisively in favour of the resolutions. He quoted the treatise of judge Foster upon the Principles of the Constitution, to prove, that even hereditary succession could not be considered as a right, but merely as a political expedient, subject to the revision of the two houses of parliament; an observation, which, as he remarked, applied with double force to the case of a regent. He was anxious therefore that this momentous question should not only be discussed but decided; that the eyes of all mankind might be opened to this important truth, that the people had essential rights of their own, but that kings and princes had no rights whatever. He asserted, that the

doctrine, that there existed in the prince of Wales a right to exercise the royal authority during the incapacity of the king, was full of mischief and danger. Suppose, for instance, that the present prince of Wales, instead of residing at Windsor, and setting an example of tenderness and affection for the sovereign, instead of doing the honours of the country to foreigners, and raising the national character for polished manners, as report said he had done, throughout Europe, had been caballing away his time in the capital, intriguing with the army and the navy, cultivating his interest with foreign powers, and raising money to carry on his ambitious projects. Would not every man in the kingdom wish, that, if such had been the conduct of the prince of Wales, there were a power in the two houses of parliament to step in, supersede his alledged claim to the regency, and appoint another?

Lord Lansdown asserted, that the present parliament was not a convention, but to all intents and purposes a parliament regularly assembled. The king had assembled them, and the king had an undoubted authority to do it, because he was living. According to the law and constitution of England the throne was never vacant, and the king in no age or condition was ever considered as unequal and incompetent to the exercise of the royal functions. It was not to be presumed that these principles were without a meaning; on the contrary our old principles of law were commonly found to have been suggested by the deepest wisdom, calculated not only to remedy past evils when they rise afresh, but to meet future and unexpected exigencies. There could not be a

Stronger

stronger illustration of this, than that which was furnished by the present crisis. He wished therefore that administration had come to parliament at once, with such a commission as was described in the third resolution. It would have coincided with the opinion he had frequently given during the American war, when the practice had been to obtain before hand the sanction of parliament, to confound the legislative with the executive authority, to take away the responsibility of ministers, and to weaken the powers of enquiry and censure which the constitution had vested in the legislature. Some risk would undoubtedly have been incurred; but great officers were appointed for the execution of great and important undertakings, and, if they refused to encounter peril and hazard, they had no business in high situations. Lord Lansdown, however, saw no eventual difference between the present proceeding and that which he had described. Those that did the act, were exposed to the risk; and, notwithstanding the proceedings in the American war, if ministers should be found to have persuaded parliament to what was unjust or unnecessary, this ought only to aggravate their crime. If on the contrary a measure was just, well-intended and wise, the advice of the two houses of parliament could not certainly render it less authentic, but must considerably increase its title to the public confidence. Lord Lansdown alluded to the opinion some years ago maintained against him by Mr. Fox, that the exercise of the royal negative was in all cases unconstitutional; and observed, that the present measure only deprived the crown in a single instance of that free will, of which Mr. Fox had been

desirous to deprive it altogether, and which in no instance had been thought fit to be exercised by the family now on the throne.

Lord Thurlow descanted with considerable severity on the amendment of Lord Rawdon, which he said conveyed no distinct or precise meaning. It requested the prince of Wales to take upon himself the regency. What did the term regent mean? Where was it defined? He had heard of custodes regni, of lieutenants for the king, of guardians and protectors, and of lords justices; but he knew not where to look for an explanation of the office and functions of a regent. To what end then address the prince of Wales to take upon himself a character, the nature of which was by no means ascertained? But the amendment attempted something which probably was intended as a sort of definition of the term regent, by adding, that what the prince was requested to assume was the administration of the executive government. This again was dark and equivocal. Did it mean the whole royal authority? And if it did, would it be supported by any peer in that house? No man entertained a higher respect for the prince of Wales than he did; but the prince had a better interest in the crown, than he could have in the regency; and it was their duty to preserve the power of the crown, safe, entire, and uninjured. In answer to lord Lansdown the chancellor observed, that those persons, who now censured the conduct of administration, would have been ten times more loud in their invective, had ministers of themselves put the great seal to a commission for opening the session of parliament. His opinion had decidedly been to resort to the great council

council of the nation, and to call upon them in the face of the public to act upon their own wisdom and authority. He agreed with the marquis of Lansdown as to the constitutional importance of the royal negative; declaring that he had thought himself indebted to him upon a former occasion, for having pointed out the utility of such a power being vested in the crown. He was satisfied, that, so far from being a power that no prince of the house of Brunswick was likely to exercise, a day would sooner or later occur, in which the salvation of the constitution and country might depend upon the exercise of this truly royal prerogative. The house divided upon the amendment of lord Rawdon, contents 66, not contents 99. A protest was entered, signed by the duke of York, the duke of Cumberland, and forty-six other peers.

An incident occurred in this stage of the business, that was calculated to render the singular situation of the two houses of parliament more palpable and conspicuous. Mr. Cornwall, speaker of the house of commons, died after a few days indisposition on the second of January 1789. This was a case that fell within the usual sphere of the royal prerogative, it being requisite to proceed to the immediate election of a new speaker, and the person elected not being accustomed to take upon himself the duties of his office, till his appointment had received the approbation of the king. This form it was necessary to dispense with in the present instance, and on the fifth of January it was moved by lord Eustonson of the duke of Grafton, and Mr. Pulteney, that Mr. Grenville, brother

to the marquis of Buckingham, one of the joint paymasters of the forces, be chosen to supply the present vacancy. By Mr. Wellesley Ellis and Mr. Frederic Montagu, in the name of the other party in the house of commons, it was moved that the speaker to be elected should be Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had lately distinguished himself by the proposed impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey. Upon this question the house divided, for Mr. Grenville 215, for Sir Gilbert Elliot 144.

The day following had been fixed by Mr. Pitt for the period of explaining to the house of commons the restrictions, which he should propose as necessary to accompany the declaration of a regent. This topic was however procrastinated, in consequence of the motion of Mr. Loveden for the appointment of a fresh committee to enquire into and report the state of the health of the king. It may naturally be supposed, that the royal indisposition was at this time an object of considerable curiosity, and that of consequence various and contradictory rumours would be propagated upon the subject. The degree of uncertainty was increased by the opposition and rivalry that had broken out between doctor Richard Warren, one of the principal physicians in ordinary to the king, and doctor Francis Willis, whose original profession had been that of a clergyman, and who had been called in the month of December, as from the practice in which he had for some years been engaged having particular experience of persons afflicted with the royal malady. Doctor Warren was particularly cautious of delivering any prognostics upon the subject,

ject, being unwilling to flatter the public with any delusory expectations; while on the other hand doctor Willis conceived from the most sanguine hopes of his patient's recovery, and delivered his opinions with a confidence, which was ultimately justified by the event. doctor Willis therefore, as was natural, became exceedingly acceptable to the queen; and doctor Warren, by her majesty's interference, was in one instance prevailed upon to give a report of the sovereign's health somewhat more favourable than he thought in strictness it ought to have been.

Such were a part of the reasons that induced Mr. Loveden to propose a new and more minute enquiry into the subject; a proposition that was at first resisted by Mr. Pitt, and several other members of the house of commons. Mr. Fox expressed similar sentiments, observing at the same time, that in the subject, which by the order of the day they were called upon to discuss, they were bound to shut their ears upon all vague reports, and to confine themselves to the facts which had been regularly brought before them. It became them however to remember, that the information upon which they were to proceed had been communicated four weeks before, and that of consequence four weeks were to be considered as having elapsed, without any alteration in the king's health. He censured the opinion, which had a few days before been delivered by lord Thurlow in the house of lords, declaring that he had reason to hope that his majesty's recovery was at no considerable distance. No man ought to declare his sentiments on either side of so interesting a question, unless the grounds upon

which those sentiments rested could be rendered the objects of examination and enquiry, and be a clue to facts which might be substantiated in evidence. Mr. Pitt now declared, that his opinion upon the proposition of Mr. Loveden was altered; and that, incapable of admitting the inferences that had been made by Mr. Fox, he must become the advocate of a farther enquiry. He had hitherto carefully avoided giving any opinion of his own upon the subject that at present interested the house, from a conviction that parliament could not render the private sentiments of any man the ground of their proceedings. Prompted however as he now was, he must declare that the very reverse of Mr. Fox's inference was the fact; and, when he made such a declaration in the situation in which he stood, he could not be supposed to speak altogether without information. Mr. Pitt proceeded to animadvert upon some reasonings that had been employed by Mr. Burke, to prove, from a comparison of the reports of the physicians, that the king's recovery was not speedily to be effected. He declared, that these reasonings appeared to him to be such as could not arise but from Mr. Burke's entertaining wishes different from those of the rest of the house. Mr. Fox repelled this insinuation. Nothing, he observed, was more natural, than eagerly to resist any attempt to deceive an affectionate people, and to prevent that house from being deluded under false pretences into a mode of government that would sacrifice the constitution. In such a cause he felt a warmth, superior even to his attachment to majesty, superior to the love of loyalty which a subject owed his sovereign, a warmth arising out of

of the natural predilection which every man of honour felt for the truth, and his detestation for all sorts of dissimulation and falshood. Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment upon the proposition for a committee of enquiry, authorising the members not merely to receive the evidence of the royal physicians, but to enquire generally into the nature and state of the king's malady and the probability of his speedy recovery, and to send for such persons and papers as might conduce to their information. The house divided upon this amendment, ayes 141, noes 221.

The report of the committee which was thus instituted, instead of being prepared as was predicted in a few hours, occupied a period of seven days. The different parties in the house of commons were exceedingly anxious to obtain the most decisive and un-

questionable evidence respecting the king's health, and the several political views with which they were inspired strongly enforced the general spirit of curiosity. The report was voluminous, and the physicians underwent the most accurate and severe examination. But, though a considerable degree of intelligence was thus obtained respecting the precise nature and symptoms of the royal disposition, the treatment he had received, and the conduct of the persons to whose care he was intrusted, yet there do not appear upon the face of the report any satisfactory materials, out of which to have formed judgment respecting the duration of the king's malady; and each side of the house of commons still continued to reason concerning it in the manner most calculated to strengthen their different arguments.

CHAP. VI.

Correspondence of the Prince of Wales and Mr. Pitt. Restrictions on the Regency. Peerage Restriction. Government of the Royal Household established in the Queen. Session of Parliament opened. Regency Bill. Debates.

THE project of administration, respecting the form of government to be instituted, and the measures previously to be adopted by the two houses of parliament, was such, as seemed to render it necessary for them to consider the prince of Wales in no other light in the outset of the business, than as a privy counsellor and a prince of the blood;

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and such had accordingly been the principle upon which they acted till their propositions respecting the decision of the question of right had been ultimately adopted by the two houses of parliament. The next measure it became them to take was the proceeding by bill, or by resolutions to be made the groundwork of a bill, to provide for the administration

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administration of the executive government during the period of the royal incapacity. In this situation they conceived themselves at liberty, and of consequence regarded it as an act of deference and respect, to communicate to the prince of Wales the propositions they intended to offer to parliament upon this interesting subject. A letter was addressed to him by Mr. Pitt on the thirtieth of December, informing him that it was the opinion of the king's confidential servants, that he should be empowered to exercise the royal authority during the illness and in the name of his father; providing nevertheless, that the care of the king's person and the disposition of his household should be committed to the queen; and that the power to be exercised by the prince should not extend to the personal property of his father; to the granting any office, pension or penion, except where the law absolutely required it, as in the case of the judges, for any other term than during the king's pleasure; or to the conferring any peerage, unless upon such persons of the royal blood as should have attained the age of twenty-one years. Mr. Pitt added, that the ideas he had suggested were founded upon the supposition that the royal malady was only temporary, and might be of short duration. It would be difficult to fix at present the precise period for which these provisions ought to endure, but it would be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament to reconsider them, whenever circumstances might appear to render it exigible.

The answer of the prince of Wales is dated on the second of January 1789, and expresses with considerable force the sentiments

which he might have been expected to feel upon a similar occasion. Respecting the steps already taken he was silent. No proceeding of the two houses of parliament could be a proper subject of his animadversion; but when, previous to any discussion in the legislature, the outlines of a scheme of government, in which it was proposed that he should be personally and principally concerned, and by which the royal authority and the public welfare might be deeply affected, were sent to him for his consideration, it would be unjustifiable in him to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments. His silence might be construed into the previous approbation of a plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of duty to his father and sovereign, as well as of regard for the public interest, obliged him to consider as injurious to both. It was with deep regret that the prince perceived in the propositions of administration a project for introducing weakness, disorder and insecurity into every branch of political business, a project for dividing the royal family from each other, for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward, and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour or benignity. His feelings upon the subject were rendered still more painful by observing, that the propositions were not founded in any general principle, but were calculated to inflame jealousies and suspicion, which

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he trusted were entirely groundless, among those whose confidence it would ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

The prince was of opinion that it was an undoubted and fundamental principle of the British constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown were vested there as a trust for the benefit of the people, and that they were sacred only as they conduced to preserve that balance of the constitution, which was the true security of the liberty of the subject. He therefore observed that the plea of public utility must be strong, manifest and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which could justify the prince in consenting that in his person an experiment should be made, to ascertain with how small a portion of kingly power the executive government of his country could be conducted. The prince declared, that, if security for the king's repossessing his rightful government were any part of the object of this plan, he had only to be convinced that any measure was necessary or even conducive to that end, to be the most forward in its recommendation. If attention to what it was presumed might be the king's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery were the object, it was with the truest sincerity the prince expressed his firm conviction, that no event could be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than to know, that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority and diminished energy; a state, injurious in its practice to the

prosperity of the people, and not chievious in its precedent to the security of the monarch and the rights of his family. He added that it had been neither necessary nor proper for Mr. Pitt to suggest to him the restraint he proposed against his dissipating the king's real and personal property. He did not conceive that he was by the law entitled to dissipate it, and he was sure that he had never shown the smallest inclination to possess such power. In fine, his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful task imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity, which of all the king's subjects he deplored the most in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the king, the attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity that had always distinguished the nation, would carry him through the difficulties that surrounded him, with comfort to himself, with honour to the king and with advantage to the public.

The most singular part of the project we have recited appears to have been that for confiding to the king the power to remove, nominate and appoint the officers of the royal household, assisted by a permanent council to be selected by parliament, and consist in some measure of the members of the present administration. We know not how far Mr. Pitt was aware of the consequence of this measure, but it certainly required little politics to foresee, that a power would thus have been created to counteract the operations and energies of the prince's administration. The annual income of the royal household was computed to amount

three hundred thousand pounds, and a number of officers of which it consisted to four hundred, an influence, that would certainly have been sufficiently formidable to a government in other respects restricted and limited. The lords of the bedchamber alone had twice in the course of the present reign proved an active engine in overturning the administration of their country. Hitherto they had only been employed, when a misunderstanding arose between the king and his ministers; by the project of Mr. Pitt they were made a fortress, from which at all times they attacked the existing government. It is true that Mr. Pitt pledged himself, that he would not engage in a facious opposition, and that he would support the ministers, whose principles he so eagerly condemned, in all their wise and prudent measures. But it needs only a very slight acquaintance with the modern history of England to judge of the value to be ascribed to these professions. It is not the least extraordinary circumstance in these transactions, that the queen could be prevailed upon to lend her name to a project, which would eventually have placed her in a rivalship with her son, and, at a moment when her attention might seem to be absorbed by domestic calamity, have established her at the head of a political party.

The argument by which the resolutions were defended, was the propriety of taking care, that the king, when he should recover, should be as little mortified as possible in the intermediate transactions, and should be enabled to resume with facility and certainty the administration of government. To the king and inflexible advocate for these reasons will not appear

of sufficient weight to authorise a dangerous experiment in the theory of politics; but in another view he will feel no violent resentment against them. The inhabitants of England are too deeply impressed with a prejudice, that their political constitution is the model and abstract of consummate perfection; and, whatever queries may be started respecting the power of war and peace, of transacting in the first instance with all foreign countries, and of originating almost every species of measures, the general but unmeaning answer will be found to be, that such were the wise provisions of our ancestors. We have seen no variation in the powers of government, and we hastily conclude that no variation is practicable. The project of Mr. Pitt would have been a great and valuable experiment, that might have terminated in a very different manner from what the minister expected; or at least would have set men's minds afloat and engaged them in the examination of the first principles of political government. If a regency of several years had taken place, and that regency had proceeded successfully notwithstanding all its checks and limitations, it can scarcely be believed that we should have submitted with patience to the revival of useless prerogatives. The human understanding throughout all Europe is awake, and no bold and unprecedented experiment can be made in political government, without the prospect of producing the most inestimable consequences. These reasonings therefore would justify the greater part of Mr. Pitt's propositions; but it will be seen that Mr. Pitt placed his justification upon a very different basis. The least commendable part of the scheme in a

comprehensive view is that of the royal household, upon which we have already descanted. The executive government may be prosperously conducted with powers much less than the English constitution vests in the king. To restrict its prerogatives may be judicious; but it does not seem to be peculiarly desirable, that another power should be created at the public expence to struggle with the actual administration, and that two contending authorities should thus exert the influence of office, rank and emolument, in rivalry to each other.

Administration was encouraged in their pursuit of the plan they had formed, by the addresses that were presented to them from various parts of the kingdom, expressive of the gratitude of the persons by whom they were sent, for the assertion which had been made by the house of commons of their right of providing for the present deficiency. These addresses, as has frequently been found in similar cases, were not so decisive from the importance of the places or assemblies in which they originated, as not to leave room for a plausible argument against the inference that was intended to be drawn from them. It cannot however be denied, that the sense of the people of England was favourable to the measures of administration; and it is highly important that such predilections should be recorded by the historian, that so from the majority of examples a judgment may be deduced respecting the infallibility of the decisions of the people at large. The addresses were presented in the name of the counties of Devon and Dorset, the merchants of the city of London, the citizens of Worcester, Oxford and Durham, and the towns

of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Nottingham, Taunton, and many other places. In some instances, as in that of the county of Northumberland, the event seems to have been rather favourable to the members of opposition, and gave occasion to some contest and asperity between the individuals concerned, in the house of commons. In the meetings for London and Manchester, the majority was said to be adverse to the measure proposed. In some few of the examples we have mentioned, the address to the minister was accompanied by an address to the regent, entreating him to make no change in the members of the existing government.

Mr. Pitt opened his propositions to the house of commons on the fourteenth of January. He said, that the report which had just been prepared abundantly confirmed the sentiments he had before entertained upon the subject. He should however make no alteration in what he had intended to suggest, and should state now what he had designed to state then, as the ground of their proceedings; that the king's recovery was more probable than the contrary, and that the greatest length to which the malady was ordinarily known to extend was a year and half or two years, the shortest three months, and the average five or six. Such was the decisive opinion of Dr. Willis, who of all the king's physicians was most entitled to credit, and having had the greatest experience in this particular disorder, and being most constant in his attendance upon his patient. Mr. Pitt adverted to the regency bills of queen Anne, of king George the First and king George the Second, where, the circumstance of contemplation being a minority, the

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respect of a more certain and longer delegation of power was afforded than might be expected in the present instance. In each of these cases, the powers of the crown had been lodged not in one single hand, but in a great variety of persons. He had himself considerable doubts whether these wills were well adapted to the circumstances of the times in which they had passed, and accordingly was firmly of opinion, that the political power should be intrusted by parliament to one individual. But as the delegated authority had in former instances been restricted by the mode in which it was distributed, he deemed it more especially right in the present, that it should have certain limitations. He reasoned particularly upon the limitation respecting the peerage, and observed, that it could scarcely be maintained, that the want of such an incentive for a few months was likely to deprive the country of the service of its meritorious citizens. The prerogative of creating peers was of a very delicate nature, since an honour of this sort was permanent, and, when once given, could not be retracted. As an instance of its possible abuse, Mr. Pitt desired to make the proposition of such a confederacy and cabal being formed, as had been conducted a few years since of a design to overthrow the constitution, alleging, that by such persons they might expect the regent to be advised to create so great a number of peers, as would considerably embarrass the crown in carrying on the government, when the king should again be restored to his regal capacity. The last proposition was not less important and indispensable. Without investing the queen with the controul of the household, she

could not properly discharge the guardianship, which they were unanimously disposed to commit to her care. It was impossible to suppose, that the influence arising from this patronage could operate to the disadvantage of the regent's administration. For a moment to harbour the idea would be equally romantical and indecent. He believed that no man would venture to charge blame of any kind upon this great personage, who had lived almost thirty years in the country a pattern of domestic affection, tenderness and virtue, against whom the breath of calumny had not dared to utter a whisper, and who could not merit it at a moment of such complicated affliction. The master of the horse indeed, the lord chamberlain, the lord steward of the household and others were by many thought high officers of state; but the fact was otherwise. They were the menial servants of the crown, essential to its dignity and splendour. He urged it upon the house as a matter of humanity and loyalty not to interfere with the king's domestic arrangements. What must that great personage feel, when he waked from the trance of his faculties, and asked for his attendants, if he were told, that his subjects had taken advantage of his momentary absence of mind, and stripped him of the symbols of his personal elevation! Mr. Pitt added, that he was sensible of what was due to the regent, who ought to have a retinue adequate to the importance of his station. He meant to propose such a retinue, and he was confident, that, though it might involve some additional expence, it would cheerfully and unreluctantly be contributed by that house.

Mr. Grenville discussed the subject at considerable length. He observed,

that of all the powers of the crown that of creating peers was the most liable to be abused by a temporary government. It was indeed a prerogative of so high a nature, that nothing but strong necessity could justify the placing it in the sovereign himself. As exercised by him it was however subject to this restraint, that the mischiefs attendant on its abuse operated against the peace and security of that government, of which the king was in actual possession, and which he was to retain for the whole period of his life. The case of a regent was widely different. If we supposed him to be ill advised, what more natural means were there of preventing the king's return to the exercise of his authority, or at least of embarrassing and thwarting him whenever he might feel it his duty to counteract the views of a party, than the abuse of this particular prerogative?

Lord North upon this occasion retorted upon ministers the argument they had employed in a former debate. The measure parliament was now called upon to adopt contradicted that wise maxim of our constitution, that the king could never die. The king it was true, in his individual and natural capacity, suffered a demise, but the political capacity of the crown was whole and entire, and the reason of this maxim was obviously to guard against and prevent a mere regnum of imperial power. Ministers had contrived to produce that evil, against which the constitution had so cautiously guarded, and had devised the political death of the crown. Lord North particularly reasoned upon the restriction in the peerage. Mr. Pitt, he said, had professed to rely upon precedents and analogy. Could he produce

either the one or the other to prove that the power of creating peers could remain dormant in the constitution? The last peerage bill which had fallen under discussion was in the reign of George the First. The king was then old and infirm, and the ministry, though a powerful party, composed of men of high character, of great abilities and authority in the country, were imagined not to be much in the good graces of the heir apparent. They had reason therefore to expect, that, when the prince of Wales came to the crown, he would create so many new peers, that their party would be outnumbered in the house of lords. With a view to avert this catastrophe, they proposed to limit for the future the number of peers to be created. Such at least were the motives that were imputed to their conduct. The bill in question was evidently calculated to increase the importance of the peerage, and therefore was eagerly supported by the whole of that house, though they plainly saw the object for which it had been introduced. The peers in opposition overlooked the political distinction of the times, and the duke of Buckingham, who was at their head, had consented to undertake the patronage of the bill. Its success therefore in the upper house was inevitable; but the house of commons of that period had given it a very different reception, and spurned at a measure, the tendency of which was to overturn the balance of the constitution. Lord North recommended it to his hearers to proceed with the utmost circumspection. If the restriction were adopted, were they sure that the house of lords would be as ready to annihilate, as they might be found to establish it? When the period

ved for revising the present measures, the house of lords might possibly demur, and reply, that the restriction was in their opinion still necessary, and that they were too wise to part, with what the house of commons had been improvident enough to concede. Lord North controverted Mr. Pitt's description of the great officers of the household. They might in the time of king George the Second have been intimately connected with the interior of the palace, and been in the strict sense of the word domestics of the sovereign; but it was well known that of late years the lords of the chamber had been otherwise employed. They were indeed the political servants of the crown, not appointed for the domestic convenience of the monarch, but for his public pomp, being a part of the pageantry annexed to his office, and a source of the influence which it was intended to maintain among the people at large.

Mr. Sheridan controverted Mr. Pitt's description of the report of the committee, and said, that, if ever there was a witness who appeared to give prevaricating and evasive answers, it was doctor Willis. At one time he stated, that the daily accounts that were published of the king's health were considered by him merely as prescriptions for the public to swallow; and at others that they were the result of conversations that had never taken place. He talked of possessing the gift of turning men's hearts by looking into their countenances, and by that means instantly discovering the true state of their health; and, a few days after he had been admitted to attend upon the king, he had described the royal illness as the re-

sult of twenty-seven years of extreme study, abstinence and labour, at the same time declaring, that the king was recovering, because the medicine he had that day given him had produced the desired effect. Such assertions reminded him of the nostrums that were to cure this and the other malady, and also disappointments in love and long sea voyages. Mr. Sheridan adverted to the eulogium Mr. Pitt had pronounced upon the queen, which he said appeared to him to have been designed to provoke a discussion of her conduct. Those, who would give responsibility to the queen, who would take her out of that private and domestic station in which she had conducted herself so amiably and irreproachably, were the persons who really manifested a want of delicacy, and whose proceedings were calculated to interrupt her tranquillity. Mr. Pitt had discovered in one part of his speech the true motives of his conduct, when he stated his apprehension that the government would fall into the hands of those persons, who he had dared to assert had been convicted of a confederacy to overturn the constitution. This was the real spring of Mr. Pitt's measures. Had the regent intended to keep the present ministers in office, the limitations, he verily believed, would never have been heard of. The whole of Mr. Pitt's conduct was confessedly governed by party considerations and the impulse of his personal ambition. He had talked of the evil advisers to whom the regent might possibly be exposed. But was there in fact any reason to dread such a circumstance? If it occurred, was there not vigour enough left in that house, to crush any attempts at the

abuse of authority, to call bad ministers to a severe account, and address the regent to remove them from his councils? Mr. Pitt had more than once wantonly attacked that side of the house, as containing a political party. He made no scruple to declare, that he thought it the glory and honour of his life to belong to that party. Was it a disgrace to have been formed under the marquis of Rockingham, and under his banners to have combated with success in the cause of the people? Was it a disgrace to be connected with the duke of Portland, a nobleman, who, swayed by no mean motives of interest, nor influenced by any ambitious aspirings for power, and actuated solely by the desire of the public welfare, dedicated his mornings unremittingly to the service of his country? Of Mr. Fox Mr. Sheridan remarked, that it was his characteristic distinction, fully to possess himself of the affection of all those who were in habits of intercourse with him, and to force them by the most powerful and amiable sort of compulsion to participate in his fortune. With respect to his talents he would not speak of them. They could derive no additional lustre from the most sanguine panegyric of the most enlightened of his friends. Thus much only he would observe with regard to the extent of his mind and the keenness of his understanding, that it was the best proof of any other man's talents to be able to comprehend the enlargement and feel the superiority of those of his friend. He regarded the friendship of such men as the greatest happiness that could befall him; and he desired to know whether the duke of Portland and Mr. Fox were the less worthy of the confi-

dence of their country or the more unfit to become ministers, because an arrogant individual chose presumptuously to load them with calumny? He begged leave to remind Mr. Pitt, that, after this confession, which he had so grossly calumniated, had formed their coalition and passed their India bill, he had professed himself ready to join them, and a treaty, as the house well knew, had been set on foot, though it had not been brought to a successful conclusion. Mr. Sheridan commented on the declaration of the minister that he would not join in any factious opposition. He had made a similar declaration upon a former occasion, to which he had afterwards shown no disposition to adhere. Mr. Sheridan condemned in the strongest terms the idea of reserving the patronage of the household, which could answer no other purpose but what Mr. Pitt had unjustly charged upon Mr. Fox, the erecting a fortress, from which, when he was out of office, he might successfully counteract the measures of administration. The pretence, that the feelings of the king would be shocked when he recovered and found his household changed, was ridiculous. The bad advisers of the regent were to be allowed the power of making war and peace and alliances, and exerting various other important prerogatives. To talk therefore of the feelings of the king as Mr. Pitt did, was to suppose that he would be less shocked to learn that the constitution of the government was changed, part of his dominions ceded to foreign potentates, and a thousand calamities and disgraces entailed upon his country, than to be informed of the most trivial alteration in his domestic arrangements. Mr. Sheridan described

the ex-minister, as coming down to the house in state, with the cap of liberty upon the end of a white staff, a retinue of black and white sticks attending him, and an army of self-eaters to clear his way through the lobby.

Colonel Fullarton spoke against the project of restrictions. He said, that Mr. Pitt had declared it to be the duty of the house, to grant no more power to the regent, than appeared absolutely necessary to the public service. He seemed to conceive, that every thing, that could possibly be withheld from the representative of the sovereign during the royal incapacity, was so much gained to the state. Colonel Fullarton on the contrary was of opinion, that every portion of the just and established exercise of executive authority, which was withheld from the regent, was so much loss to the state; since the authority was created for no other purpose than the general benefit. Mr. Pitt had been anxious to shelter his proceedings under the sanctions of precedents and analogies of history. Colonel Fullarton was ready to meet him on that ground, and desired Mr. Pitt to produce a single example from the history of England, France, Spain or any other country, where the established legal powers of executive government were maimed, mutilated and restrained without producing inefficiency, counteraction and disgrace. Colonel Fullarton entered into a bold and spirited illustration of the present crisis from the history of France in the reign of Charles the Sixth. His queen was Isabella of Bavaria, a princess, attached only to her treasures, and influenced by the chancellor, the prime minister and other principal officers of the

court, who were afraid, that, if the government should be intrusted to the heir apparent during the king's incapacity, they would lose their situations. Under this impression the desperate resolution was formed of insulting the heir apparent almost beyond the limits of endurance, and measures were actually adopted for excluding from the government that able and distinguished prince, sole heir and representative of the sovereign. The minister at that time who was the chief confidant of Isabella was Mervilliers, who commenced his career in the profession of the law, but quickly found a nearer opening to advancement by the more productive path of politics. The minister and his party, trusting to his eloquence, his talents, his temerity, and his credit with a large portion of the public, and relying on certain other circumstances, adopted the desperate resolution he had stated, and even undertook to procure the assent of Charles the Sixth to this unnatural measure. The king was in a state of total incapacity, and, being consequently unable to declare his assent, the minister undertook to obtain the co-operation of Isabella to the exclusion of her own son from the government, and to procure the thanks and approbation of the corporation of the city of Paris. Under these circumstances the treaty of Arras had been concluded, and by means of the chancellor and a fiction of the parliament of Paris he affixed the great seal to acts which were the consequence of that treaty; and thus he devised means for giving the royal assent, at a time when the royal assent could not possibly be given. But what were the consequences of these transactions? The kingdom

was betrayed to its rivals, subjected to the mercy of a foreign enemy, and was not rescued from these disasters but by that prince, who possessed the most interesting qualities and the most fascinating manners, who had attached to his cause the noblest spirits and the best abilities of his country, but who had been presumptuously excluded from the executive government.

The project of Mr. Pitt consisted of five propositions. To the first of these, vesting the prince of Wales with the royal authority subject to such limitations and exceptions as parliament should provide, an amendment was moved by Mr. Powys, the object of which was to confer the exercise of the royal authority unaccompanied by any limitations. This amendment was rejected by the usual majority. Upon the second resolution, relative to the creation of peers, the house divided, ayes 216, noes 159. The resolutions, that respected the granting of offices for life, and the reservation of the king's real and personal property, were then carried without a division.

The consideration of the fifth resolution, respecting the guardianship of the royal person and the government of the household, was adjourned to the nineteenth, and was attended with some degree of debate. It was supported by Mr. Pulteney, who was recently returned from a tour upon the continent, and who took this occasion of observing, that, if he had been present, he should have given as decisive a vote in support of the question of right, as he should now do in favour of the restrictions. He asked, whether the throne was so weak, that any person who had the power of distributing eighty or a hundred thousand pounds

per annum, and of influencing the votes of two or three persons in the house and the lords of the bedchamber in the other could shake it? He had formerly given his support to a vote that the influence of the crown was too great and ought to be diminished, and he did not think that it was at that moment sufficiently reduced.

Lord Maitland declared himself inimical to the vesting the care of the king's person in the hands of the queen. They all knew what must be her majesty's anxiety, and though this anxiety might redound to her honour and obtain for her the universal esteem, it might however lead her to a belief of a too favourable report of the state of the king's health, and therefore operated against her being exclusively vested with the guardianship. Admitting however the propriety of entrusting to the queen the care of the royal person, that very circumstance disqualified her for the patronage of the household. Without giving way to any invidious or unworthy suspicions, it established, abstractedly considered, an interest opposite to the due discharge of the trust, and which might induce a wish to continue the exercise after the necessity which gave rise to it should have ceased. If the royal authority were too considerable under the present circumstances to be conferred upon any single individual, let it be suspended during the king's indisposition; let it not be divided. The dividing it would create a fourth estate in the realm, and render the executive government of the country impracticable. The effect of it was in every view of the subject to be deprecated. The resolution gave a great part of the executive power of the country to

the queen, and that without responsibility. Who were to be the responsible persons? Was it the queen? No. Were they to look to her council? Certainly not; for by the opposition of Mr. Pitt they were to be a council of advice, possessed of no efficient power, and exerting no absolute controul.

Mr. Fox undertook to contrast the evils, which were to be apprehended from an unlimited authority in the prince of Wales with the evils that would result from a mutilated government. The regent might in the full exercise of his authority proceed to the immediate dismissal of the lords of the bedchamber; nay perhaps he might add a few members from the house of commons to the house of peers. Where was the mighty evil of this? At the end of a short period the regent resumed his power, the lords of the bedchamber were replaced, and all that remained was the peers who had that space might have been created. Could this be put in the balance with the sum of evils that might result from the project they were now called upon to adopt? Mr. Fox spoke in terms of severe reprobation of the tendency of the present resolution to introduce discord between the mother and the son. He could not utter in terms of sufficient indignation his abhorrence of such a design. He was however ready to confess that the machination for accomplishing it was artfully formed. It was founded in a violation of human feelings; it was deduced from the speculation, that, though in good minds there was a disposition to harmony, yet a competition, introduced among persons the most nearly connected in blood, in duty and affection, endan-

gered the existence of the tenderest feelings, and frequently dissolved the most intimate connection. In truth nothing so forcibly characterised a noble and godlike mind, as to continue free from jealousy in such a situation. How much then must those persons have to answer for, who, with a perfect knowledge of this weakness in human nature, wickedly and wantonly proposed a measure calculated to involve the empire in this signal calamity? Mr. Fox examined the argument respecting the dignity that it was proper should accompany the royal person. Did they mean to say, that, during the unhappy malady of the king, they wished to exhibit him with all the equipage and regalia of state? It was a dignity, which, under his present unfortunate and mortifying circumstances, was unfit to be bestowed. It could only engender contumely; and was calculated not to make his subjects look up to him with reverence, but to inspire them with scoffing and contempt. Mr. Fox concluded with remarking upon the suggestion of Mr. Pitt for providing an extraordinary household for the regent under the present circumstances. It might perhaps be a matter of delicacy to state the opinion of the prince of Wales, but he knew it to be his sentiment, that it would be highly irksome to him to add any burthen to the country in its present melancholy and calamitous circumstances for the purpose of increasing the state and dignity of his own situation. An amendment was moved by Mr. Bouverie, to separate that part of the resolution which related to the household, and his motion was rejected upon a division, ayes 165, noes 229. A motion of lord North for confining the

the operation of the resolution to a limited time was rejected by a similar majority. A similar amendment was offered by Mr. Pulteney to limit the regency and the restrictions generally to the term of one year, and Mr. Pitt observed, that he should have less objection to such a proposition, than to a limitation upon the term of the restrictions only. The amendment was however withdrawn, in order to be offered afterwards as a clause in the intended act of parliament. It was after this debate, that, the indisposition, which Mr. Fox had contracted in his return from the continent, having increased, he thought proper to retire to Bath, where he continued during the following month.

The resolutions were carried to the house of lords for their concurrence, and were debated on the twenty-second and the day following. They were discussed at considerable length by doctor Watson, bishop of Landaff, who began with adverting to the speech of lord Camden respecting them, in which that nobleman appeared to have taken it for granted, that the lords of the bedchamber might generally be expected to vote conformably to the inclination of the person by whom they were appointed. Doctor Watson knew that such an insinuation was not uncommon respecting the lords of the bedchamber, the sixteen peers of Scotland and the bench of bishops. But he spurned the imputation with contempt. He felt it to be injurious to himself, and he believed it to be injurious to the other noble persons to whom it was applied. Passing to the direct subject of debate, he proceeded to state the form of proceeding which he con-

ceived they ought to have adopted. It became them to have empowered the prince of Wales, for he did not question their competency to empower, by a commission under the great seal or otherwise, to take upon him the legislative authority of his father. The constitution being thus restored to its vigour, the complete parliament might then have proceeded to the nomination of a regent with or without restrictions as they thought most proper. He fully admitted the power and right of the legislature to have created whatever regent and whatever powers they deemed expedient; but he at the same time contended, that they were so completely bound to one individual mode of proceeding upon this subject, that they could not set it aside without violating the strongest and most irrefragable analogy of law. In the case of the king's demise the law had clearly and positively said. The trust shall not revert to the community at large; the community knows the mischief of such a reversion and will have nothing to do with it; it shall go in the established order of succession entire to the heir. Such was the express declaration of law in the one case, and the analogy of law spoke the same language in the other. The same argument applied to the sort of power to be exercised by the regent. It had been said, that in the constitution of regency, no more power ought to be given than was sufficient to carry on the executive government with vigour and effect. Upon the truth of this proposition doctor Watson grounded his argument against the propriety of any restrictions. The whole regency power was necessary to enable the regent to carry on the government for the public good. Was it infla-

or asserted that the king had an more of regal power belonging him from the constitution, than sufficient to enable him to carry the government? Doctor Watson particularly argued respecting the restriction that regarded the peerage. He could himself see no sufficient grounds of expediency for this limitation; but, if he could, he was at liberty to vote either for the limitation itself, or for the mode of abolishing it. The two houses of parliament had no more right to suspend the law, than the king had; and it should never be said of him, that he concurred in violating the constitution of his country, by allowing to them either the right of suspending or of suspending, though for an hour, any portion of the royal prerogative. Doctor Watson declared, that there was not one member of that house, who would sacrifice his fortune and his life to keep the crown upon the head of him that wore it. The constitution had given to the king of England no power to do wrong; and, if they had, they were certain that their monarch would not exercise the power. With respect to the household, if they followed the cool conclusions of dispassionate reasoning, the best proper mode of proceeding would be to extinguish that part of it which was for the present useless. But, as it often happened in private life that men's feelings were in opposition to their judgment, so had it happened to him upon this occasion. He felt a reluctance to the abolishing any part of the royal household, while there remained a hope of the king's recovery. He wished the foreign in that event to feel, not the shadowy comfort of seeing the king's faces about his person, but the

solid comfort of knowing that his subjects had not out of a selfish and parsimonious regard to themselves seized the opportunity of his misfortune to tarnish the splendour and diminish the dignity of royalty. But though he wished not the household to be diminished, he would not have it continue useless to the public; it ought to be transferred to the regent. Such were the whole of his sentiments upon the subject; for he must declare that he thought so well of the queen, as to be under no manner of apprehension that she would ever put herself at the head of a party in opposition to the government of her son.

The earl of Sandwich moved an amendment upon the peerage resolution to limit its duration, which was rejected upon a division, contents 67, not contents 93. In the course of the debate a question arose respecting the legality of originating a peerage in either house of parliament. The dispute originated from an unguarded expression of lord Camden, but it seemed at length to be unanimously agreed, that such an honour could not be thus originated but at the immediate instance of the king or his representative.

Upon the resolution respecting the management of the household, lord Thurlow spoke with great animation. He completely concurred with the other side of the house, that the man, who endeavoured to sow dissensions in the royal family, and to set the different branches at variance, deserved the execrations of his country, and acted with a degree of baseness beyond any other species of human depravity. He declared that it was far beyond his power to conjecture, in what manner it was conceived to be possible to place the king
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in the hands of his royal consort, without giving her the superintendence and controul of the household. If they rejected a part of the resolution, they might as well proceed to treat the king as an ordinary individual, and put him upon board wages, or send him to one of those boarding houses that take in unfortunate invalids. Let the house remember, that the queen was to have the care of her royal patient, not as a wretched being, destitute of friends, an obscure individual without name, without honour, and without reputation, forsaken by all the world, but as a king, whom his people looked up to with loyalty and affection, whom they anxiously wished to see enabled to reascend his throne, and again distributing blessings to a grateful nation. As far as his voice could go, he should utter it with energy and sincerity, to claim for the king all the dignity that ought to attend upon the royal person in the hour of his indisposition; and who would dare to refuse his demand? No man, alive to the least sense of loyalty, alive to a principle of compassion, alive to any one generous feeling, could lend his hand to so cruel a dilapidation. The very intention was inhuman in the extreme; it must operate like a total extinction of pity for the royal sufferer, an utter desertion and oblivion of him to whom they were bound in the most inexpressible obligations. Lord Thurlow desired not to be understood as having intended by his argument or the warmth with which he had uttered it, to preclude the debate, or bear hard upon those lords who had taken the other side of the question. He had spoken with no view of that sort, but from feelings, an exemption

from which must have rendered him hateful to himself.

Lord Rawdon, who had moved the amendment, repelled the attack of the chancellor. Ought he to stand exposed for his conduct, as a member of the legislature, and who had flowed from no motives of party or faction, to so unqualified an attack, and to hear it insinuated that he had acted with irreverence and disloyalty? The expression it was true had been retracted as soon as it was uttered, but he must contend that it ought not to have been used at all, and he must inform the noble speaker, that he would be allowed the same credit for candour in that house, which he had always given to lord Thurlow himself. The lord chancellor replied with the inflexibility and austerity for which he is remarkable. Lord Rawdon had totally misconceived him, if he supposed that he had retracted one syllable of his remarks. On the contrary, he now felt it necessary to resume his ground, and in the fullest manner to deny, that he had either retracted or meant to retract one observation or one word of what had escaped him. The amendment was rejected upon a division, and a protest was entered against the whole system of the resolutions, and signed by fifty-seven peers.

In this stage of the business an incident occurred, which excited some degree of curiosity, and gave rise to animadversion in the members of opposition in the house of commons. The next measure Mr. Pitt intended to adopt was the appointing a committee of both houses, to communicate to the prince of Wales the business of regency which it was intended to institute, and to express the hope

two houses that the prince would consent to take upon himself this important trust. It had been understood that this resolution was to be moved first in the house of lords on the twenty-sixth, but upon maturer consideration the design in this respect was altered almost at the moment of execution, and it was moved by Mr. Pitt in the house of commons on the following day. It was contended that this incident arose from the pertinaciousness of the chancellor, but Mr. Pitt fully repelled this idea, and declared, that, the former administration reflected upon their plan of proceedings, the more they were determined uniformly to pursue it to its completion. Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment upon Mr. Pitt's resolution, the words of which were extracted from the letter the prince had written to the prince of Wales, and which declared the restrictions to be formed on the supposition, that the king's illness was only temporary, and might be of long duration. Mr. Pitt objected to this amendment, as being a partial selection of words from his letter, detached from their context and explanation; and observed, that the temporary nature of the restrictions was clearly signified by the words in the resolution, which declared them to be such, as "the circumstances of the case appeared at present to require." Mr. Sheridan endeavoured in some measure to meet the objection of Mr. Pitt, by adopting the subsequent words of the letter, and adding to his amendment, that, if unfortunately the royal indisposition should be protracted to a more distant period, it would be then hereafter to the wisdom of parliament to re-consider these pro-

visions. The amendment was rejected.

Another subject of discussion occurred in the same debate. It had been repeatedly whispered, that the prince of Wales had been treated with great disrespect and neglect by the members of administration, and Mr. Grey thought proper on this occasion to recapitulate the instances of neglect. The prince had been summoned to the examination of the king's physicians by the privy council, in the same manner as the other members; Mr. Pitt had not communicated his project of regency to the prince till after he had opened it in the house of commons; and the manner in which it had been communicated had been inattentive and neglectful. Mr. Grey desired in this enumeration to be understood as speaking his private sentiments, without the consultation or concurrence of any individual.

Mr. Pitt thanked Mr. Grey for having given him an opportunity to vindicate his conduct. He said that the summons mentioned in the first instance was not that which had been addressed to ordinary members of the council, but only to the princes of the blood. He had not communicated his resolutions to the prince till the question of right had been decided, because that decision might have superseded the necessity of particular provisions. The prince of Wales by the constitution of our government possessed no political capacity, and of consequence the ministers had not concluded it to be their duty to receive orders from him. They felt, that theirs was the responsibility for every step they adopted, and they knew that theirs of consequence ought to be the direction. The com-

communication had not been sent, as rumour had declared, by a livery servant, but by a messenger dispatched for that especial purpose. No man, Mr. Pitt said, was more ignorant of etiquette than himself, but he was not conscious of the most distant intention to shew disrespect. He had never transmitted dispatches to the king in any other manner, and he as little thought of offending the prince of Wales in this instance, as he had ever done of offending the king.

Mr. Burke remarked, that the disrespect to the prince, of which he was prepared to complain, was of a more substantial nature than a matter of form. A dreadful calamity had fallen upon the family, and in this situation there was an evident and gross want of humanity in Mr. Pitt's conduct. Who ought to be consulted in the case of an affliction falling on the father, so soon as the eldest son? It was in his mind a great indecency to have forced on the debate of the question of right, without having previously communicated it to the prince of Wales, especially after the satisfactory, respectful, but at the same time dignified manner, in which the discussion had been deprecated by the duke of York. Mr. Burke took notice of the manner in which the business of the two houses was at this moment conducted. They had been taught on the preceding day to think, that the address would have come on in the house of peers, and he could not tell why the mode of proceeding had been altered. Perhaps the other house was not yet recovered from the effect of the extraordinary burst of the pathetic which had been exhibited the other evening; they had not dried their

eyes and been restored to their former placidity. The tears which had been shed upon the occasion to which he alluded, were not the tears of patriots for dying laws, but of men for their expiring places. The tears, that flowed down Pitt's cheek, rather resembled the bubbling of the Styx, than the murmuring streams of Aganippe. Mr. Burke commented upon the probation Mr. Pitt expressed for the amendment of Mr. Pulteney, calculated to make the regency annual. If they intended to institute a republic, he also should approve of the amendment; but, if such were the intention, why did not they proceed in a manly way, and openly declare their design? If he were asked, would he aver to such a speculation? he would answer, No; but he knew that a republic could not be speculated upon in compliance with the principles of our constitution. He loved, he revered, he adored the principles of republicanism; but he thought that the mode of instituting a republic? Venerable and illustrious as he exclaimed Mr. Burke, how art thou prostituted, defamed, and degraded! Oh fabric! the labour of centuries, the admiration of ages, the mother of heroism, cemented by the blood of patriots, how art thou libelled and dishonoured! As well might it be said, that the mutilated shadows of the opera-house were the representatives of heroes, the true and perfect Cæsars, Catos, and Brutuses of Rome, as that so strange and discordant a chaos could be the representative of a real republic.

The resolution being carried to the house of lords, an amendment, similar to that of Mr. Sheridan, was moved by the duke of Northampton.

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Northumberland, and was rejected without a division. On the thirtieth resolutions were presented to the House of Wales by a committee of both houses, and the answer of the House was similar in its tenour to the conclusion of his reply to Mr. Pitt, the same time adding, that he reprobated the limitations as having been approved by the two houses only as a temporary measure, founded in a false hope, in which he ardently anticipated, that the king's disorder might not be of long duration. The fifth resolution was on the same day communicated to the queen on the part of the two houses, by the Earl of Aylesbury, lord chamberlain, and Earl Waldegrave, master of the Horse to her majesty.

On the following day lord Camden moved in the house of lords, that the chancellor be directed by authority of the two houses of parliament, to give a commission in the name of the sovereign, for the purpose of immediately opening the session of parliament. He stated, that the present measure was that which administration had judged the most proper and exceptionable, as a preliminary to the passing into a law the resolutions which had already been agreed to by the two houses. If any peer thought proper to object to the measure he suggested, he conceived it would be incumbent upon him to propose some expedient, that might be more feasible, practicable and constitutional. The measure was open to conviction, and would willingly adopt a better mode of proceeding, if a better could be suggested. In reality parliament could not take a single step under its present circumstances; without the king it was a mere headless trunk, perfectly inanimate, and incapable of any proceeding that assumed the

character, or aimed at the efficacy of legislation. Lord Camden passed an eulogium upon the reign of king Henry the Sixth, the beginning of which he conceived to afford a precedent that would perfectly justify the present resolution. It was to that period that we owed the common law of the land, which from thence had been handed down invariably from age to age. It was upon the practice of that day, that lord Coke had founded himself in every part of his works. There never was a period of greater tranquillity and peace than the first twenty years of king Henry the Sixth. The present generation therefore would betray extreme ingratitude, if they forgot their obligations to a reign, that had produced as sound lawyers, as able statesmen and as honest magistrates, as any subsequent periods of our history. They were not perhaps so well read in Latin and Greek, nor so much familiarised with the refinements of luxury as the lawyers of the present day; but it was not therefore to be supposed that they did not possess as sound understandings, as much good sense, and as clear a conception of law and the constitution. Lord Camden enforced the precedent of king Henry the Sixth by an example from the conduct of lord chancellor Hardwicke, who had put the great seal in 1754 to two commissions, one for opening a session of parliament, and another for passing a bill, when the king was ill and his life pronounced to be in danger. Lord Camden adverted to the act of king Henry the Eighth respecting the sign manual, and declared, that he conceived the statute to be merely affirmative, and that the sole object of it was to declare that the king might signify his royal assent

assent to a bill by commission, issued under the authority of letters patent, and subscribed with the royal signature. But it by no means warranted an inference, that therefore the royal assent could not be signified by any other means.

Lord Stormont denied the truth of the construction that lord Camden had put upon the statute of king Henry the Eighth, and quoted an act of the first of Philip and Mary, the object of which was to take off the attainder attempted to be passed in the last year of the preceding king upon the duke of Norfolk, which declared the act authorising the attainder to be of no effect, as being passed by a commission not acting under the royal signature. He asked, was there not a mode of proceeding within the reach of the two houses that could be reconciled to all the limitations? What prevented them from adapting the measure recommended by the bishop of Landaff, and addressing the prince of Wales to take upon him the exercise of the legislative authority of the crown? The proceedings of the two houses had tended more within the last three months to introduce and sanction republican principles; than they had ever done since he was in the political world. He railed not at republican principles; he knew that a republic was beautiful in theory, but in the nature of things incompatible with the practice of our constitution. He was not however so ignorant of what passed in his own country and other parts of the world, but he could perceive that republican principles made a greater progress than ever. A certain philosopher had stated it to be the misfortune of Englishmen, that they were accustomed in their early years to

classical studies, because such a mode of education gave them a premature prejudice in favour of the government of Greece and Rome, and inspired too strong an idea of the independence of man. It was indeed certain that such were the effects of the system of British education.

In the form of the commission presented by lord Camden, the names of the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the king's brothers were inserted as commissioners; but they were withdrawn in the house at the particular request. A difficulty arose out of this circumstance, as the rejection of their names must necessarily be recorded in the journals; and ministers were blamed in terms of some asperity for not having previously demanded their consent. The embarrassment was at length removed by adding in the journals a special notice, that the names of the princes of the blood had been withdrawn at their immediate request. The resolution was sent to the house of commons for their concurrence, and, in the course of the debate upon the subject, Mr. Powys endeavoured to invalidate the proceedings of lord Hardwicke, by observing that king George the Second had at that time been incapable from illness from meeting his parliament, but was perfectly capable of judging and deciding upon every proceeding of government. At length the commons declared that they concurred with the house of lords in this resolution, and the session was opened in the proposed form on the third of February.

The resolutions on the subject of the regency had undergone so considerable a degree of discussion previously to this period, that the bill which was brought in to carry the

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to effect, was attended with no remarkable debate, till the seventh of February, when the clauses came to be separately discussed. The first clause occasioned any considerable remark, was a clause for preventing the three branches of the legislature from repealing the act, by which the succession to the crown is regulated, and the acts for perpetuating the religious establishments of England and Scotland. Upon this clause was remarked by Mr. Pitt to sir Archibald Macdonald, that it was inserted in conformity to the example of other regency bills; that its provisions, which had been thought necessary by our ancestors, probably originated in a superfluous degree of caution; and that undoubtedly it could have no other meaning, than to prevent parliament from repealing the acts in question without mature deliberation.

The next clause was also built upon the example of former regency bills, and was inserted, as Mr. Pitt said, among other reasons, because its insertion was more likely to be a subject of remark than the suffering it to stand as usual. This clause provided, that, if the prince of Wales should at any time marry a papist, the powers and authorities conferred on him by the bill should then cease and determine. An amendment to this clause was moved by Mr. Rolle and sir William Dolben, the purpose of which was, to extend the provision of the act to the case of the prince of Wales being at any time proved to be married, either in fact or in law, to a papist. Mr. Rolle said, that, if any person would move forward, and confirm the declaration, which had been solemnly made upon the subject two years ago by Mr. Fox, he should be satisfied.

By that declaration he had been convinced when it was made, nor did he now mean to impeach its credibility; but, as doubts and scruples were still entertained among the people at large, he wished those doubts to be effectually silenced and set at rest for ever. The conduct of Mr. Rolle, in thus reviving a subject, which must necessarily be attended with so much indelicacy and pain towards the individual in question, was treated with great asperity by the members of opposition. He however obtained his purpose in extorting the most explicit declarations from those members, and from Mr. Grey in particular, of the falshood of the rumours to which he alluded. Mr. Dundas spoke of the absence of Mr. Fox, and declared, that he entertained so high an opinion of his sincerity, as to be confident, that no consideration of health or any other circumstance would have prevented his attendance even at the risk of his life, if any thing had occurred to induce him to alter the opinion he had entertained when the subject had been brought under discussion on a former occasion. On that opinion Mr. Dundas perfectly relied, and undoubtedly the house and the nation might depend upon it with the most entire confidence. He however differed in opinion from Mr. Welbore Ellis, who stated the royal marriage act of the present king as rendering the fact that had excited the alarms of Mr. Rolle impossible, and of consequence as affording a complete answer to every doubt that might be suggested upon the subject. Mr. Dundas could not admit, that the effect of the act of settlement, which declared, that, if the heir to the crown should marry a papist, he would forfeit his right to the suc-

cession, was virtually superseded by a subsequent act which did not specifically so much as mention the law already in existence. The amendment of Mr. Rolle was negatived without a division.

The next clause that excited discussion, was a clause providing for the disposal of the king's privy purse to the amount of sixty thousand pounds per annum. Of this sum sixteen thousand were given to the queen for the purpose of enabling her to continue certain charitable disbursements which the king had arranged, and the remainder was directed to be invested in the stocks or other securities. It was moved by sir William Molesworth that this remainder should be paid into the privy purse of the regent; and, the house having divided upon the amendment, there appeared, ayes, 101, noes, 156. An amendment moved by Mr. Sheridan, to separate the superior officers of the household from those that were placed under the direction of the queen, was rejected by a similar majority.

The names of the council of advice to the queen were next brought under discussion; and those proposed by Mr. Pitt were, the present archbishops of Canterbury and York, the present chancellor and chief justice of the king's bench, together with the four great officers of the household, the lord chamberlain, the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole for the time being. The reason for this distinction was, that the appointment to the four first of these offices when vacant, was intended to be in the regent, while the four others were to be vested in the queen, to the independence of whose jurisdiction it was deemed necessary, that none of

her counsellors should directly or indirectly be appointed by the representative of the royal authority. Lord North moved that the names of the duke of York, prince Edward and the king's brothers should be added to the council. Mr. Pitt opposed this, upon the ground that it would appear to be a slight upon the prince of Wales, to have his brothers nominated the members of a council from which he was excluded. Mr. Burke treated the objection with great asperity, and said, that the exclusion amounted to no less than outlawry, proscription and attainder of the whole house of Brunswick. The motion of lord North was rejected upon a division.

The last clause that was debated in the regency bill, and which contained principles not previously stated in the resolutions of the two houses, was relative to the proceedings that should be necessary upon the recovery of the sovereign in order to his resuming the royal authority. It was provided, that, when it should appear to the queen and the majority of her council that the king was restored to health, they should be authorised to signify it under their hands to the lord president of the privy council, who should cause it to be recorded in full council, and, having so done, should send a copy of it to the lord mayor of London and cause it to be printed in the Gazette. The king was then authorised to summon nine privy counsellors, not members of the council to the queen, by the advice of any six of whom he should be authorised to issue a proclamation, counter-signed by the six privy counsellors, declaratory of his intention to resume the regal functions, and upon these formalities the functions

of the regent should immediately cease. It was farther provided that after this proclamation parliament should forthwith assemble for the transaction of business.

Mr. Powys, who had upon all occasions distinguished himself as the foremost champion of the privileges of the house of commons, was vehement in his opposition to these propositions. He was determined to support the dignity and loyalty of the two houses of parliament, which were grossly insulted by an attempt to supersede their rights, and put them into the hands of a hackneyed and garbled junto. He perceived, that there was an intention to treat the legislature, as Mr. Pitt had formerly treated that house. Within the course of a few years he had witnessed a variety of extraordinary things. He had seen the executive power used to degrade and disgrace the house of commons; he had seen the lords and commons made the instruments of mutilating the executive power; and that house was now called upon to be the instrument of its own humiliation, and to declare itself not fit to be trusted with the reinstatement of the sovereign. He hoped however, that they were not so lost to a sense of their own honour, as to subscribe to so false and unconstitutional a doctrine. Mr. Dundas replied to Mr. Powys. He would not agree, that the king should be restrained from his right of governing, till the two houses had addressed him to resume his authority. It had been necessary for parliament to examine into the incapacity of the sovereign, since, out of that incapacity, arose their right to delegate the royal authority. Upon the king's recovery they would have no such right, the right of the king be-

ing hereditary and indefeasible, whenever he was in a capacity to exercise it. Could it be borne, that, when the king was recovered, the regent should come down to parliament and make a speech as the depository of royal authority, while the sovereign was to be a spectator of the pomp from the windows of Buckingham house? The system proposed by Mr. Pitt went as near as possible to the strait line of the constitution, guarding the safe return of the king to his throne, and at the same time surrounding that return with so many provisions and checks as to render it impossible for a resumption to take place in any way injurious or dangerous to the country. Mr. Sheridan started the supposition of the king's being permitted to resume his authority, appointing a new regency, and even perhaps relapsing again, before parliament could assemble; and he reasoned upon the possibility of the king's thus delegating his authority when he was within the realm, from the precedent of king Henry the Sixth. Mr. Pitt, sir Richard Arden and sir Archibald Macdonald were however decisively of opinion, that the king could not make a general delegation of his authority while he remained within the realm.

Mr. Pitt brought up certain clauses, enabling parliament in its present session to grant a pension or permanent office to any person filling the situation of lord chancellor, or to any person resigning the situation of one of the twelve judges. Mr. Pulteney did not think proper to offer his clause for limiting the duration of the regency, but presented an amendment which was accepted, limiting the duration of the peerage restriction to the term of three years. The bill passed the

house of commons on the twelfth of February, and was carried up to the house of lords on the following day.

Upon the second reading of the bill in the upper house, the duke of Grafton expressed his regret at having been incapacitated by illness from supporting by his presence so important a measure. He declared, that the system which had been adopted, had in every part of it his most entire approbation, it being in his judgment, of all the modes that could have been pursued, the most consonant to the true principles of the constitution. There was one point however upon which he wished to animadvert. He desired that he might not be concluded, from his general approbation of the bill, to declare his opinion that the act of uniformity was infallible, or that it ought not at a future period to be rendered a subject of discussion and reconsideration. Lord Southampton, brother to the duke of Grafton, and groom of the stole to the prince of Wales, embraced this occasion of

declaring the great affection and honour he entertained for the duke, at the same time that he condemned in the most unqualified terms the whole series of measures that had been adopted by government upon the subject of the regency.

The particular clauses of the bill came under the consideration of the house of lords on the seventeenth and eighteenth of February, and a few amendments were introduced in this stage of the business. The power of the regent in particular was limited with respect to the peerages to be conferred upon the members of the royal family, to such of them as should be resident in Great Britain, and a clause was introduced for vesting in the queen the guardianship of such of the royal children as had not attained the age of twenty years. Lord Rawlinson also moved the amendment of Mr. Sheridan for separating the great officers of the household from the persons to be placed under the controul of the queen, which was rejected upon a division.

CHAP. VII.

Resumption of Royal Authority. Parliamentary Proceedings. Army. Navy. Ordnance. Treaty of Great Britain and Prussia. Shop Tax repealed. Pedlars' Act amended. Strub Felony Act. County Election Act suspended. Motion to Repeal the Test Act. Stanhope's Church Reform Bill. Tax Bill. Bill to commemorate the Revolution.

SUCH was the progress that had been made in this interesting and extraordinary transaction, when its farther proceedings were suddenly suspended by the symptoms which now discovered themselves of

the king's recovery. On the twelfth of February he was declared by his physicians to be in a state of progressive amendment, and on the seventeenth, in order to express the more strongly the favourable

ms which daily appeared, they declared the king to be in a state of convalescence. Accordingly the lord chancellor upon the third day of the intended committee of the house of commons upon the regency bill, thought proper to move an adjournment of the farther proceedings upon the subject. On the twenty-fifth the king was declared by his physicians free from complaint, and on the twenty-sixth the reports of his health, which had daily been published, were discontinued by the royal command. The two houses of parliament continued to sit by various adjournments till the tenth of March, when the lord chancellor, commissioned by the sovereign, addressed them in a speech, and the ordinary business of the session regularly commenced.

The termination, which was thus put upon the project of temporary government that had been formed, may probably be regarded as favorable to Great Britain. The experiment upon our constitution, the purpose of which had been adopted by the two houses of parliament, might in some respects have been beneficial and salutary. It was no less than an enquiry how far the executive government might be stripped of several of its prerogatives without injury to the state. But though persons of independent and comprehensive understandings would certainly not have regarded such a trial with aversion, yet it must be acknowledged to have been in some degree fatal. An inefficient government, though productive it may be of great benefit in the sequel, must in the interim have been attended with marks of sluggishness and imbecility. This weakness might immediately have proved to the advantage of the community at large, but an advan-

tage might also have been taken of it by some power in the state, whose operations would be still more injurious to the rights of citizens, than the misconduct of the executive government. The peerage restriction threw an additional weight into the scale of the most exceptionable and ill constructed branch of our constitution. The provision for separating the royal household from the other appendages of the monarchy, wore a still more threatening appearance. A philosophical patriot would probably have felt little reluctance to have seen prerogative reduced within as narrow limits as the wisdom or caprice of the legislature could desire. But the prerogatives, that were taken away from the monarch or his representative, ought to have been extinguished, not placed in other hands for the counteraction and controul of his measures. The influence of office and emolument is not the purest and most admirable branch of any government; but whatever influence of this kind is suffered to exist, ought to be placed in responsible and constitutional hands. It was a new spectacle in the history of mankind to see a nation paying a very large annual sum for the purpose of consolidating a body of men, whose interest it should be to thwart and embarrass the proceedings of its ostensible servants. One of the radical errors of the patrons of this system was the forming themselves upon precedent; for, though it must be acknowledged that they did not servilely follow the path of any individual precedent, yet it is equally fair to confess that they sufficiently imbibed the general spirit of former regencies and minorities. Former regencies restricted and divided the monarchical prerogatives,

prerogatives, and the consequence was weakness, anarchy and disorder. After a certain period the rightful monarch succeeded, and the characteristics of the regency were superseded and forgotten. But this would probably not have been the case in the present instance. The temporary form of government would have led men in the present age of experiment and discovery to meditate upon forms of government in general. The judgment of the wiser, and therefore the stronger part of the nation, would have selected such circumstances from our own as were most conducive to liberty and happiness, and would not have rejected the improvements that the examples of other countries and other ages might suggest.

There was another consideration, that rendered the sudden close that was put to the project of regency, a source of consolation and pleasure. Of this we can only speak with great diffidence and uncertainty, at the same time that it was a matter too generally reported and too generally believed to suffer us to pass it over in silence. The plan of an administration for the prince regent appears to have been early digested by the political party whose pretensions he favoured, and this plan received his approbation. But upon farther reflection he is said to have conceived some displeasure, particularly at seeing a man, with whom he was in habits of considerable intimacy, to whom he owed personal obligations, and who possessed such extraordinary and eminent talents as Mr. Sheridan, destined to an office, which did not entitle him to a seat in the cabinet. Influenced by these considerations, he remonstrated with the duke of Portland upon the subject, and stated

the propriety of Mr. Sheridan's being named as chancellor of the exchequer. The duke of Portland is said to have refused his consent to this new arrangement. The prince on the other hand showed no disposition to recede from his proposal, and was even thought to have conceived the idea, if it were not immediately acceded to, of forming an administration, in which Mr. Sheridan should be the principal figure, without the assistance of the duke of Portland and his friends. It is difficult to pronounce accurately upon a transaction, which rests only upon universal report, and is unauthenticated by any original documents. We cannot decide how far a young man like the prince of Wales might be led by the warmth of his friendships and the ebullition of his gratitude; but it is reasonable to believe that Mr. Sheridan never lent his countenance to so extravagant a project. The inhabitants of this country, disavoured with aristocratical prejudices, have always felt a great reluctance to see the reins of government in the hands of a man, neither distinguished by fortune nor noble descent; and Mr. Sheridan must tenfold have increased every prepossession of this nature, by deserting the party under whose auspices he entered into political life. The government of Britain has never yet been conducted without the support of a numerous body of men of estate and pecuniary influence, and Mr. Sheridan must not only have counted upon the opposition of those whom he had himself opposed for a series of years, but of all those who had hitherto concurred with, favoured and admired him. Common sense therefore, and that sort of prudence which enables a man to see his own

and interest, if we should be just enough to deny him any higher degrees of discernment, must have retained him from embarking in an undertaking that could only have terminated in immediate shipwreck. Meanwhile the internal misunderstandings that had sprung up among the members of the intended government, together with the restrictions and incapacities that had been imposed upon them by parliament, gave a gloomy preface of their future administration, and prepared the people in general to feel the highest satisfaction in the restoration of their former sovereign to his authority.

In the speech delivered by the chancellor in the name of the king to the two houses of parliament, the king conveyed to them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their attachment to his person, and their concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions. He communicated to them the treaty of alliance which he had concluded with the king of Prussia, and mentioned the endeavours he had employed to prevent as far as possible the extension of hostilities in the north, and to manifest his desire of a general pacification. In the conversation that took place upon the motion of address in return for the speech that had been delivered, lord Stanhope expressed a doubt as to the propriety of their present proceeding. He had no hesitation in giving full confidence to the fact of the king's recovery, but was the present measure strictly parliamentary? The two houses had determined that the king was rendered incapable by illness of executing the duties of his office, and they had just declared their opinion in the provisions of the regency bill, respecting the manner in which it was proper

he should resume the royal authority. If the king could of himself declare his recovery, such provisions had been superfluous and nugatory. Lord Thurlow replied, that no declaration of the two houses upon occasion of the king's illness could take from him the right of governing, nor any clause in such a bill interrupt the resumption of his powers upon the restoration of his health. For himself he wished the regency bill and all its passages to be buried in everlasting oblivion, and he trusted that there never would be any provocation to recollect it. It was accordingly on the same day moved by lord Hawkebury that the bill be rejected. The two houses accompanied their address to the king with an address of congratulation to the queen upon the fortunate termination of her late calamity.

The supplies for the army, navy and ordnance, were voted in the house of commons on the sixteenth, and the estimate of the navy in particular exceeded that of the preceding year by two thousand men. The ordinary service of the ordnance was stated at 220,000 l. and the extraordinary at 218,000 l. The latter article was not voted till two days later, and gave occasion to some farther discussion respecting the propriety of the fortifications planned by the duke of Richmond for the defence of the West India islands. General Burgoyne moved for an estimate of the whole expence that would be incurred in these fortifications, and an estimate of the number of men that would be necessary to man them. He acknowledged, that fortifications might sometimes protect the islands against a coup de main, and be of use where the shore afforded but a small number of landing places; but they could not protect the commander of a garrison against

against a regular invasion, since the planters, apprehensive of the devastations of the enemy, would oblige the governor to capitulate, while the enemy, on the other hand, when once in possession of the island, would have the full use of the fortifications, and set the planters at defiance. General Burgoyne asked members, who were now willing to vote the sums required, whether they would be equally ready in the following year to vote double or treble the present number of men for the defence of the West India islands? He added, that the climate was so unhealthy, that it often happened in three months after a regiment was landed there, that one third of the troops died, another third was in the hospital, and not more than a third was capable of answering the muster roll, and doing duty. Colonel Phipps replied, that the unhealthiness of the climate was a reason in favour of seasoning our troops to it, and that the case put by general Burgoyne of a small number of landing places, applied to almost every one of the islands. If the planters were so indifferent as to wish for an immediate surrender, the fortifications would be of use, by enabling the commander, even in spite of the planters, to preserve the island till assistance could be given by our fleets. He said, that in the last war, though our fleets were deemed equal to those of the enemy, and ultimately proved themselves superior, yet island after island was captured merely for want of fortifications; while in the war that preceded it, Martinico, with the advantage of fortifications, had held out, with eight hundred men, almost a year, against a hostile army of fifteen thousand men. The motions of general Burgoyne were carried in the negative. The army estimates gave occasion to some animadversion

from general Burgoyne, upon the circumstance of the reduced officers of the household troops being permitted to sell their commissions, and upon the dismissal of the marquis of Lothian from the command of the first regiment of life guards. This nobleman was one of those, who, in the late discussion of the regency, went over from the party of administration to that of opposition; and he was offered an exchange for another regiment, which he deemed so disadvantageous that he did not choose to accept it. The duke of Queensbury was at the same time, and for the same reason, dismissed from the appointment of one of the lords of the bed-chamber; and lord Malmesbury, late sir James Harris, who had before been an adherent to the party of Mr. Fox, was deprived of the office of ambassador extraordinary to the United Provinces.

The treaty between Great Britain and Prussia having been submitted to the two houses, lord Stormont put a question to the marquis of Carmarthen, who had lately succeeded to the title of duke of Leeds upon the death of his father, whether the treaty upon the table contained the whole of the engagements between the two courts, or whether, as a prevalent rumour both at home and abroad had asserted, England had entered into other engagements, different in their principle, and totally subversive in their nature of the public treaty, converting what was in its name a defensive alliance into a connection of a very opposite description? Lord Stormont observed, that, if this rumour were true, ministers had been guilty of a very improper behaviour, at a time, when the speech at the opening of the session had promised a communication of the alliance, to withhold that which constituted so material a part of it. Papers

public importance were submitted to parliament with no other view than to enable them to form an opinion concerning them; and, unless the whole of the treaty were communicated, how was it possible for parliament to judge of its advantages and disadvantages? Lord Stormont proceeded to animadvert upon the conduct of Great Britain in the late understanding between Denmark and Sweden. We had determined to offer our mediation to the contending parties, and, in case it were refused by the court of Copenhagen, to furnish the king of Sweden with a stipulated quantity of auxiliary forces. This, he said, was a proceeding contrary to every principle of politics, and not founded upon the precedent of former treaties. Denmark had never done any thing adverse to the interests of Great Britain, and yet we took part against her. Russia was our natural ally; and, though a country might not always have it in her power to effect reconciliation with her natural ally, it was always her interest not to do any thing to widen the breach, and render reconciliation more difficult. He laid no great stress upon the mutual gratitude of states; but there were favours so peculiarly calculated to gratify personal ambition, that, if they were done by one sovereign for another, he conceived they could not fail to be remembered; and such was the favour which France did the king of Sweden in the revolution of 1772. He declared, that he could not but admire the felicity of France. He envied her not her great and powerful resources, nor her able and accomplished minister; but he envied her singular good fortune in the moment of her present embarrassments, in having her natural ally supported and assisted by her natural

foe. The odium of the business Great Britain with a degree of unexampled spirit sustained; but France would probably come in for her full share of the accruing advantage.

The duke of Leeds replied, that he felt it to be right to give the question of lord Stormont no sort of answer; and in this opinion he was supported by lord Thurlow. Lord Thurlow observed, that if the doctrine now delivered were once established, no treaty with secret articles could ever be concluded. The question of lord Stormont was the most pointedly and obviously irregular that had ever been put to a secretary of state in any house of parliament; and the duke of Leeds, if he had answered it, would have been guilty of a high misdemeanour. It was the duty of such an officer to disclose no more of the affairs of the executive government than he had it in command from the king to communicate. He was himself, lord Thurlow said, destitute of the power, even if he had the inclination, to disclose the circumstance to which lord Stormont alluded; but, if he might venture to speak hypothetically of the politics of the north, he could say that there had been states, whose policy was so refined, that they thought it justifiable for the sake of attaining their ends to corrupt the magistrates of their enemies, and found means so to insinuate themselves as to employ the natives of those countries as instruments to feel the pulse of the public. In that case, the higher and more respectable were the characters they could deceive, the better was the end of their artifices fulfilled. With regard to Russia, he declared, he was as anxious as lord Stormont to obtain an alliance with that empire; but what was most desirable was not always to be attained even by courtship on fair and honourable

honourable terms, and therefore wise states must resort to the line of conduct that was most likely to conduce to the attainment of their object.

One of the earliest topics of revenue that engaged the attention of parliament, exclusive of those which have already been mentioned, was Mr. Fox's annual motion for the repeal of the shop-tax. Whether it were from a conviction of the inexpediency of the tax, or from gratitude for the extraordinary popularity he enjoyed, Mr. Pitt was at length induced to consent to a measure so earnestly and unremittingly demanded by the persons immediately affected by the tax. Mr. Fox observed, that, if the law had been resisted and opposed upon the ground of mere clamour, he should have thought the giving it up to be a dangerous example; but, convinced as he was of the impolicy and partial operation of the tax, and perceiving that party spirit and political prejudice had no share in the condemnation to which it was universally exposed, he must earnestly and sincerely press for its repeal. Mr. Pitt remarked, that his opinion upon the subject had originally been, that the tax would fall not upon the retailer, but the public at large. He allowed however, that the uniform sentiment of the shop-keepers was adverse to the truth of his doctrine, and the continuance of that sentiment for so long a time was the strongest inducement to him to believe, that the retailers had not been able to find a mode of indemnifying themselves, and that mere theory ought to yield to practice and experience. He still however maintained, that, as far as argument went, he had heard nothing to induce him to change his original persuasion; and accordingly in the progress of the bill of repeal he moved an amendment in the preamble, for the purpose of leaving

out the words by which the tax was pronounced "a partial and oppressive imposition, militating against the principles of taxation."

The proposition for the repeal of the shop-tax having succeeded, Mr. Dempster moved for a repeal of the tax upon the licences of hawkers and pedlars, which had been established at the same time under the idea of a compensation to the resident shop-keepers. He was however induced to alter his proposition upon further reflection into that of a bill to explain and amend the hawkers and pedlars' act, which, at the same time that it abolished the licence duties, should perpetuate the provisions against smuggling, and some other clauses of the former law. In the mean time Mr. Dempster thought proper, in the project of the bill which he submitted to the house of commons, to provide for the repeal of certain clauses which were insisted upon by Mr. Rose, secretary to the treasury. The first of these was a clause to prohibit any pedlar from coming within two miles of a market town, and the other to empower the justices of peace in the quarter sessions to forbid their entrance into the county in which they resided. The first was carried against Mr. Dempster, yeas 36, noes 29, and the latter rejected by a majority of one.

A bill was introduced in the course of the present session, for the purposes of extending the penalties of felony, which, by an act of the sixth of the present king, had been awarded against persons who should be convicted of breaking trees and destroying plants and shrubs during the night, to those who should be guilty of similar misdemeanours in the day-time. This bill gave occasion to some degree of discussion. Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Burke and other members of the house of commons expressed their

erfion to a wanton multiplication of the penal laws, and they conceived that the proprietors of trees and rubs ought rather to have had recourse to those precautions against injury which are in the power of all men as individuals. Sir Archibald Macdonald on the other hand asserted, that there was a property to the amount of sixty thousand pounds unprotected bylaw in the vicinity of the metropolis; and he saw no reason why a man should be punished with transportation for stealing a horse, while, as the law stood, a property to a much greater amount might be destroyed with impunity. The actual penalty that could be levied was no more than two pounds, and this operated rather as an inducement to robbery, and was considered merely as paying for a licence to legalize a plunder that was altogether indefensible. The injury, that should render a man liable to the penalties of felony, had been fixed, as the bill originally stood, at the amount of five shillings; and, an amendment being introduced to increase the specific sum to ten shillings, the regulation was suffered to pass into a law.

The bill of lord Stanhope for the regulation of county elections, which had been carried into a law in the preceding session, had been found in the experiment to be productive of a considerable degree of complaint, and a motion was accordingly brought forward for its repeal. It was however argued by Mr. Pitt and several other members of the house of commons, that the principle of the act, that of keeping public registers of freeholders in each county, was in a high degree valuable, and that therefore, though many of the provisions of the law had been found highly inexpedient, it was not desirable en-

tirely to supersede it. A proposition was accordingly introduced to suspend the operation of the county election act, and it was agreed that this suspension should continue till forty days after the commencement of the next session of parliament. The consideration of the subject was at the same time referred to a committee, and at their recommendation a bill was digested the object of which was to revive the former law upon the subject, commonly called Mr. Powys's act, with certain amendments. This bill upon the motion of earl Stanhope was rejected in the house of lords.

On the eighth of May Mr. Beaufoy introduced the motion, which he had two years before submitted to the house of commons, for the repeal of the corporation and test acts. He observed, that the unalterable confidence, which the dissenters reposed in the disposition of the house to do justice to the injured, and afford relief to the oppressed, had induced them to renew their application to parliament. They were perfectly convinced how difficult it was even for the best and wisest men to relinquish, upon the evidence of a single debate, the prejudice which misinformation had led them to adopt; and they could not forget how frequently the legislature had granted the requests, which causeless alarms had at first induced them to refuse.

Mr. Fox supported the motion with great force and clearness of argument. He was persuaded, that no human government had a right to enquire into private opinions, or to infer the future conduct of its citizens from the sentiments they entertained. If a man should publish his political principles, and argue in direct opposition to our happy constitution, he ought not on that account

count to be disabled from filling any office civil or military, and it was not till he carried his detestable opinions into practice, that the law was justified in seeking a remedy and punishing his conduct. The Roman Catholics had been supposed by our ancestors to entertain opinions dangerous to the state; they acknowledged a foreign authority paramount to the legislature, and a title to the crown superior to that conferred by the voice of the people. No opinions could certainly be more obnoxious than these; and yet Mr. Fox was fully persuaded that government was not entitled to interfere with them, till they expressly acted upon the dangerous doctrines. they were thought to entertain. He spoke of the inference that was drawn from the supposed alliance between the church and the state, and declared, that it was an irreverent and impious opinion to maintain, that the church must depend for its existence upon the support of the political government, and not upon the evidence of its doctrines and the moral effects it produced. He concluded with observing, that he was a friend to an established religion in every country, and that he wished it might always be that which coincided with the ideas of the majority of the people. The motion was opposed by lord North and Mr. Pitt, and upon a division the numbers appeared, ayes 102, noes 122.

A bill was introduced into the house of lords by earl Stanhope for relieving the members of the church of England from various penalties and disabilities under which they laboured, and for extending freedom in matters of religion to persons of all denominations, papists

excepted. The laws it chiefly intended to repeal were laws, imposing penalties upon persons who did not frequent the established worship, and prohibiting men from speaking or writing in derogation of the doctrine of the book of Common Prayer. It also repealed the laws, enjoining the eating fish on certain days, authorising the imprisonment of persons excommunicated, prohibiting the exportation of women, and declaring all persons, who should go to court, without having previously made a certain declaration, which had probably been made by no person now living, to be in the eye of the law popish recusant convicts, which was a species of outlawry. Lord Stanhope also mentioned certain canons, of which however he should not propose the repeal, because he conceived them to be at present void of the force of a law. By these canons among other things it was declared, that a person, who should bring against another a charge of impiety, should not be allowed to be complained against, as having acted out of malice or from any other motive than from the discharge of his conscience; and that no clergyman should without licence from the bishop attempt upon any pretence whatsoever to cast out any devil or devils. Lord Stanhope deprecated the objection that these laws were obsolete and never carried into execution, and undertook to produce above thirty cases within the last twenty-six years, some of them within ten, and some within one year, in which men had been persecuted under these laws, and in some instances the tables, chairs, dishes and beds of poor people had been sold by public auction to pay the penalties of not going to church. The

The bill of lord Stanhope was submitted to proceed to a second reading, when it encountered a considerable opposition. Doctor Moore, bishop of Canterbury, observed, that the words of the bill were so guarded, as to cover every species of irreligion, and to countenance an art to disgrace Christianity itself. Unrestrained speaking, publishing and writing concerning religious opinions were permitted, there was scarcely mischief to the church or to civil society that imagination could frame, which might not be effected. The foundation of religion by law established might be undermined and thrown. If a man were unfortunate enough to disbelieve the existence of a God, was he to be at liberty to disseminate so dangerous and uncomfortable a doctrine? If an atheist were to be allowed to defend his atheism by argument, he had no reason why the thief might not be permitted to argue in behalf of theft, the murderer in defence of murder, and the traitor of treason. Doctor Moore instanced the prosecution of Woolston, who had been convicted, under pretence of arguing against the honour of Christianity, of denying the miracles of Jesus Christ to ridicule, and had been fined twenty-five pounds, imprisoned for a year, and obliged to find security for his peaceable behaviour for the rest of his life. Doctor Moore concluded with complaining, that the bill was improperly drawn, and recalled a great number of statutes without so much as specifying their names.

Doctor Warren, bishop of Bangor, observed, that even at the revolution, a period in the highest degree favourable to religious liberty, the law obliging all persons to attend public

worship was not considered as inconsistent with the right of private judgment. It had remained for these days of licentiousness to call in question the propriety and wisdom of such regulations. This mode of compulsion did not militate against any sort of religious liberty, since it did not oblige dissenters to desert their own congregations; and he, who could not communicate with either, might well be supposed to hold doctrines injurious to the welfare of the state, and which ought not to be tolerated. Doctor Warren observed, that lord Stanhope was mistaken in imagining, that the canons to which he alluded had not at this moment the force of a law. Doctor Halifax, bishop of Saint Asaph, enforced this assertion, and said that the clergy were bound by these canons, though the laity were exempted. He reminded the house of an institution among the Locrians, which obliged every man that proposed the repeal of an existing law, to come into the assembly with a rope about his neck.

Doctor Horsley, bishop of Saint David's, acknowledged, that at this day there were laws existing, that did no credit to the spirit of the times in which they were made; and that the consideration that such laws were not likely to be enforced, formed no reason why they should be suffered to remain. He could not however but object to the present bill, which was calculated rudely to tear away the foundations of the church of England, and through her means to destroy the very being of the English constitution. He would not defend the penalty of twenty pounds per month upon those who did not regularly attend divine worship; but the act of queen Elizabeth, imposing

imposing a fine of one shilling for every omission, was a salutary law, and such as ought to be preserved. The rights of private judgment in matters of religion were indeed unalienable, but those rights were not of unlimited extent. The magistrate for instance had a right to punish atheism as a crime against the welfare of society, and by the same rule to punish a contempt for the revelation of God in the Christian religion. There was always danger in disturbing ancient laws, for the existence of which at a distant period no good reason could be given. Their wisdom, though not obvious at the period of their repeal, was generally proved by the mischief that ensued upon their annihilation. Lord Stormont spoke upon the same side of the question, and paid some high compliments to the bench of bishops, declaring that they had that day done themselves infinite credit, and used arguments that would render their characters sacred in the public opinion. The bill of lord Stanhope was rejected.

The same nobleman, undiscouraged by his miscarriage, immediately produced another bill to prevent vexatious proceedings upon the subject of tithes. In explaining the object of his proposal he remarked, that tithes might upon the present system be sued for in the temporal courts, but that there was an act of king Henry the Eighth, which had been made use of by some clergymen to gratify their avarice or their malignity, and which authorised another mode of proceeding. In the spiritual courts a man might be imprisoned for the amount of four-pence; and six quakers, who by their religious principles were restrained from the voluntary payment of tithes, had lately

been persecuted under this act in the city of Coventry. The amount of what was due from them taken together was two shillings; but in consequence of the suit that had been instituted against them, they were become debtors to the amount of three hundred pounds. Another quaker, a man of some property, was at that moment in prison in the common jail at Worcester, for the sum of five shillings; and, if some remedy were not provided, must remain there for life. Lord Stanhope therefore proposed, that no suit should hereafter be instituted in any ecclesiastical court for the recovery of tithes. Lord Kenyon opposed the bill. He said, that, if persons were so obstinate as to refuse the payment of legacies, he could not consider their imprisonment as an oppression. He stated, that the bill was very improperly drawn, that it would deprive the inferior clergy of the possibility of recovering the small tithes which were their chief support, and that the remainder of the session would be too short to discuss an undertaking of so great magnitude. The bill was supported by the duke of Norfolk, but upon the second reading was rejected by the house.

Another bill, upon a subject somewhat analogous to these, was introduced by Mr. Beaufoy, for the purpose of instituting a festival for the commemoration of the revolution. The bill had originated in the circumstance of the preceding year being the last in completing a century from that glorious and important event. The period had been celebrated in many parts of the kingdom with great zeal and solemnity, and a project had been formed, the head of which were Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, for the purpose of

erecting a column in memory of this glorious era, which was to be erected upon the plains of Runnede, the scene where the barons of 1215 had extorted from king John the confirmation of Magna Charta. Another society had at the same time formed the idea of rendering the anniversary a perpetual religious festival, and they intended that the reading of the bill of rights, as an extract of the privileges of the people, should form a part of the public solemnity of the day. The bill was reported by Mr. Sheridan, but met with more opposition than might

have been expected, and its introducer therefore thought proper to change the idea of making it a separate festival, into that of introducing a suitable religious service on the Sunday preceding the anniversary. The bill passed the house of commons, but was rejected upon the first reading in the house of lords upon the motion of lord Thurlow, and doctor Warren bishop of Bangor, who among other reasons observed that the proposed reading of the statute called the bill of rights was upon many accounts highly improper.

C H A P. VIII.

Death of Mr. Hastings. Mr. Burke censured by the House of Commons. India Budget. Extension of the Capital of the East India Company.

THE trial of Mr. Hastings had been prosecuted without being brought to a conclusion through the want of the preceding session. The evidence upon two of the charges on the part of the prosecution had then been concluded, and, the business being now resumed, a new charge, respecting the presents that had been received by Mr. Hastings during his government of Bengal, was opened by Mr. Burke. In the course of his speech upon this occasion, Mr. Burke alluded to the trial and execution of Nundcomar, and asserted that Mr. Hastings had murdered that man by the hands of sir Elijah Impey." The transaction respecting Nundcomar made a specific part of the charges which

had been preferred by the house of commons, and the question, so far as sir Elijah Impey was implicated in it, had been examined and rejected during the preceding session by the house of commons. Mr. Hastings therefore thought proper to present a petition to the house, in which he intreated them, either to cause the additional allegations that were urged against him to be brought forward and prosecuted in specific articles, or to afford him such other redress as they might judge suitable and proper. In the course of his petition he mentioned certain allegations, that had been brought against him in the preceding year, respecting a plot for assassinating the Great Mogul, the putting to death the son

of Jaffier Ali Khan, nabob of Bengal, and various acts of oppression and savage cruelty committed by a man named Deby Sing, all of which he asserted to be unfounded and untrue. Major Scott, who presented the petition, spoke particularly to the various topics it contained, and affirmed, that Mr. Burke had in these instances been guilty of cool, deliberate, systematic and intentional misrepresentation. He said, that the affair of the plot against the Great Mogul had been completely investigated in the case of lord Clive sixteen years before, that in the crimes of Deby Sing, which had made so much noise, not only in England but in every part of Europe, Mr. Hastings could not under any possible construction be implicated, and that the most horrid of the cruelties described by Mr. Burke had never been committed.

The committee of managers were unanimous in exclaiming against the extraordinary conduct of Mr. Hastings, in appealing to that house who were his prosecutors, rather than claiming the protection of the court by which he was tried, as was the practice in all similar instances. Mr. Fox spoke with much emphasis of the painful situation of the committee. This was the first instance in history of an impeachment ordered by the house of commons, of which the law officers of the crown were not some of the principal directors. They had to contend with a most powerful criminal, a man, who for fourteen years possessed all the patronage of India, and who had been enabled to confer so many obligations, that his connections at home were almost irresistible. The house of commons, it was well known, might, so far as related to

this business, be distributed into classes, those who had originally urged the prosecution, those who were openly hostile to it, and those who having at length been persuaded that it was a measure that ought to be adopted, yet perpetually lent their weight to the enemies of the prosecution, and made their influence preponderate. Mr. Fox demanded with much earnestness, that, if a majority of the house of commons had altered their opinions and really conceived the prosecution ought to be given up, they would do so in a direct and explicit manner and not quash the proceeding by measures, that must really subvert the cause of justice, while they seemed to have a different view. They conceived the present management unfit for the discharge of the important trust that was reposed in them, let them proceed to their dissolution; but let them not censure and restrain them, while they were pursuing the great ends of justice in the manner which to their judgment appeared most effectual. The motive for the coarse language which had been employed by major Scott was obvious. He was desirous to provoke and insult the conductors of the prosecution, and thus change a great public question into a personal quarrel. But he trusted his design was understood, and that the mission of Mr. Burke was too firm, to be diverted by any such poor and insidious arts, into a private contest with the agent of Mr. Hastings. The conduct of Mr. Hastings himself was similar to that which he had pursued upon former occasions. In the instance of Nundcomar and others, when he had found himself strongly pressed by the evidence of his guilt, he immediately changed

esters, and from a defendant become an accuser. It was new in the history of our jurisprudence for a man accused to claim the protection of his prosecutor; but the mode of proceeding of that day was not sampled in the politics of Ben-

The petition of Mr. Hastings was supported by Mr. Pitt, who contended indeed that the other allegations, to which it alluded, and which occurred in the course of the preceding session, could not possibly be taken into the consideration of the house. But in the question that related to Nundcomar Mr. Hastings urged his complaint, on the very subsequent to that upon which an obnoxious expression had been uttered. It therefore became the character and justice of that house to let him in this instance the rest he demanded. Mr. Fox, he had asserted in unqualified terms, that men employed by others as managers or agents never could be restricted in any point, but that, if they went beyond the powers committed to them, they ought to be dismissed; and that there was no conceivable in which a contrary proceeding might be right, let the nature of the business or the progress made in it be what it would, let the inconvenience and difficulty of choosing new managers be so great. Mr. Pitt would venture to maintain the contrary opinion. There were many cases imaginable, in which persons might somewhat exceed their powers, and render restriction or observation upon their conduct peculiarly proper, at the same time that it might be wholly improper entirely to discharge them. In the present instance, the murder of Nund-

comar was no part of the crime of peculation, and every rule of evidence was against its being alledged. It had been charged in order to discredit the character of the accused; but it was a rule in the courts of law that no fact could be given in evidence to discredit even a witness. If then the murder of Nundcomar was not admissible as evidence, it could only be urged as matter of aggravation; but it was impossible to allow this. The common sense of the house and of all mankind would not permit the crime of murder to be urged to aggravate a crime of peculation. Mr. Fox had insinuated that those who should vote in favour of the petition were to be regarded as enemies of the prosecution. Upon this head Mr. Pitt would make no professions, but would leave the sincerity and faithfulness of his character to be vindicated by the conduct he should pursue. Colonel Phipps and Mr. Jekyl enforced the arguments of Mr. Pitt. It was not, they said, to be imagined, that a man, who was upon his trial for murder, could justly be accused in the course of that trial of felonies and other enormities. But, if this were inadmissible, what must be said to the flagrant absurdity and iniquity of loading a man, who was upon his trial for misdemeanours only, with the atrocious imputation of murder?

Mr. Fox repelled this argument. He put the case of a man indicted for murder, in which it afterwards appeared, that to accomplish the murder, he had broken into the house of the victim. Was it to be supposed that the counsel for the prosecution was to be stopped when alledging this fact, and to be told, you are not to mention a syllable of the house-breaking,

breaking, because that of itself is a crime. Mr. Fox quoted the case of the captain of a ship, against whom murder was charged in having thrown his cargo of slaves overboard, in order to prove that he had by sinister means endeavoured to defraud the underwriters of the amount of the insurance. The present case Mr. Fox said was exactly correspondent to these. It was impossible to relate the corrupt transactions of Mr. Hastings without relating the crimes that had accompanied them, or to relate the crimes without mentioning the names of the persons by whom they had been committed. In the impeachment of sir Elijah Impey during the last session, the member who had brought the charge, and he who had supported it, had accused the chief justice of Bengal of a legal murder, and yet neither of them had been censured by the house: and why? Because neither of them had talked of a murder in the technical sense of the word; but as a misdemeanour. Mr. Fox said, that the complaint of Mr. Hastings in the present instance did not apply to Mr. Burke only, but to every one of the managers. They all of them approved of the use Mr. Burke had made of the affair of Nundcomar. They intended to adduce evidence under this head, in order to show that the attempts to discredit the testimony of Nundcomar were unworthy of regard; and it was surely improper for the house of commons to go out of their way, and prejudice the intended evidence before it was produced. If Mr. Fox were asked his private opinion upon the subject, he should answer that he thought it a murder; and what he would say in his private capacity, he would say in that house or in Westminster-hall.

Mr. Burke observed, that, if upon any occasion he had thought it necessary to entreat the candour of the house, such a thought was to present the farthest from his mind. Indulgence was only to be bestowed where there was error, and he was conscious that he had committed none. The censure of the house of commons, great and awful as it might in other cases be deemed, could in this instance produce no deep effect on his mind. He stood acquitted to his own judgment and conscience, and he could not suffer himself to appeal from them to any other tribunal. If, after the explanation that had been given, the house should choose to continue him in his trust as a manager, he would persist in the discharge of it to the best of his ability; but if on the other hand they thought it right to censure and remove him, he would receive it as a personal favour to himself, since it would remove him from an arduous undertaking, far above his natural strength, and which nothing but his consciousness of the magnitude could have enabled him to sustain.

The petition having been received, a motion was made that one of the short-hand writers appointed to the house of commons should be examined at the bar respecting the words complained of in the petition. The question of adjournment, was then moved, and the house having divided the number appeared, ayes 97, noes 157. It was urged by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan, that, if members thought proper to pay any attention to the petition, they were bound to examine all its allegations; and, if an amendment having been moved by Mr. Addington to confine the ex-

ination to the case of Nundcomar, was received upon a division. The leaders of opposition vehemently complained of the intention to examine the short-hand writer as a flagrant violation of the privileges of parliament, it not being usual to ensure the words of any member of that house, unless they were taken down in writing at the time by another member.

At length a resolution was moved by the marquis of Graham, one of the lords of the treasury, that no dictation or authority had been given by the house of commons for the purpose of making any allegation against Mr. Hastings respecting the death of Nundcomar. Mr. Fox readily acquiesced in this motion, as it contained no expression that implied that the allegation ought not to have been made. It was therefore amended by the marquis of Graham and Mr. Pitt; and it was proposed to add, that the words of Mr. Burke complained of in the petition ought not to have been spoken. Mr. Fox moved a farther amendment, the object of which was to state, that the death of Nundcomar had been specifically mentioned as an aggravation, in the charges that had formed the basis of the whole proceeding, and that the declaration of Mr. Burke was considered by the managers of the prosecution as essential to the support of the cause. Mr. Fox said that the charges originally exhibited had contained the evidence together with the accusations, but that it had been thought proper to separate them and narrate the facts only in the articles that had been presented at the bar of the house of commons. He declared, that he thought the proceedings of the last few days

infinitely disgraceful to the house, and dangerous to every future impeachment. The privileges of parliament were essentially evaded in these transactions, and he should think it his duty, if at any future period he was supported by a majority of that house, to move that every thing that related to this business should be expunged from the journals. The amendment of Mr. Fox was rejected; and, the resolution being carried, it was moved by Mr. Bouverie, that the thanks of the house should be given to Mr. Burke and the rest of the managers, for their exertions and assiduity in the prosecution, and that they should be desired to persevere. The previous question was moved upon this proposition by sir Richard Arden.

A farther transaction relative to the trial of Mr. Hastings was the motion of Mr. Marsham on the sixteenth of June, for a prosecution against the printer of the newspaper, entitled the World, for a libel upon the house of commons, in having stated, that "the trial was to be put off to another session, unless the house of lords had spirit enough to put an end to so shameful a business."

Mr. Dundas entered into his annual detail of the revenues of India on the first of July. He spoke of them with considerable moderation, and allowed, that the situation of Bombay, the debt at home and certain other particulars had been stated at too high a rate in the estimate of the preceding year. He however calculated the net revenue of our possessions in India, after every article of expenditure in that country was deducted, at 1,820,000*l*; and from thence inferred the most favourable prospect of our future situation

in that country. Mr. Francis observed, that it was in vain to state upon paper a great surplus of revenue in that country, which could not be shown either to have been applied to the discharge of the debt, or to the purpose of the investment; and he mentioned several particulars in which he conceived Mr. Dundas to have placed the subject in too favourable a light. Major Scott remarked, that Mr. Francis had now, for the first time that an India budget had been opened, omitted to say one word as to the state of the government of that country, or to reprobate, as he had been accustomed to do, the system under which it was administered. That system he affirmed to be the same, which had been introduced by Mr. Hastings, adopted by lord Cornwallis and sanctioned by the king's ministers. Thus the house of commons appeared, as he observed, to be alternately engaged in condemning and reprobating the system when they acted in one capacity, and bestowing upon it the highest applause when they acted in another.

On the first of July a petition was presented to the house of commons on the part of the East-India company, desiring to be permitted to increase their capital by the sum of one million, the whole to be subscribed by the present proprietors of East India stock. They apologized for the late period at which the petition was presented, by observing, that they had waited for the arrival of certain ships, in order to be enabled to state more precisely the present situation of their finances, and to demonstrate to the house the propriety and justice of granting their demand. Mr. Dundas entered into a calculation of their revenues,

from which he inferred that they laboured under a present deficiency of the amount of 2,930,000*l*. The charter would expire in the year 1791; but, upon giving proper notice to parliament, they were entitled to an extension of three years, and he undertook to prove that in the year 1794 they would be able to liquidate the whole of their present embarrassments. They owed indeed, exclusively of the articles that entered into his calculation, six millions of debt in India; but, whatever hands the territories fell to, the expiration of the charter, there could be no objection on the part of the future proprietor to enter into the encumbrance of this debt in the possession of a territory, whose net revenue was 1,500,000*l* per annum. Mr. Dundas trusted no man would infer from what he now said, that there was any probability the company's charter would not be renewed. It might be depended upon, that their interests and the interests of the public were the same, and that they must rise or fall, exist or perish together. Such are the expressions that we find put into his mouth in the materials from which our narrative is drawn; but on a future day he excepted to the representation of his language, and said that he had meant to speak only of their commerce. The question of the renewal of their charter as territorial company he had left untouched, and he desired to be understood as neither pledging himself to the executive government, either to the charter of the company would be that it would not be renewed.

The bill that was brought in upon the petition experienced a very high degree of opposition either in the house of commons or the house

dis. In the stage of the business immediately subsequent to the second reading in the latter, lord Thurlow however expressed himself on the subject with great apparent candour and impartiality. He mentioned that measures of so great magnitude should be introduced at a late period of the year, perceived as he was that it was not more a matter of inconvenience to individual members of parliament when they were thus introduced than ministers themselves, who, he was satisfied, could not so well understand their bearings, or attend to them in the manner or with the degree of caution which their importance required. As far as he was acquainted with the project under consideration, taking it merely as a problematical and speculative point of view, he was inclined to think well of it; but there were certain articles in the detail of accounts that had been laid upon their table, respecting which he entertained doubts and suspicion. The course he conceived was justifiable in offering the measure to be put in practice, but they could not take upon themselves to be responsible for the event. The language which they held out to the subscribers might be thus explained: "We

have called for the accounts of the company, and done all in our power to ascertain whether there were danger in the speculation. The grounds upon which we proceeded are before you: you must understand every article of the accounts much better than we do; judge for yourselves, and act as you think proper." Lord Thurlow strongly excepted to a clause in the bill, authorising guardians to vest the property of minors in the additional stock; and he alluded to a clause of a similar nature, which had escaped in the bill of the present session, for raising the sum of a million for the use of government by the mode of life annuity. He said, that it was an invariable maxim in the courts of law, that no such discretion should be permitted in guardians. An adult, if he purchased stock of any sort, could sell out when he conceived the adventure to have become dangerous; but the property of an infant was irremovable. Lord Thurlow had a still stronger objection to the mode of annuity, which was the infallible source of selfishness and indolence, and discouraged trade, adventure, population and marriage. The clause relating to minors was at the instigation of lord Thurlow taken out of the bill.

'CHAP. IX.

Discussion of the Slave Trade. Question deferred. Mr. Addington Speaks. Budget. Loan. Taxes. Excise on Tobacco. Motion on the Finance. Demand of Corn from the French refused. Prorogation.

THE subject of the slave trade, which had been suggested to the consideration of parliament in the preceding session, was not regularly resumed till the twelfth of May. In the interval various petitions had been presented in the last and present session from persons principally interested, the object of which was to demand that so fatal a measure as they conceived to be that of the abolition of the African trade might not be adopted. The places in which the petitions had originated, were London, Liverpool, Bristol, Lancaster and Glasgow. In the mean time the report of the committee of privy council, of which Mr. Pitt had given notice in the preceding session, was laid upon the table of the house of commons on the twenty-fifth of April, and the regular discussion of the business was at length opened by Mr. Wilberforce in a speech, which has been highly commended for the energy of its structure and the persuasiveness of its eloquence.

He began with observing, that he did not mean to appeal to the passions of the house, but to their cool and impartial reason. He did not mean to accuse any one, but to take shame to himself, in common indeed with the whole parliament of Great Britain, for having suffered so odious

a trade to be carried on under their authority. He deprecated every kind of reflection against the various description of persons who were immediately involved in this wretched transaction. It was necessary for him to state in the outset, that he did not conceive the witnesses who were examined, and particularly interested witnesses, to be judges of the argument. In the matters of fact that were related by them he admitted their competency, but confident of their assertions, not of facts, but of supposed consequences of facts, went for nothing in his estimation. Mr. Wilberforce divided his subject into three parts, the nature of the trade as it affected Africa itself, the appearance it assumed in the transportation of the slaves, and the considerations that were suggested by their actual state in the West Indies. With respect to the first it was founded by experience to be just such, as every man who used his reason would infallibly have concluded it to be. What must be the natural consequence of a slave trade with Africa with a country vast in its extent, and utterly barbarous, but civilized in a very small degree? Was it not plain that the most suffer from it; that the savage manners must be rendered more ferocious, and that a slave trade carried on round her coasts must

end violence and desolation to her centre? Such were precisely the circumstances proved by the evidence before the privy council, particularly by those who had been most conversant with the subject, Mr. Wadstrom, captain Hill and Mr. Sparman. From them it appeared, that the kings of Africa were never induced to engage in war on public principles, by national glory, and least of all by the love of their people. They had conversed with these princes, and had learned from their own mouths, that to procure slaves was the object of their utilities. Indeed there was scarcely a single person examined before the privy council, who did not prove that the slave trade was the source of the calamities continually acted upon that extensive continent. Some had endeavoured to palliate this circumstance; but there was not one that did not more or less admit it to be true. By one it was called the concurrent cause, by the majority it was acknowledged to be the principal motive of the African wars.

Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to describe the mode in which the slaves were transported from Africa to the West Indies. This he confessed was the most wretched part of the whole subject. So much misery condensed in so little room was more than the human imagination had ever before conceived. He would not accuse the Liverpool traders; he verily believed, that, if the wretchedness of any one of the many hundred negroes stowed in each ship could be brought before the view and remain in the sight of the African merchant, there was not one among them whose heart would be strong enough to bear it. He called upon his hearers to imagine six or seven

hundred of these victims chained two and two, surrounded with every object that was nauseous and disgusting, diseased and struggling with all the varieties of wretchedness. How could they bear to think of such a scene as this? Meanwhile he would beg leave to quote the evidence of Mr. Norris, delivered in a manner that fully demonstrated that interest could draw a film over the eyes so thick, that total blindness could do no more. "Their apartments," said this evidence, "are fitted up as much for their advantage as circumstances will admit. They have several meals a day, some of their own country provisions, with the best sauces of African cookery, and by way of variety another meal of pulse, &c. according to European taste. After breakfast they have water to wash themselves, while their apartments are perfumed with frankincense and lime-juice. Before dinner they are amused after the manner of their country; the song and the dance are promoted, and games of chance are furnished. The men play and sing while the women and girls make fanciful ornaments with beads, with which they are plentifully supplied." Such was the sort of strain in which the Liverpool delegates gave their evidence before the privy council. What would the house think, when by the concurring testimony of other witnesses the true history was laid open? The slaves, who were sometimes described as rejoicing in their captivity, were so wrung with misery at leaving their country, that it was the constant practice to set sail in the night, lest they should be sensible of their departure. Their accommodations it seemed were convenient. The right angle of one indeed was connected with

with the left ankle of another by a small iron fetter, and, if they were turbulent, by another on the wrists. The pulse which Mr. Norris mentioned were horse beans, and the legislature of Jamaica had stated the scantiness both of water and provision as a subject that called for the interference of parliament. Mr. Norris talked of frankincense and lime-juice, while the surgeons described the slaves as so closely stowed, that there was not room to tread among them, and while it was proved in evidence by sir George Yonge, that, even in a ship that wanted two hundred of her complement, the stench was intolerable. The song and the dance, said Mr. Norris, are promoted. It would have been more fair perhaps, if he had explained the word promoted. The truth was that for the sake of exercise these miserable wretches, loaded with chains and oppressed with disease, were forced to dance by the terror of the lash, and sometimes by the actual use of it. "I," said one of the evidences, "was employed to dance the men, while another person danced the women." Such was the meaning of the word promoted; and it might also be observed with respect to food, that instruments was sometimes carried out in order to force them to eat, which was the same sort of proof how much they enjoyed themselves in this instance also. With respect to their singing, it consisted of songs of lamentation on their departure, which while they sung they were always in tears, so that one of the captains, more humane probably than the rest, threatened a woman with a flogging, because the mournfulness of her song was too painful for his feelings. That he might

not trust however too much to any sort of description, Mr. Wilberforce called the attention of the house to one species of evidence which was infallible. Death was a witness that could not deceive them, and the proportion of deaths would not only confirm, but, if possible, even aggravate our suspicion of the misery of the transit. It would be found upon an average of all the ships upon which evidence had been given, that, exclusively of such as perished before they sailed, not less than twelve and a half per cent. died in the passage. Beside these the Jamaica report stated that four and a half per cent. expired upon shore before the day of sale, which was only a week or two from the time of their landing; one third more died in the seasoning, and that in a climate exactly similar to their own, and where, as some of the witnesses pretended, they were healthy and happy. The diseases however that they contracted on ship-board, the astringents and washes that were employed to hide their wounds, and make them up for sale, were a principal cause of this mortality. The negroes, it should be remembered, were not purchased at first except in perfect health, and the sum of the different casualties taken together produced a mortality of above fifty per cent.

Mr. Wilberforce added, that, as soon as he had advanced thus far in his investigation, he felt the wickedness of the slave trade to be so enormous, so dreadful and so irremediable, that he could stop at no alternative short of its abolition. A trade founded in iniquity, and carried on with such circumstances of horror, must be abolished, let the policy be what it might, and he had

in this time determined, whatever were the consequences, that he would never rest till he had effected that abolition. His mind had indeed been harassed with the objections of the West Indian planters, who had asserted that the ruin of their property must be the consequence of such regulation. He could not however help distrusting their arguments. He could not believe that the Almighty Being, who forbade the practice of rapine and bloodshed, had made rapine and bloodshed necessary to any part of his universe. He felt confidence in this persuasion, and took the resolution to act upon it. It might indeed soon break in upon him; the suspicion of his mind was every day confirmed by increasing information, and the evidence he had now to offer upon this point was decisive and complete. The principle upon which he founded the necessity of the abolition was not policy, but justice; but, though justice were the principle of the measure, yet he trusted he should ultimately prove it to be reconcilable with our truest political interest.

In the first place he asserted that the number of negroes in the West Indies might be kept up without the introduction of recruits from Africa; and to prove this he enumerated the various sources of the present mortality. The first was the disproportion of the sexes, an evil, which, when the slave trade was abolished, must in the course of nature cure itself. The second was the disorders contracted in the transportation, and the consequences of the washes and mercurial ointments by which they were made up for sale. A third was excessive labour joined with improper food; and a fourth the ex-

treme dissoluteness of their manners. These would both of them be counteracted by the impossibility of procuring farther supplies. It was the interest, they were told, of the masters to treat their slaves with kindness and humanity; but it was immediate and present, not future and distant interest that was the great spring of action in the affairs of mankind. Why did we make laws to punish men? It was their interest to be upright and virtuous. But there was a present impulse continually breaking in upon their better judgment, an impulse, which was known to be contrary to their permanent advantage. It was ridiculous to say that men would be bound by their interest, when present gain or ardent passion urged them. It might as well be asserted, that a stone could not be thrown into the air, or a body move from place to place, because the principle of gravitation bound them to the surface of the earth. If a planter in the West Indies found himself reduced in his profits, he did not usually dispose of any part of his slaves, and his own gratifications were never given up, so long as there was a possibility of any retrenchment in the allowance of his negroes. Mr. Wilberforce entered into a calculation in order to prove that in many of the islands, and particularly in Jamaica, there was an increase of population among the slaves actually begun, and he deduced from the whole that the births in that island at this moment exceeded the deaths by one thousand or eleven hundred per annum. Allowing however the number of negroes to decrease, there were other obvious sources that would insure the welfare of the West Indian islands; the waste of labour which at present pre-

prevailed; the introduction of the plough and other machinery; the division of work, which in free and civilized countries was the grand source of wealth; and the reduction of the number of domestic servants, of whom not less than from twenty to forty were kept in ordinary families. But, granting that all these suppositions were unfounded, that every one of these succedanea should fail; the planters would still be secured and out of all question indemnify themselves, as was the case in every transaction of commerce, by the increased price of their produce in the English market. The West Indians therefore, who contended against the abolition, were nonsuited in every part of the argument. Did they say that fresh importation was necessary? He had shown that the number of slaves might be kept up by procreation. Was this denied? He asserted that the plough, horses, machinery, domestic slaves and all the other inevitable improvements would supply the deficiency. Was it persisted in that the deficiency could be no way supplied, and that the quantity of produce would diminish? He then reverted to the unanswerable argument, that the increase of price would make up their loss, and secure them against every possible miscarriage.

Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to answer incidental objections. In the first place he asserted, that the African trade, instead of being the nursery of our sailors, had been found to be their grave. A comparison had with great industry been formed between the muster-rolls of the slave ships and those of the other branches of our commerce; and it had been found, that more sailors had died in

one year in the slave trade, than in two years in all our other trades together. Three thousand one hundred and seventy seamen had sailed from Liverpool in 1787, and of these only fourteen hundred and twenty-eight had returned. Information upon the subject had lately been received from the governor of Barbadoes, who stated in the course of his narrative, that the "African traders at home were obliged to send out their ships very strongly manned, as well from the unhealthiness of the climate, as the necessity of guarding the slaves; and, as they soon felt the burthen of the consequent expence, the masters quarrelled immediately upon their arrival in the islands with their seamen upon the most frivolous pretences, and turned them on shore, while many of these valuable subjects, sometimes from sickness, and sometimes from the necessity of entering into foreign employment for subsistence, were totally lost to their country." A farther objection that had been urged was, that if we abandoned the slave trade, it would only be taken up by the French; we should become the sufferers, and the evil would remain in its utmost extent. This was indeed a very weak and sophistical argument; and, if it would defend the slave trade, might equally be urged in favour of robbery, murder and every species of wickedness, which, if we did not practice, others would probably commit. The objection however he believed had no foundation in fact. Mr. Necker, the present minister of France, was a man of ability and religion, and in his work upon the administration of the finances had actually recorded his abhorrence of the slave trade; and the king of France,

having

ing lately been requested to dissolve a society formed for the express purpose of the abolition, had answered that he could not comply with what was desired, and that he to the contrary rejoiced in the existence of such a society.

Mr. Wilberforce proceeded in his arguments to shew, that no measure could in the present case be effectual, short of the entire abolition. The Jamaica report had recommended that no person should be kidnapped, or permitted to be made slaves contrary to the customs of Africa. Might they not be reduced to this state unjustly, and yet by no means contrary to the customs of Africa? Beside how could we distinguish between the slaves justly and unjustly reduced to that condition? Could we discover them by their physiognomy? If we could, was it believed, that the British captains would by any regulations in this country be prevailed upon to refuse all those, that had not been fairly, honestly and uprightly enslaved? Those who were offered to us for sale, were brought, some of them, three or four thousand miles, and exchanged like cattle from one hand to another, till they reached the coast. What compensation then could be made to the rejected slaves for their sufferings? The argument was equally valid as to their transportation. The profit of the merchant depended upon the number that could be crowded together, and the shortness of the allowance. As to their ultimate situation it would also remain. Slavery was the source of all sorts of degradation, and the condition of slavery could not even be meliorated, without putting an end to the hope of farther reinforcements. In fine Mr. Wil-

berforce called upon his hearers to make all the amends in their power for the mischief they had done to the continent of Africa. He called upon them to recollect what Europe had been three centuries ago. In the reign of king Henry the Seventh the inhabitants of Bristol had actually sold their children as an article of merchandize. The people of Ireland had done the same. Let then the same opportunity of civilization be extended to Africa, which had done so much for our own islands. It might hitherto have been alledged in our excuse, that we were not acquainted with the enormity of the wickedness we suffered; but we could no longer plead ignorance; it was directly brought before our eyes, and that house must decide, and must justify to the world and their consciences the facts and principles upon which their decision was formed.

Mr. Wilberforce moved twelve propositions, upon which however he observed that he did not mean to urge them to an immediate vote. They stated the number of slaves annually carried from Africa, imported into the British West Indies, and entered in the custom house accounts; the number in the first of these articles amounting to thirty-eight thousand. They entered into the probable demerits of the persons sold to slavery, the consequences produced upon the inhabitants of Africa, and the valuable and important commerce to that country which might be substituted in the room of the slave trade. They stated the injury sustained by the British seamen, and the fatal circumstances that attended the transportation to the slaves. They detailed the causes of the mortality of the negroes, and enumerated the different

different items of calculation respecting the increase of population in Jamaica and Barbadoes; and they concluded with declaring, that it appeared that no considerable or permanent inconvenience would result from discontinuing the farther importation.

The propositions of Mr. Wilberforce were opposed by Mr. Sawbridge and Mr. Newnham on the part of the city of London, the latter of whom stated it as his persuasion, that, if the measure were carried into execution, it would render the metropolis one scene of bankruptcy and ruin. Mr. Dempster observed, that the first proposition he had expected Mr. Wilberforce to suggest was an engagement to make good out of the public purse, all the losses which individuals would sustain from the abolition of the slave trade. He was willing to be generous, but he did not like to be generous at the expence of other men's property. Lord Penrhyn asserted, that there were mortgages in the West India islands to the amount of seventy millions sterling, and that therefore the first consequence of Mr. Wilberforce's project was to engage the country in equity and justice to the repayment of this sum. He added, that the African merchants were to his knowledge willing to submit to any regulation of the trade short of its abolition. The propositions were farther opposed by lord Maitland, Mr. Marsham, Mr. Hussey, Mr. Rolle, Mr. Drake, and Mr. alderman Watson.

Mr. Burke, at the same time that he complimented in the highest terms the merits and eloquence of Mr. Wilberforce, expressed his sorrow, that the question could not be brought to a conclusion at once, without voting the propositions they

had heard. He recommended it to parliament, to look beyond the present moment, and ask themselves, whether they had fortified their minds sufficiently to bear the consequences of the measure they were about to adopt. When they had abandoned the slave trade, the Spaniards or some other foreign power might possibly take it up, and clandestinely supply our West India islands. Had they virtue enough in that case to abstain from the easy natural to competitors in trade, steadily to pursue their purpose, and firmly adhere to their determination? If they should repent of their virtue, and he had seen miserable instances of such repentance, all hope of future reformation would be lost; they would go back to the trade they had abandoned with redoubled attachment, and adhere to it with the most shameless ardour. Mr. Burke remarked upon the assertion of Mr. Wilberforce, that the West India planters would receive a compensation adequate to the loss they incurred by the abolition of the slave trade. He believed they would; but he could not conceive that that compensation could be immediate. We were called upon to do an act of virtuous energy and heroism, and in this situation it was right we should understand exactly what it was that was required of us; and that we must submit to a temporary disadvantage for the sake of justice, humanity, truth and ultimate happiness.

Mr. Pitt upon this occasion, for the first time, explicitly delivered his sentiments upon the subject, and particularly thanked Mr. Wilberforce for having chosen the only way in which it could be demonstrated, that they were warranted, in every ground of fact and of reason, in adopting the

measure that was now recommended to them. He was satisfied, no argument, compatible with the idea of justice, could be assigned the continuation of the slave trade; and, at the same time that he was willing to listen with candour and impartiality to every thing that might be urged, he was sure that the principles from which his opinion was deduced were totally unalterable. He had examined the subject with the society that became him, and investigated the different parts of it with possible minuteness; and he averred, that it was sophistry, obscurity of ideas and vagueness of reasoning, that alone could have hitherto prevented all mankind, those immediately interested in the question excepted, from agreeing in their opinion upon the subject. He differed from Mr. Burke with respect to the propriety of adopting these individual propositions. Let them be once entered upon the journals of the house, and it was almost impossible for them to fail in producing every beneficial consequence that could be desired. The mode in which the slave trade would ultimately be abolished was not now under discussion; but, whatever it were, Mr. Pitt trusted that the project now recommended to them would not prove the means of inviting foreign powers to supply our islands by a clandestine trade. When the debt was discovered to be founded upon the immutable principles of justice, it was impossible but the country had means to cause it to be paid. Should such an illicit proceeding be attempted, the only language which it became us to adopt was, that Great Britain had resources to enable her to protect her islands, and to prevent that traffic from being clandestinely carried on with them, which she had thought

fit, from a regard to her character and her honour, to abandon. It was highly becoming in Great Britain to take the lead of all other countries in a business of so great magnitude; and he could not but have confidence, that foreign nations would be inclined to share the honour, and contented to follow us as their patterns in so excellent a work. If we were inclined to set about it in earnest, other countries might be invited to concur with us, either by a negotiation immediately to be commenced, or by the effect that the putting the propositions upon their journals would probably produce. Mr. Pitt added, that he felt it his duty to declare, that he could not in any sort acquiesce in the idea that the legislature should make a compensation for the losses which might be sustained by the people of Liverpool, or of any other part of the kingdom, in the execution of the present undertaking.

Mr. Fox observed, that he did not like, where he agreed as to the substance of the measure that was proposed, to differ with respect to the form of it. He however conceived, that all the propositions of Mr. Wilberforce were not necessary to be voted previously to the ultimate decision, though some of them undoubtedly were. He considered them as of two classes; the one alledging the grounds upon which it was proper to proceed to the abolition, such as that it was disgraceful and inhuman, that it produced the worst consequences to the natives of Africa, and was attended with loss of lives to our seamen; the other merely answering objections that might be started, and being such as might possibly be attended with difference of opinion. He was however glad that the propositions were likely to be entered upon

upon the journals, since in that case, if from any misfortune the business should be deferred, it could scarcely fail, sooner or later, to be crowned with success. Mr. Fox highly approved of what Mr. Pitt had said respecting the language it became us to hold to foreign powers, though he could not admit the assertion of sir William Young that a clandestine trade in slaves was worse than a legal one. He thought that such a trade, if it existed at all, should be only clandestine. A trade in human flesh was so scandalous, that it was to the last degree infamous to suffer it to be openly carried on by the authority of the government of any country. With regard to a regulation of the slave trade, his detestation of its existence, must naturally lead him to remark, that he knew of no such thing as a regulation of robbery and restriction of murder. There was no medium; the legislature must either abolish the trade, or plead guilty to all the iniquity with which it was attended. Mr. Fox added, that, if there were any great and enlightened nation now existing in Europe, it was France, who was as likely as any country upon the face of the globe to catch a spark from the light of our fire, and to act upon the present subject with warmth and enthusiasm. France had often been improperly stimulated by her ambition; and he had no doubt but that, in the present instance, she would readily follow its honourable dictates.

Mr. Henniker opposed the abolition, and in order to prove the unalterable depravity of the Africans, produced a curious letter from the emperor of the Dawhomayans, a people inhabiting three hundred miles inland, to king George the First, which was found among the

papers of James first duke of Candos, and had remained in the family to the present time. In this letter the emperor of Dawhomay entered into a very curious detail of his own character and disposition, the form of government of his country, and the manners and pursuits of his subjects. He stated, that, as he understood that king George was the greatest of white kings, so he thought himself the greatest of black ones, having many princes under him, who dared not come into his presence without falling flat upon the ground, and rubbing their mouth nine times in the dust before they opened it to speak to him; and when he conferred any dignities or favours upon them, wiping the soles of his feet with the hair of their head. He asserted that he could lead five hundred thousand men armed into the field, that being the pursuit to which all his subjects were bred, and the women only staying at home to plant and manure the earth. He had himself fought two hundred and nine battles with great reputation and success, and had conquered the great king of Ardah. The king's head was to this day preserved with the flesh and hair; the heads of his generals were distinguished by being placed on each side of the doors of the temples of their Fetiches; with the heads of the inferior officers they had paved the space before the doors; and the heads of the common soldiers formed a sort of fringe or outwork round the walls of the palace. Since this war he had experienced the greatest good fortune, and he hoped in time to be able to complete the outwalls of all his great houses, to the number of seven, in the same manner.

On the twenty-first of May the question once more came before parliament.

liament, as it was supposed for the purpose of voting Mr. Wilberforce's propositions. Mr. Sawbridge and lord Maitland opened the business by enquiring whether it were Mr. Wilberforce's intention to call for farther evidence; and observing, that the merchants and persons interested in the question were anxious for an opportunity of refuting the objections that had been cast upon them in the progress of this measure. Mr. Wilberforce replied, that he had not the least intention of calling for farther evidence, because he thought the report of the privy council, and the other documents before the house, sufficient for the establishment of all his propositions. With respect to evidence to be adduced by the parties concerned, it was not for him either to admit or refuse it. The subject was now lying before the house, and they would of course in all respects judge and decide for themselves.

Mr. Powys and Mr. Vynar declared that they had not yet formed an opinion upon the general question, though they saw enough to induce them to consent to the introduction of such a bill as Mr. Wilberforce proposed. They could however upon no account agree, that the report of the privy council was a proper ground for their proceedings. In parliament in any single instance, decided upon a solemn and serious occasion to act upon evidence, not delivered at their bar, or collected by a committee of their body, they could make a most alarming sacrifice to the rules of their proceedings, and the privileges to which they were entitled for their constitutional importance. Mr. Pitt observed, that in his opinion all farther enquiry was needless, and could tend only to

waste the time of the house. Had parliament previously resolved to receive no evidence on a given subject but from the privy council, that indeed would be to strike at the privileges of the house of commons; but it was surely absurd to suppose, that the house could upon no occasion receive evidence, taken where it was most convenient to take it, and every part of it subject to new investigation, if any one doubted its validity. The report of the privy council consisted first of calculations and accounts from the public offices; and next of written documents upon the subject, both of which were just as authentic, as if they had been laid separately upon the table of that house. The remainder consisted of the testimony of witnesses; and, if any one doubted of their veracity, it was open to him to go into a re-examination of the evidence, either in whole, or of each individual witness. Mr. Pitt observed, that the objection to the report had not originated with the country gentlemen, but with the avowed adversaries of the measure, and added, that it was singular, that, while the report had been five weeks upon the table, no argument against its sufficiency had been heard of, till at length the moment was arrived that the house was expected to come to an ultimate vote upon the subject.

Mr. Fox perfectly coincided with the sentiments of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Burke declared that he was decisively of opinion that no farther evidence could be necessary, to induce the house to abolish what he would be bold to say was a system of robbery. He proceeded to observe, that the idea of reimbursing to the West-India merchants what they might lose by the abolition, was totally contrary to

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every

every principle of legislation. Government gave encouragement to any species of commerce, while it was regarded as conducive to the welfare of the community, or compatible with the ideas of humanity and justice; but they were competent to withdraw their countenance, when this commerce was found to be an injury and a disgrace to the state. Those who engaged in it, knew the terms under which they were placed, and adopted it with all the risks and probabilities with which it was accompanied: and of consequence it was but just they should be prepared to abide by the loss that might accrue, when the public should think proper no longer to support it. Mr. Burke added, that, whatever were the present situation of Africa, it could never be meliorated under the present system. While we continued to purchase the natives, they must for ever remain in a state of savage barbarity. It was impossible to civilize a slave; it was contrary to the system of human nature. There was no country, that was continued under such disadvantageous circumstances, into which the shadow of improvement had ever been introduced.

In the progress of the debate Mr. Pitt appeared to relax from the opposition that he had at first exerted, against the proposal of the friends of the slave trade. He believed he could answer for the consent of Mr. Wilberforce to the present examination of witnesses on the part of the petitioners; but he trusted that unnecessary delays would not be introduced, as he could by no means submit to the ultimate procrastination of so important a business. Lord Maitland enquired, whether those persons, who produced evi-

dence against the propositions, would be permitted to state such allegations upon the second reading of the bill, as they might not be prepared to adduce in the present stage of the business. Mr. Pitt replied, that this would be contrary to all the usual modes of proceeding in similar cases. Though any member might produce such objections as were calculated to overthrow the reasonings of the petitioners, it did not follow that further evidence was to be heard to controvert these replies, since in that case it was impossible to foresee an end to any important business. He was however willing to give every opportunity to those who considered their interests as so immediately concerned in the measure; but he trusted that at all events they would endeavour as much as possible to adduce the whole of their evidence upon the first examination. Mr. Fox coincided in these sentiments.

After this debate the house of commons immediately proceeded to the hearing of witnesses upon this important subject; at the same time that several attempts were made on the part of the West-India proprietors to procrastinate and interrupt the progress of the business. A motion was twice made for a call of the house, in order to obtain a full attendance at the period of the ultimate decision, and at length on the twenty-third of June Mr. alderman Newnham, with the consent of Mr. Wilberforce, moved that the farther consideration of the subject should be deferred to the next session. It was remarked by Mr. William Smith that, though he was anxious to have the question brought to an issue, he saw that it was impossible it should be decided in the present session. He had not however heard any

good reason why the examination of witnesses might not be carried on for some weeks longer. It was shown that the hearing of evidence was at all times thinly attended. If therefore the few members that did attend were willing to give up their time a little longer, why should other members complain of an inconvenience, in the suffering of which they took no share? Mr. Smith thought, that by this proceeding the examination of witnesses on the part of the merchants might be finished, and of consequence the business brought into a very desirable state of forwardness against the ensuing session. The question was carried without a division; and the satisfactions of the house under this had were concluded by the renewal of sir William Dolben's act, to regulate for a limited time the mode of conveying slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa.

The annual business of the budget was not brought forward in the present year till the tenth of June; and immediately previous to this dissolution, the office of speaker of the house of commons was a second time vacated, by the promotion of Mr. Grenville to the situation of one of the principal secretaries of state, upon the resignation of lord Sydney. Upon this occasion the marquis of Graham and Mr. Grosvenor moved, that Mr. Henry Addington, who was the personal friend of Mr. Pitt, and the son of doctor Stephen Addington, physician to Mr. Pitt's father, should be appointed to the office. The name of sir Gilbert Elliot was proposed on the part of opposition, by the same persons who had brought it forward upon a former occasion, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, in support of this amend-

ment, took notice of the youth and inexperience of his competitor. At length the house divided, and the numbers appeared, in favour of Mr. Addington 215, and of sir Gilbert Elliot 142.

In opening the budget Mr. Pitt remarked, that, though it might be necessary for him, to bring forward a large demand for the ensuing year above the ordinary amount of what might have been expected as a peace establishment, and to have recourse to extraordinary means of providing for that demand, he had no doubt, that a fair review of the revenue, and the circumstances that called for this extraordinary supply, would confirm all that he had ever asserted of the improving state of the finances, and, instead of weakening, would corroborate the expectations which had been raised three years before by the report of the committee appointed to examine the public accounts. Mr. Pitt stated the supplies which had been already voted at 5,540,000 l. and the ways and means which had been provided to discharge this sum at 2,750,000 l. for the land and malt tax, 270,000 l. for the lottery, and 1,530,000 l. for the surplus of the fund consolidated for the discharge of interest of the national debt. The growing progress of the sinking fund he estimated at 2,050,000 l. but from this he deducted 520,000 l. for the deficiency of the taxes of the preceding year, which reduced the existing surplus to the sum he had mentioned. What then was the actual situation of the finances? In 1786 the subject of dispute had been, first whether we could pay the extraordinary expences that must accrue before we arrived at a regular peace establishment without having recourse to a loan, and next whether

ther the revenue would correspond to the sum stated by the committee of accounts as necessary to pay the interest of the public debt, and to afford a surplus of one million annually towards its liquidation. From 1786 we had raised no money by loan; it would now be necessary to raise the sum of a million; and we had since that time increased the navy debt 500,000*l.* Now let it be considered what had been the extraordinary expences since that time. We had paid 3,500,000*l.* above the average peace establishment, 852,000*l.* to the loyalists, 216,000*l.* for the prince of Wales's debts, 210,000*l.* for the debts of the civil list, and 253,000*l.* for the expence of the armament; which sums taken together were equal to the navy debt incurred and the million he proposed to borrow. Thus in three years 3,500,000*l.* had been paid above the calculation of the committee, and 3,750,000*l.* for the reduction of the national debt, which had been applied to the discharge of more than four millions of the public burthen. Notwithstanding these circumstances, if the unforeseen miscellaneous expences he had enumerated had not occurred, we should not only have been able to provide for the extraordinary million without any additional burthen to the people, but should not even have wanted a substitute for the shop-tax. He might therefore congratulate himself and his country, that the hopes he had entertained were well founded, and the calculations of the committee been verified to a degree of accuracy seldom to be expected in such subjects. Mr. Pitt added, that the annual revenue, which had been taken by the committee at 15,500,000*l.* appeared upon an

average of the two preceding years to have produced 15,578,000*l.*

In providing for the million which was to be raised by a loan, Mr. Pitt had felt it his duty to substantiate a principle, that might give credit and confidence to the unalienable application of the sinking fund. For that purpose it was indispensable, either to increase the sinking fund in proportion to the national debt, or to add to the present taxes without enlarging the funded debt. The last of these methods was that which he had preferred. He meant to raise a million by annuities with benefit of survivorship, by which means a tax would be raised that in time would extinguish itself. There was another sum which it was not necessary to add to the regular supply. That was an article of 191,000*l.* which had been lent by government in the mode of secret service abroad on account of the civil list, which would not eventually add to the expences of the country, but was to be paid by instalments and with interest. He did not imagine that parliament would object to the making up this sum to the civil list in the mean time, and he intended to provide for it by those annuities to a similar amount. The interest of the million intended to be borrowed he would take at 44/750 which together with the deficiency from the shop-tax, the produce of which in the preceding year had been 56,000*l.* would afford a sum of about 100,000*l.* to be raised by new taxes. The taxes Mr. Pitt suggested were an additional half-penny on every news-paper, which would produce 28,000*l.* an additional expence on advertisements 9,000*l.* an additional duty on cards and dice 9,000*l.* a farther duty on the probates of wills 18,260*l.* on legacies to col-

ral relations 5,000*l*, and on carriages and horses 41,740*l*. Mr. Pitt included with stating, that in the use of the loan he had acted upon principles of the strictest economy, and that the taxes he proposed could not possibly affect the poor, the straitened and the labouring.

Mr. Sheridan, who had in several preceding instances displayed a minute attention to subjects of finance, particularly distinguished himself upon the present occasion. He put it to the house whether, admitting the revenue were likely annually to amount to the sum at which it was calculated, and even this required no concession, it could reasonably be expected that the expenditure could not greatly exceed the statement of the committee of 1786. If it were the case, and experience had proved that it must be so, we were plainly deceived in our expectations, and our finances were not in the flourishing condition that had been described. Mr. Pitt had dilated emphatically upon the unforeseen contingencies of miscellaneous services that had occurred; but these contingencies, upon the fullest statement that could be made of them, scarcely rose to 600,000*l*. above the amount, at which they had actually been estimated by the committee. This sum, distributed upon a period of three years, afforded an annual excess of no more than 200,000*l*. So that an increase was to defeat and annul all the high sounding promises of the minister, and reduce us to the extremity of an additional loan and accumulated taxes. In like manner might be presumed from principles of analogy, that another 600,000*l*. of unforeseen contingencies would arise in the time to come, and we

should hereafter be prevented, as we had hitherto been, from emerging from the embarrassments of our situation. Mr. Pitt had amused the house by informing them that we had paid off three millions of the national debt; but he did not think it to his purpose to inform them, that in the year in which he began to pay he had created a new debt of a million, by issuing exchequer bills to that amount, and that this year we were creating another debt of a million. He did not bring into his estimate about two millions which had been received during this time from the East-India company, and from other accidental but not inconsiderable sources. The house was also to recollect under this article the increase of navy debt to the amount of 500,000*l*. If Mr. Pitt had stated all these circumstances, it would have appeared, that, with the assistance of more than four millions, he had succeeded in the notable undertaking of paying off three millions of national debt. But the time must come, when the bubble would burst and the illusion be dissipated. It was better to meet our situation fairly and honourably. By postponing the evil day our distress would only accumulate; and, when we expected to drink of the cup of gladness, we should find nothing but the bitter dregs of disappointment. Mr. Sheridan concluded with giving notice of his intention, to move for a committee, for the purpose of making a fresh enquiry into the state of the public income and expenditure.

Mr. Fox observed, that the real cause of the difference between the estimate of the committee of 1786 and the actual expenditure, was not to be found in any articles of miscellaneous service, but in the high

expences that were now incurred under the head of navy, army and ordnance. It was not therefore to be supposed that this expence would be momentary, nor was there any thing so peculiar in the present complexion of things, as to make them hope, that what was admitted to be perfectly proper now, would become improper the next time they should have to provide for the public exigencies. They were told, that the very distinguished situation, which Britain now held among the nations of Europe, was one cause of the increased expenditure and the new impositions. If this were the case, Mr. Fox hoped that the cause of the increased expenditure, and consequently the expenditure itself would still subsist. It was necessary, they had been told, for the purpose of protecting the settlements abroad, to furnish them with an additional number of regiments; but it would not be less necessary to protect them in future years than at the present moment. The same argument would perfectly apply to the increased expence that had been incurred by voting an additional number of seamen. He had therefore no doubt, that the system of the last three years would still continue, and that consequently any relief to the public from a probable reduction of its expences was just as far off now, as at the moment of making the report of 1786.

Mr. Hussey complained of the mode in which Mr. Pitt treated the revenue, as delusive, fallacious, and full of peril to the public at large. Mr. Bailard declared, that he had felt most painfully upon the present occasion, and that had he conceived the finances to have been in the unfavourable situation in which they

now too plainly appeared, he certainly would not have opposed the wine and post horse taxes of preceding sessions, and for the same reason should be inclined to support such measures as the minister now proposed for increasing the national income. Mr. Steele, secretary to the treasury, undertook to correct Mr. Sheridan respecting the million of exchequer bills, which he had stated as issued subsequently to the report of 1786, but which loan had in reality been made unquestionably prior to that period. Mr. Steele added, that Mr. Pitt had expressly said in 1786, that, though he had expected to find extraordinary aids to enable him to proceed, yet extraordinary demands might occur, which would oblige him to a loan of one or two millions, a necessity, that at all events he would defer as long as he possibly could. Mr. Sheridan replied, that the exchequer bills had indeed been voted in 1785; but that they had been stated as referred to be employed if occasion should arise, and that 700,000. of them had actually remained unissued at the time of making the report of the committee. Mr. Sheridan added, that he had never heard any assertion with more astonishment, than that of Mr. Steele respecting Mr. Pitt's prediction of a loan. He would not appeal to his own memory of a speech delivered three years ago, but he would put it to the house, whether it were not utterly impossible that the minister could thus have contradicted the report of his own committee. In that report there was not the smallest hint of the probability of a future loan. Was it to be concluded, that Mr. Pitt could so far forget his object as to say to the house of commons, that

might want the small sum of a million or two towards the paying off three millions of the national debt?

One of the provisions of the bill imposing an additional duty on news-papers, was intended to restrain the news-hawkers from the privilege of lending their news-papers to read for a small gratuity. A petition was presented against this clause, which it was determined could not be received consistently with the rule of not admitting a remonstrance against a tax, in the year in which it was imposed. It was stated by Mr. Pitt, that the possibility of securing a revenue from the proposed addition entirely depended upon the putting an end to the practice of hiring news-papers. Mr. Sheridan on the contrary undertook to prove, that the clause was calculated for the single purpose of soothing one set of men by oppressing another, and that the hawkers and pedlars had formerly been sacrificed to the shopkeepers, so now the news-men were to be sacrificed to the news-paper printers. The additional tax on advertisements he also considered as indiscriminate. It was not the casual advertisers who were to be considered in forming a revenue, but those with whom it constituted a regular expence, as the auctioneers and the booksellers. The latter allotted a certain sum for advertising, according to the price of the book, and, by increasing the charge, government could only oblige them to diminish the number of their advertisements.

An important operation of revenue that falls under the present year, was the removal of the collection of the duty upon tobacco from the customs to the excise. The subject was opened in the house of commons on the sixteenth of June, and Mr. Pitt intro-

duced it by observing, that tobacco was now to be considered as the smuggler's staple, in the same manner as he had formerly dealt in tea, wine and spirits. The quantity of tobacco consumed in this kingdom was found to bear a tolerably near proportion to the quantity of tea, and at least one half of this quantity was the exclusive commodity of the smuggler. The consumption amounted to fourteen millions of pounds, and the loss to the revenue upon the half of this consumption was three or four hundred thousand pounds per annum. Under these circumstances, Mr. Pitt had thought it necessary to adopt an immediate expedient for the suppression of so enormous a fraud, and he had only two alternatives, either to lower the duty so as to deprive the smuggler of all chance of success, or to subject the manufacturers of tobacco to the survey of the excise. The first of these he thought too hazardous an experiment to be ventured upon, while the superior advantages of the latter were obvious. Every one must be aware how much stronger was the check that arose from taking the stock of the dealer, than that of merely collecting the duty upon the importation. The peculiar benefit of this plan had been exemplified in a recent instance in the article of wine, in which, though it had not yet had a fair trial, a great and obvious increase of the legal sale had been obtained.

The idea of an extension of the excise had formerly been in the highest degree unpopular in this country, and had nearly occasioned the ruin of the ministers by whom at different times it had been attempted. It was considered as a maxim of the English constitution, that the house

of every citizen was sacred and could not be entered without his consent, unless he had first made himself amenable to the criminal justice of his country. It was another maxim of our constitution, that every man had a right to be tried by his peers, and that it was in no case allowable that the facts in litigation between any two parties should be decided upon by the officer and representative of the sovereign. Both these maxims were supereded by the system of excise. But the sentiments of the people of England appear to have undergone a certain revolution upon these subjects. The various projects of Mr. Pitt for the purpose of extending the excise, if not positively approved, were contemplated with apathy and indifference; and accordingly the subject of the tobacco bill did not give rise to a regular debate till the question for the third reading on the fifteenth of July. In the mean time petitions were presented from the persons who fell under the new system, and they were permitted to be heard by themselves and their counsel. Their principal allegations consisted of two parts; first, that the introduction of the excise would lead to the disclosure of their mysteries, and to the consequent ruin of their manufacture; and secondly, that the proceedings of the excise, such as gauging and weighing, were from the nature of the commodity altogether inapplicable. Several amendments were introduced in the committee, and one in particular which was intended in a considerable degree to remove the objection of disclosing secrets in the manufacture of snuff. A farther amendment was suggested by sir Watkin Lewes, for the purpose of allowing the manufacturers an appeal

from the decision of the commissioners of excise to a trial by jury. This amendment was opposed by Mr. Bessy, who had formerly exerted himself to obtain the establishment of a similar measure; because, as he acknowledged, the present amendment was so injudiciously expressed, as to enable the smuggler, by bringing his action against the excise officer and all his assistants, to disqualify the persons who were alone able to prove the existence of the fraud from being witnesses upon the trial. The clause was rejected upon a division.

Mr. Fox apologised for not having attended the progress of the business in its earlier stages. From the manner in which the first mention of the bill had been received, he had clearly seen that little effectual opposition could be made against it. One of the members for the borough of Southwark had expressed his surprise, that opposition had omitted so favourable an opportunity of acquiring to themselves popularity. In the opinion of Mr. Fox however, if any such weak and idle motive could influence his public conduct, there was no reason to suppose that the present juncture could be favourable for that purpose. So far from opposition to the measure being popular, he had every reason to believe that the reverse was the fact, and that the people of this country were so changed in their nature and altered in their feelings as to have become as it were enamoured of the collectors of taxes, especially under the excise laws, and with eagerness and complacence to invite the most wanton exercises of power. He exclaimed against the unreasonableness of the members particularly interested in the present question.

tion, who expected on every occasion, when the instructions of their constituents or some personal motives to themselves induced them to the measures of the minister proposed, that he and those who sided with him would be at their command and ready to act as the actual adversary of the existing government. What was this but to

"We have raised one man to a degree of power, which makes all opposition useless; by our false claims against you and our delusions respecting him, we have taught the public to look upon him as something more than man. Hence his measures, however mischievous, however fatal, are scarcely to be resisted; to remember it is your province to take care that he does no harm, and to sound the alarm whenever danger shall appear to lurk under plausible and specious pretences."

Mr. Fox proceeded to examine the principle of the measure. He had been told that the excise upon wines had proved successful, but, if it were ever so successful, he would still be the adversary of that measure. He had opposed it, and would oppose every extension of the excise laws, because he was convinced they were a system of laws under which no freeman ought to live, and were utterly incompatible with the principles of just and equal government. He was aware, that, with some men, an increase of revenue outweighed every other consideration. His own opinion was different, and, however old fashioned it might be, he gloried in saying, that, if the excise on tobacco would bring in half a million a year, he would still oppose it. It was the infringement upon our liberties and constitution, hitherto regarded as in-

estimable, that he resisted, and which he foresaw would fall a sacrifice to considerations of revenue. He however understood from persons who might be supposed best acquainted with the subject, that the present bill was likely to diminish the produce of the duty, and essentially to wound the trade from which it was derived. He adverted to the different attempts that had been made for extending the excise, and applauded the conduct of sir Robert Walpole, who, however traduced, had in his opinion been a wise minister for this country, in relinquishing the scheme he had formed. The next undertaking of a similar nature had been the excise upon cyder in the administration of the earl of Bute. Upon that occasion a distinction had been made by the opponents of the minister, and it was said, that the excise upon cyder brought the officers of the revenue into the house of the private gentleman. Mr. Fox saw no force in this distinction. The shop of the trader was as much his castle, as the mansion of a man of family and fortune. He could perceive no reason, why the benefit of a trial by jury should be confined to the comparatively idle, and denied to those who were employed in manufacture and trade.

Mr. Fox ascribed the success of this and similar attempts, to the apathy of the people in general, and their indifference to the application of the excise laws in any particular instance. If the tobaccoist, when he saw the wine-merchant excised, stood by, and said, Let him be the sufferer, so that I remain free, he scarcely deserved to be assisted when the case became his own. Other trades, that perhaps as little expected such an event, would, he had no doubt,

doubt, be soon called upon to stand in a similar situation. He declared that he had come down to the house upon that day, not so much with any hope of successfully opposing the bill, as with a view to enter his general protest against a scheme which he completely disapproved. The measure seemed little to interest the public in general; and, if parliament would not attend their duty, and the nation abandoned it, he saw no prospect of stemming the tide. It seemed as if liberty and a free constitution were merely talked of and not felt; as if they were words only fit to decorate a speech in parliament; a beautiful theory, but no longer compatible with practice or fit for enjoyment. Standing as we did, the first country for literature, for science, and all which could improve and adorn mankind, it must mortify every man, who admired the freedom of our constitution and the equality of our laws, that the sources of our eminence should be so completely and irremediably forgotten.

Mr. Grenville in the absence of Mr. Pitt from indisposition replied to Mr. Fox. They had been told, that they ought not for the sake of revenue to sacrifice liberty and the constitution. To that sentiment he was persuaded there was not a member in the house, or a citizen of the country, that would not cordially subscribe. But how did this principle apply to the present subject? The excise laws, they all knew, had been promoted and passed in the best periods of our history, and when the greatest characters that ever dignified a country had adorned our annals: and yet none of these men had ever thought it incumbent upon them generally to oppose the system of excise, as a system under which

no freeman ought to be placed. Mr. Fox's argument, if it proved any thing, proved that the whole ought to be abandoned; and then why did not he come forward and say, "Under the excise laws it is true we gain six millions of revenue, and I admit that national bankruptcy would follow if those six millions were abandoned. But we must not sacrifice constitution to revenue, and therefore I am bound to propose the repeal of the whole system." Mr. Grenville called to the recollection of the house the situation in which an honest and conscientious trader was placed by the existing laws. He must either carry on the manufacture with scrupulous integrity, though he could scarcely live by it, or he must resolutely plunge into those enormous frauds that enabled other men to drive him out of the market. Notwithstanding these arguments he would however acknowledge, that, if the project could truly be shown to be dangerous to the liberties of the people, he would have refused it his concurrence. But was it dangerous? Undoubtedly not. They only proposed to put three thousand people more under the excise laws than were under them before, and to have recourse to that which in a different form had existed for along series of years without the smallest injury to our liberty or our constitution. Mr. Dundas expressed his regret, that Mr. Fox had taken so much pains to decry the system of excise, since he was of opinion that, whenever at any future period a capital addition to the revenue should be wanted, it could only be obtained by recurring to an extension of the excise. The house divided upon the question for a third reading, ayes 70, noes 20.

In the house of lords the bill was
condemned by lord Stormont.
The present measure, he said, had
originated from the project of sir
Robert Walpole, which had been
rejected by the resolute resistance of
the people of England. That pro-
ject however was accompanied with
an alleviating circumstance, the right
of appeal from the commissioners of
excise to the judges, not the smallest
of which was to be found in
the present bill. The authors of
the system now under discussion,
were so egregiously mistaken in the
supposition, that they had found them-
selves, in the progress of the bill
through the house of commons,
obliged altogether to abandon their
original design, that of allowing the
excise to take stock during the pro-
cesses of the manufacture. These
original mistakes, and the subsequent
improvements that had been endeav-
oured to be made, had rendered
the bill one mass of inconsistency,
obscurity and contradiction. It
was impossible that its provisions
could be carried into execution. It
was impossible by any process of al-
teration and amendment to reduce
the law into a uniform and practi-
cable system. Lord Thurlow ex-
pressed himself in terms of high
commendation of the objections and
reasonings of lord Stormont, and
declared that they were such, as he
doubted would leave a lasting impres-
sion on the minds of the house. He
could not consent to the bill's proceed-
ing to the stage in which it was usual
to investigate its clauses, though he
must confess himself totally unable
to refute the cogent arguments they
had heard. Lord Thurlow defended
the general principle of the bill.
When the minister had formed the
idea of putting an end to the il-

licit trade in tobacco, he could not
think he was to be blamed for leav-
ing the duties as he found them,
and not reducing them to an in-
ferior rate; and he conceived, that,
thus circumstanced, there were per-
haps no means that could be ade-
quate to the end proposed, but that
of subjecting the commodity to the
survey of the excise. Approving
however of the principle of the bill,
he thought very differently of its
clauses and provisions. He admitted
that the first lord of the treasury
ought not to be made accountable
for the inaccuracies of the present
law, and he declared, that, in his
opinion, the man who was qualified
to draw a revenue bill of this de-
scription, was unfit to be the first
minister of a great country. The
minutiae of regulation were neces-
sarily left to subordinate characters.
Bills of this sort were carelessly
drawn by persons, who religiously
adhered to certain phrases which
they applied indiscriminately to all
cases; persons who could write, but
could not read; and it was always
necessary that what they had drawn
should be carefully and laboriously
corrected by others. He strongly
objected to the clause, which em-
powered the exciseman to enter
without a constable into the ware-
houses and laboratories of the ma-
nufacturer. Nor did he care for the
argument, that the law was functioned
by the uniform practice of the
excise laws since the reign of queen
Anne. Had it been observed with-
out interruption from the conquest,
he should oppose it; no length of
time could change oppression into
justice, nor could any consideration
on earth induce him to consent to a
bill which might endanger the se-
crets of trade. The duke of Rich-
mond

mond adopted a part of the reasoning of lord Thurlow, and declared, that, though he approved the general design of the measure, he should hold himself bound, if this part of the bill were unaltered, to give his negative to the whole. In discussing the individual clauses, lord Thurlow moved an amendment, which he stated to be necessary in order to render a part of the bill conformable to the intention of its authors, which was rejected upon a division. The duke of Leeds moved an amendment of a similar design to another part of the bill, which was at first received, but afterwards obliged to be withdrawn, the bill being of a nature in which the commons allowed the lords to make no alterations.

Mr. Sheridan brought forward his promised motion for a committee to enquire into the state of the finances on the tenth of July. He apologised for the lateness of the period which he had taken for submitting to the house so important a discussion, a circumstance which, he said, was entirely ascribable to Mr. Pitt, who, according to his usual custom, had deferred opening the budget till a period of the session, which he had thought likely to render any subsequent examination of his statements impracticable. Mr. Sheridan did not propose the present measure, because he thought the result of the enquiry would afford cause for despondence. He did not mean to ascribe the least blame to the minister for endeavouring to begin the liquidation of the public debt in 1786; what he blamed was, that, when he came to wind up the expences of the war, he had not had fortitude and candour enough to state the account fairly. At the end of a war, which,

though expensive and partly unsuccessful, had been glorious; which had exhibited us contending against the united force of France, Spain, and Holland, repelling their attacks and scattering their fleets, the intrepidity and patriotism of the people would have been equal to the demands of their situation; they would have submitted to the taxes necessary to the maintaining a proper peace establishment, the paying the interest of the debt, and providing a surplus for its gradual liquidation. But, when they found, after having been told that there was such a surplus, and after six years of profuse peace, that instead of reducing their expences, they must bear new taxes to pay the interest of fresh loans, they must lose all confidence in the minister, in whom their confidence had been gratuitous and unbounded; they must lose all confidence in their own representatives, and look upon themselves as meant only to be deceived and oppressed. Mr. Sheridan asked, supposing a change of administration had taken place upon any occasion, when, as they all recollected, it was generally expected what would have been the effect of this deception? Mr. Pitt, it would have been echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other, kept up public credit, and provided a surplus; these men borrow money, impose taxes, and dissipate the revenue by anticipation.

Mr. Sheridan undertook to demonstrate four propositions. That the report of the committee of 1786 did not appear to be founded in fact or verified by experiment: that for the three last years the expenditures had exceeded the income to the amount of two millions, and might be expected to do so for three years

come: that no progress had hitherto been made in the reduction of the national debt: and that there was no ground for rational expectation that any progress could be made for this purpose, without a considerable increase of the annual income and reduction of the expenditure. Pitt had stated the actual amount of the revenue to be greater than the estimate given in the report of the committee. The ground upon which this statement was built, was the average of the produce of the years 1787 and 1788. But, if they were to take an average of two years only, the year preceding and the year following the commercial treaty would have afforded a proper basis; because, as much as the customs were injured by the expectation of the treaty in the one year, so much would they naturally be increased in the year immediately following. If on the other hand the average of the three last years were to be taken, the produce of the revenue would be found to fall short of the calculation of the committee by the sum of 200,000*l.* This deficiency was not to be considered as the whole. The committee calculated on the taxes at that time subsisting; and since that time many open and much greater clandestine additions had been made to them. The amount of these additions Mr. Sheridan calculated at 200,000*l.* which sum, he contended, was to be considered as a defalcation from the produce of the permanent taxes. He added, that the whole annual produce of all the taxes, including the land and malt tax, was estimated by the committee; and if this were added to the 200,000*l.* upon which the commit-

tee did not calculate, their calculation would appear to be erroneous by about 500,000*l.* Mr. Sheridan indulged in a digression upon what he styled the uniform practice of the chancellor of the exchequer, to bring forward his tax bills at a period of the session, when he was sure they could not be properly investigated. If this had arisen from honest idleness, there would be some excuse; but it proceeded from design, and the end was obvious. He had himself enquired why the minister was so dilatory, and had been told by one of his friends, that it was not procrastination and indolence, but that he waited till members were gone into the country. All Mr. Pitt's revenue bills were unconnected, disjointed and desultory; for, if they were not so when first brought in, they had so many things altered, amended and added before they went through, that the original was hardly to be traced. He was at as much pains to make laws so as to escape observation, as the smugglers were to elude the efficacy of his laws. The suspension of acts of parliament by the lords of the treasury was now thought a trivial matter, but was indeed a very serious evil. Independently of the extent to which the practice, once sanctioned by a sort of prescription, might be carried, it was surely sufficiently mischievous to teach the people to distrust their representatives, to consider the legislature as their tyrant and oppressor, and to look up for every act of grace or favour to the crown.

Mr. Sheridan proceeded in the same manner as he had done with the revenue, to take an average of the expenditure for the three last years, and stated it as amounting to 15,930,000*l.* Of the various articles

articles composing this sum, the only one in which a reduction appeared probable was that of miscellaneous services. This on the same average was 649,000 l. per annum. Did it seem likely that it would ever fall so low as 74,000 l., the sum at which it was stated by the committee? Mr. Sheridan recapitulated the various items that composed this article, and asked which of them was likely to diminish for several years to come. Would not the growing members of the royal family, some of them stand in need of separate establishments, and some of them be disposed of in marriage? Would the salary to the secretary to the commissioners for reducing the national debt cease? Were the claims of the American loyalists liquidated? Was the expence of Botany Bay at an end? Had the duke of Richmond no more powder mills to buy, and no more forts to build? It was to be observed, that, of the three years upon which he had calculated the whole public expenditure, the second exceeded the first, and the third the second. To this was to be added the increase of the navy debt, which had been suffered to multiply, after every profession that it should never exceed the sum stated by the committee. If to the average expenditure and one third of the increased navy debt were to be added the sum issued to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, the whole annual expenditure would be found to amount to 17,144,000 l. exceeding the average income by 1,940,000 l. Such was our present situation. The expence of the current year was something above this estimate, that of the next could not be expected to be less. Mr. Sheridan observed,

that we could never hope to be upon a level, till we reduced the amount of the miscellaneous services to 74,000 l. per annum, which could not be done for less than two millions; and, if this were added to the two millions deficiency, to the exceedings of the navy, army and ordnance, and to the increased national debt, it would produce a sum of less than twelve millions actually expended in five years beyond the annual income.

Mr. Sheridan repeated the arguments he had formerly employed to prove, that we had made no progress in reducing the national debt, and that by loans and anticipations we had borrowed as much money on one side as we had paid off on the other. It had been urged, that it was unfair in the account of the loans, to include the tontine of the present year. This Mr. Sheridan would readily admit, if Mr. Pitt would assure him that a similar loan would not be demanded in the ensuing year. But Mr. Pitt could not pledge himself to any such promise, since he knew too well that inevitable necessity would compel a repetition of the present measure. Mr. Sheridan did not blame the industry of the minister in endeavouring to pay off the national debt; but he blamed the principle that was adopted by him in the pursuit of that object. The national debt was an intolerable weight upon the constitution; every hundred pounds of it was a perpetual mortgage in the hands of the crown, capable of being perverted to the most corrupt purposes of influence and oppression, and therefore he would sacrifice much to be relieved from it. But, inestimable as was this object, he could not consent for the sake of it, to

private dwelling houses to the intrusion of an excise officer, to deprive the subject of trial by

Were these matters of indifference to him in every other respect, regard for commerce, the great source of revenue, would deter him from having recourse to such means of increasing it. When we consider of the trade of this country the inexhaustible resources it affords as the main props of our wealth, we mistook the effect for the cause. To our constitution and the confidence of every man in the success of his own industry and exertions which it inspired, were indebted for our trade, and not our trade for our constitution. Among the sources of revenue which Mr. Sheridan condemned, he also condemned the expedient of a lottery. However the revenue might be benefited by it, the people were sure to lose both in their morals and their industry. What was lost by the lottery, was in fact a loss to the public, and this was of consequence to be considered as so pernicious a mode of raising money, that it ought never to be resorted to but in cases of the greatest necessity. Mr. Sheridan concluded with observing, that he should move no resolutions upon articles he had stated, but proposed to refer them to a select committee of independent members, who were neither in office nor candidates for office. He intended no reflection on the former committee; but he could not think it creditable to the minister to have his statement of the finances examined and approved by a committee of his own friends. He accordingly proposed the names of fifteen persons, whom he had not personally consulted, but who, he was persuaded, would be ready to bestow

a little of their time upon so important an enquiry. Eight of them were persons who usually voted with the minister, and by their decision in all he had said he was ready to abide.

Mr. Grenville desired to remind Mr. Sheridan, that, in balance against the improvements of the revenue which had been made since 1786, there ought to have been taken into the account the deficiencies which had been created by the alteration of tax bills for the sake of public accommodation; in particular one in the horse tax in favour of a most meritorious description of men, the farmers; and another by the regulations of the distillery. Having treated the subject at considerable length, Mr. Grenville said, that he asked not now for the indulgence, but claimed the justice of the house, while he desired them not to countenance a measure, which was founded in supposing the falshood of those calculations that he had proved to them to be true. Mr. Pitt expressed similar sentiments. He said there was no question between him and Mr. Sheridan, that could not that night be decided by the house with just as much propriety, as it could be decided by a committee. No taunting language therefore that could be used, no invective or defiance that might be thrown out, should induce him to consent to the appointment of a committee, which he conceived could be productive of no possible benefit to the public. Mr. Fox enforced the arguments of Mr. Sheridan, and spoke with great commendation of the sentiments he had expressed relatively to the injurious operation of the national debt; but added, that he was not like him prepared to object to lotteries as a source

source of revenue. Mr. Sheridan's motion was rejected without a division. Lord Rawdon brought forward a discussion in the house of lords, similar to that of Mr. Sheridan in the house of commons.

The only remaining topic of the present session was a discussion, first introduced in the house of commons on the sixth of July, relatively to an application that had been made to ministers by the French government, to permit the exportation of twenty thousand sacks of flour, in order to relieve the inhabitants of that country in the extreme scarcity under which they laboured. Mr. Pulteney having proposed a question to the minister upon the subject, Mr. Pitt replied that the application was such, as did not upon a cursory view appear unfit to be complied with; but that government had not yet been able sufficiently to digest their enquiries upon the subject, and that, when they had, they would offer the result to the consideration of the house. Mr. Orde and Mr. Windham lamented that the topic had been at all mentioned in that public manner. It might lead to very great inconvenience, and the price of corn might suddenly rise so as to produce all the effects of a scarcity at home. They wished government had done whatever to them appeared proper, and had afterwards come to parliament for a bill of indemnity. As the subject appeared to be of such a nature as by no means to admit of suspense, Mr. Pitt on the following day presented the minutes of the examination taken by the privy council, and named a committee of fifteen persons to take the question into their consideration. The committee retired for a short time, and then came to a resolution, that, from a

comparative view of the price of wheat and flour in France and England, twenty thousand sacks of flour ought not to be exported.

About a fortnight later the subject was revived by Mr. Windham who alluded to the riots that had taken place at Rouen and elsewhere on account of the scarcity of flour, and desired to know whether, at the time which had elapsed, the distress in France might have been alleviated, and our prospects of peace might have improved, there was not be a propriety in taking the subject once again into consideration. Mr. Courtenay alluded to the spirit of liberty that had lately been manifested in the neighbouring countries, and conceived that it would be highly becoming in us to display humanity towards them in such a situation, especially as the quantity of flour they demanded amounted to only one day's consumption for the country. It was answered on the part of administration, that the prospect of our harvests was diminishing rather than increased since the last enquiry, and that twenty thousand sacks was not a day's consumption, but the subsistence of a whole year to the people of England.

The session of parliament was concluded on the eleventh of August by a speech delivered by the lord chancellor in the name of the sovereign, in which it was observed, that, through the good offices of himself and his allies had not hitherto been successful for restoring the general tranquillity of Europe, the king had the satisfaction of seeing, that the further extension of hostilities had been prevented, and that the situation of affairs continued to promise to the country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace.

P R I N C I P A L
C C U R R E N C E S

In the Year 1789.

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PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1789.

JANUARY.

On Tuesday, December the 16th, the house of commons, in a committee of the whole, passed the two following resolutions; the first unanimously, the second by a majority of 268 to 204.

That it is the opinion of this committee, that his majesty is prevented by indisposition from coming to his parliament, and from attending to public business; and that the personal exercise of the royal authority is thereby, for the present, interrupted.

That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the right and duty of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain now assembled, and lawfully, and freely representing all estates of the people of this kingdom, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's said indisposition, in such manner as the exigency of the case may appear to require.

They had likewise adjourned to a future day, the consideration of the following resolution.

Resolved, that for this purpose, and for maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the king, it is necessary that the said lords and commons should determine on the manner whereby the royal assent may be given in parliament to such bills as may be passed by the two houses

of parliament, respecting the exercise of the powers and authorities of the crown, in the name and on the behalf of the king, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition.

In consequence of the second resolution being carried, as above stated, a court of common council for the city of London was held at Guildhall, on Thursday the 18th; when Mr. Dornford rose, and prefaced an intended motion by observing, that he thought too early an approbation could not be obtained, of the chancellor of the exchequer and the majority of the house of commons on the preceding Tuesday.

He therefore moved, "That the thanks of the court be given to the right hon. W. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer, and the 267 worthy members of the honourable house of commons, for their strenuous support of the important rights of the lords and commons of this realm, to provide the means of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, arising from his majesty's indisposition." Mr. sheriff Curtis seconded the motion, which was likewise supported by sir Benjamin Hammet, sir Watkin Lewes, Mr. deputy Birch, Mr. deputy White, and Mr. Box. On the other hand, it was warmly opposed by the aldermen Newnham, Sawbridge, Pickett, Newman, and Skinner, Mr. deputy Thorpe, and Mr. Goodbehere. — The recorder being in his place as the law officer of the city, delivered

his sentiment; in which he disapproved of the decision of the house of commons, and consequently of the vote of thanks proposed. This, however, was finally carried; the numbers being, for Mr Dornford's motion, 7 aldermen and 45 commoners; and against it, 5 aldermen and 21 commoners.

On Monday the 22d a wardmote was held for the ward of Billingsgate, when the thanks of the ward were unanimously voted to Josiah Dornford, esq. one of the representatives of the said ward, for the motion which he had made in the preceding court of common council.

On Wednesday the 24th, at a wardmote held at Leatherfeller's Hall, the following motion was made and carried, viz.

"That at this important crisis, when the great council of the nation is deliberating upon the means of calling upon the Heir Apparent to take upon himself, as of right or otherwise, the legal and constitutional exercise of the powers of the crown, during the much lamented affliction of the sovereign, it is the duty, as well of bodies corporate as of individual subjects, to wait the final result of such deliberations; and that all corporate attempts to publish resolves and declarations, upon a subject of such magnitude and intricacy, are premature, highly improper, and ought to be resisted by all good citizens."

And, on Monday, the 29th, at a wardmote held for the ward of Cripplegate within, the two following resolutions were unanimously carried: viz.

Resolved, "That the safety of the king's person, crown, and his prerogative, can never be so well secured, or so constitutionally trusted in any hands as in those of his two faithful houses of parliament, or in the

person or persons whom they in high wisdom shall think it expedient to appoint for that purpose.

Resolved, "That the thanks of the wardmote be given to the worthy and able members of the court of common council, for their resolution of the 18th of December 1788, whereby the thanks of the city of London were voted to the right hon. William Pitt, and his 267 worthy coadjutors in the house of commons, who in so manly and able a manner defended the rights of the king and of the parliament."

6. A draught for 1000*l.* received in the chamber of Laidlaw, inclosed in the following letter to the prince of Wales's treasurer, addressed to the chamberlain.

"Sir,

"His royal highness the prince of Wales, apprehending that the poverty of the city of London might be subject to some hardship and inconvenience in this inclement season, from the delay of the king's annual bounty arising from the present unfortunate state of his majesty's health, has commanded me to pay 1000*l.* into the chamber of London, to be applied for the relief of the poor, in the same manner that his royal bounty has usually been. I am, Sir, the honour to be, &c.

HENRY L...

7. A remarkable instance of the power of conscience has just occurred. The secretary of the Sun Fire Office received a letter, written in a bold hand, inclosing a bank note of 100*l.* which the writer of the letter requested should be carried to the account of the office, and acknowledged in a morning paper some day the next week of January, which was accordingly done.

12. Thirteen men brought a waggon with a ton of coals from Loughborough in Leicestershire to Carleton-house, as a present to

of Wales. As soon as they emptied into the cellar, Mr. [unclear], clerk of the cellars, gave four guineas, and as soon as [unclear] was informed of it, his highness sent them 20 guineas. [unclear] performed their journey, is 111 miles, in 11 days, and it all the way without any

At a court of common council the city of London, it was unanimously resolved, "That his highness the prince of Wales respectfully requested to accept grateful acknowledgments of court, for his spontaneous and princely beneficence to the poor metropolis, at this inclement [unclear]—a beneficence equally distinguished by the well-timed wisdom of the gift, and the very gracious manner of conferring it."

It was also unanimously resolved, that the thanks be fairly transferred, signed by the town-clerk, presented to his royal highness the prince of Wales by William Curzon, esq. and sir Benjamin Hammet, knight, aldermen, and sheriffs of the city, Mr. Recorder, and Mr. Town-Clerk."

Afterward the town-clerk reported that he had waited upon Mr. [unclear] with the vote of thanks of the council, pursuant to their order of the 10th of December, and that he had received the following letter in answer thereto:

Downing-street, Dec, 20, 1788.

"Sir,
Having had the honour of receiving through your hands, a copy of the resolution of the common council, the 18th instant, I beg the favour of you to take the first opportunity of expressing to the court my grateful acknowledgements for this distinguished mark of their approbation, and of assuring them how much

encouragement and satisfaction I derive from the public declaration of the sentiments of so respectable a body, on an occasion which immediately affects the rights of the lords and commons, and the essential principles of the constitution.

I am, Sir

Your obedient, faithful servant,
W. Rix, esq. W. PITT."

This letter was ordered to be entered in the journals of the court and to be inserted in all the public papers.

14. A severe frost commenced in London, on the 25th of November last, at night, two days before the new moon, with a very gentle E. wind: at eight the next morning the barometer, in London, was at 30.37, and the thermometer at 32. It continued exactly seven weeks, with the wind principally between the N. and E. though it shifted to all points, and was S. the whole of Dec. 31, accompanied with a great fall of snow. On the 5th instant the barometer was remarkably high, being at 30.78, with a gentle N. E. wind; the thermometer 21, at eight in the morning, and did not rise higher than 26, so that this was the coldest day. Yesterday, two days after the full moon, with the wind at E. (the point at which the frost began), a sudden change took place in the state of the atmosphere; for, after much snow during the morning, it began to rain at noon, and the drops froze when they reached the ground: this continued for some time, and, in the evening, there was a general thaw; the barometer 29.13, the thermometer 36, and the wind southerly.

During the frost, the scene upon the Thames, which was frozen quite over below London bridge, exemplified the promptitude with which the people of this country seize on every occasion of profitable traffic.

(A 2)

No

No sooner had the Thames acquired a sufficient consistency, than booths, turn-about, &c. &c. were erected; the puppet-shows, wild beasts, &c. were transported from every adjacent village; while the watermen, that they might draw their usual resources from the water, broke the ice close to the shore, and erected bridges, with toll bars, to make every passenger pay a halfpenny for getting to the ice. One of the suttlings booths had for its sign, "Beer, wine, and spirituous liquors, *without a licence*." A man who sold hot gingerbread had a board, on which was written, "No shop-tax nor window duty." All the adventurers contended in these short attractive sentences for the preference of the company, and the Thames was generally crowded. Two sheep were roasted on the ice, at Fulham, and sold at eight-pence a pound.

Perhaps the breaking up of the fair upon the Thames by the thaw exceeded every idea that could be formed of it, as it was not till after the dusk of the evening that the busy crowd were persuaded of the approach of a thaw. This, however, with the cracking of some ice about eight, made the whole a scene of the most perfect confusion, as men, beasts, booths, turn-about, puppet-shows, &c. &c. were all in motion, and pouring toward the shore on each side. The confluence here was so sudden and impetuous, that the watermen who had formed the toll-bars, over the sides of the river, not being able to maintain their station from the crowd, &c. pulled up the boards; by which a number of persons who could not leap, or were borne down by the press, were souped up to the middle. Happily very little damage was sustained, except the loss of a few hats, handkerchiefs, &c. by the light-fingered gentry, who availed

themselves of the confusion. The difficulty of landing at the stairs above Tower-hill, however, was to the extreme till near ten, occasioned by the crowding of people from the shore, who were attracted by the confusion on the water.

15. The recorder of London with the sheriffs and the town-clerk attended the prince of Wales, at Carleton house, with the unanimous vote of thanks, from the common council of London; in presenting which the recorder thus addressed the prince.

"Sir,

"We have the honour of attending your royal highness, by the direction of the corporation of London, with their most respectful thanks for the princely bounty, which is the subject of the resolution in my hand. I believe I speak truly the sentiments of these gentlemen, as well as my own, in assuring your royal highness, that no charge could have been given to us, which we should have executed with greater pleasure; and we think ourselves peculiarly happy in the honour of presenting to your royal highness, the first public testimony of that respect and veneration from the greatest city in the world to which you are so eminently entitled from every good citizen, and every truly affectionate subject of your royal father. The vote of thanks which we now present, to flatter ourselves, will be the most acceptable, for having passed without one dissenting voice."

The address was then read, to which the prince answered, "That he received with much pleasure the mark of respect from the citizens of London, of whose loyalty and affection he had now a fresh proof; that he should be studious to cultivate their affection, and deserve their esteem."

20. Mrs. Helen Bettenson, of Henooks, in Kent, an opulent maiden lady, lately deceased, among her legacies, has left to the rev. Mr. Hetherington's charity for blind boys 10,000*l.* three per cent. consolidated annuities; to St. Luke's Hospital, the same; to Bromley College, the same; to St. George's Hospital, 500*l.* to Mr. Gregory of Ford's Inn, 200*l.*; to his wife 1*l.* and 20*l.* per annum more, in consideration of taking care of her span greyhound; to all her servants 1*l.* a year for life; to her executors 1000*l.* to erect a monument at Westminster Abbey, with a suitable inscription (which is to be read and approved at a meeting of the Philanthropic Society), for the late Martin Bates, esq. who was president of the Philanthropic Society; all the residue of her estate to earl Stanhope, lord Amhurst, and Multon Lambard, esq. share alike, whom she appoints executors and trustees of her will. A letter from Philadelphia, dated the 1st of October, says, that congress, by a resolution of the 16th of the preceding month, had recommended the several states to pass proper laws for preventing the transportation of convicted malefactors from foreign countries into the United States. The same letters add, that the assembly of Connecticut had passed a law, and another to prevent slave traffic.

A society has lately been instituted in New-York for the purpose of investigating the English language, and discovering the most general principles of pronunciation, so as to lay the foundation of an uniform American tongue. To carry into effect this design, a correspondence is to be opened with the universities of the several states, in order to unite, as far as possible, the opinion of the

literati upon this subject: and a pocket dictionary is soon to be compiled on the least exceptionable principles, and recommended to the use of schools in America.

A silver mine has lately been discovered in Ulster country, near Efopus, North America; the vein appears to be five feet by two: Another silver mine has also been discovered in Conway, Massachusetts.

Halifax, Nov. 11. On Saturday the 1st of this month, the Academy at Windsor was opened by the bishop of Nova Scotia; the magistrates and principal gentlemen of the county of Hants attended, which added much to the solemnity that was observed on an occasion so truly pleasing as the opening of the first public seminary in this province.

The bishop began with prayers, and then delivered a Latin oration, in which he pointed out the many advantages the public would derive from the institution, and severally addressed the magistrates, the tutors, and the students.

He next read over the regulations that were established by the gentleman appointed to undertake the general government of the academy. These regulations are well calculated to preserve order, to enforce diligence in the tutors, and to promote application and improvement in the students. The business of the academy being finished, the magistrates and gentlemen of the county of Hants presented an excellent address to the bishop, to which he returned a suitable answer. (*See Public Papers.*)

25. Lately the question which has long been debated between the public and the farmers of the post-horse duties, was finally determined in the court of king's bench, before lord Kenyon: when it was adjudged,

(A 4)

“ That

"That the hiring a horse for any distance and returning the same day, is not subject to the duty."

27. This month died, at Mr. Ross's, baker, in Picadilly, aged 106, Mrs. Jane Ross, a native of Scotland; she retained her faculties to the last hour, and read with ease the smallest print.

29. At a court of common council, Mr. deputy Birch moved, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince of Wales from this court, immediately upon his appointment to the regency, to condole with him on the melancholy situation of our afflicted sovereign; to congratulate him on his being invested with the government of these realms during the indisposition of his royal father, by the united wisdom of the two houses of parliament; and to express, with the utmost duty and respect to his royal highness, the very high sense which this corporation entertain of the wisdom, zeal, and integrity of his majesty's ministers, to whose vigilance and firmness this country is indebted for its present prosperous and envied situation, and for the timely preservation of its sacred constitution." Mr. Dornford seconded the motion.

Mr. Powell reprobated the measure as premature. He hoped, when every thing was settled and the regency fixed, an address would be produced, in which every voice would unite in promoting a dutiful and loyal one, without engraving upon it any sentiment of party.

The principal speakers for the question were, aldermen Sanderson, Watson, Hammet, Wilkes, and Le Mesurier; messrs. Merry, Parish, Box, Dornford, Bailey, and Dixon. Against it aldermen Newnham, Skinner, Sawbridge, and Pickett;

messrs. Goodbehere, Lecky, Leckoln, Thorpe, Slade, and Turner.

After a long debate, the previous question was put, which was carried by a majority of six; there being for it 10 aldermen and 8 commoners, against it 9 aldermen and 73 commoners.

Florence, Oct. 4. Our city has lately been witness of a very singular phenomenon in the history of literature. A female underwent a public examination before the college of physicians and surgeons, and to the surprise of every one, proved superior to all expectation.

This extraordinary lady is Maria Petrucci Ferretti of Bergamo, who, desirous of rendering herself useful to mankind, and especially to many of her own sex, who often, through perhaps too great modesty, natural to female education, fall victims to their own delicacy, has applied herself with great assiduity to the study of surgery, and in the space of a year she has enabled herself to add to science, to her sex, to our city, and to her country, an honour and advantage, of which in the present manner of bringing up female youth in Europe, it will be difficult to hear of another example. *Il Mercurio Italico.*

FEBRUARY.

1. On the 2d of December the house of assembly of Jamaica voted 1000 guineas, to be laid out in the purchase of an elegant star, ornamented with diamonds, to be presented to prince William Henry, as an humble testimony of the very high respect and esteem that island entertains for his eminent virtues, and the happiness they feel in seeing him amongst them, as well as of the grateful sense they have of the particular attention which his royal highness

els pays to the duties of a pro-
 , which is the support and de-
 of the British empire in gene-
 and of that island in particular.
 hen the committee of the house
 on his royal highness, to re-
 his acceptance of the star, he
 red them in the politest man-
 declared himself unconscious of
 merit that could entitle him to
 a mark of regard, and assured
 he should remember, with pe-
 r pleasure, their sentiments of
 ty, and affection for his person.

A cause was tried in the court
 ing's bench, of great importance
 parish officers. George Deane
 himself to Mr. Beswick of
 esfield for eleven months at the
 of 10 guineas. This contract
 made by the master, with a
 to preclude the servant from
 ing a settlement in the parish.
 he end of eleven months Mr.
 ick paid Dean his wages, and
 him, as he was a good servant,
 might continue with him; but
 agreement was made as to his
 re wages, for the time he should
 e. He continued with him near
 re years without any settlement
 accounts. Being taken ill, he
 ted his master's service, who paid
 his time at the rate of 4s. a week.
 e question in this case was, whe-
 the latter was only a general
 ing, or a continuance of the first
 eement, and therefore a legal
 t to a settlement? This cause
 learnedly argued on both sides.
 e court was of opinion, that it
 a continuance of the original
 tract, on the ground, that, as
 parochial laws were humanely
 med for the protection of the poor,
 ought not to be defeated by any
 ive artifices.

Richard Blandy, a constable, con-
 ed last Michaelmas term of suf-
 ing George Barrington to escape

out of his custody, was sentenced
 by the court of king's bench to be
 imprisoned twelve months in New-
 gate. *He died before the expiration
 of this term. See Vol. ix. p. (273)*

Oxford, Feb. 7. On Wednesday,
 after fifteen days contest, the poll
 was finally closed at Gloucester, for
 a member for that city, in the room
 of sir Charles Barrow, deceased, when
 the numbers were,

For John Pitt, esq. 837

Henry Howard, esq. 836

9. Sailed commodore Cornwallis,
 with the following ships for India,
 viz. Crown, of 64 guns, capt. Corn-
 wallis; Phoenix, of 36, capt. Byron;
 Perseverance, of 36, capt. Smith;
 Atalanta, of 14, capt. Delgarno;
 and Ariel, of 14, lieut. Moorson.

17. His majesty was this day hap-
 pily pronounced to be in a state of
 convalescence.

24. When the ambassadors of
 Tippoo Sultan were taking leave at
 the court of Versailles, they re-
 quested to know what mark of
 friendship from their master would
 be most satisfactory to the king of
 France: on which the king declared,
 "That the liberty of any English
 officers or soldiers who might be still
 detained prisoners in the sultan's
 dominions, and more especially of
 those who had been prisoners with
 M. Suffrein, would be the greatest
 test of regard for his majesty." A
 declaration, which reflects honour
 upon the throne from which it pro-
 ceeded, and which exalts its author
 above the rank of kings! the pro-
 tector of humanity.

It was not, we are informed, the
 intention of the court of France to
 make this interesting request known,
 till it took a happy effect in India.
 The Indian ambassadors gave the
 first public intimation of the re-
 quest: M. Suffrein wrote upon the
 same subject a very strong letter to
 Tippoo,

Tippoo, and orders have been sent to the French governors in India to use every possible influence at the court of Tippoo, to carry a point equally interesting to humanity, and to the police of an enlightened and powerful nation.

It is supposed that the marquis de la Luzerne the present ambassador of France in England, and who, in America, had the honour of rescuing Mr. Apgill from the cruel sentence to which he had been doomed, gave the French ministry the first idea of the request which has been made to Tippoo.

26. The king pronounced perfectly free from complaint.

St James's, Feb. 27. By his majesty's command the physicians report is to be discontinued from this day.

M A R C H.

1. An order has been made by the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, for discontinuing the form of prayer for the recovery of his majesty's health, and for reading, in lieu thereof, a new form of prayer and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the present happy state of his majesty's health. The new form of prayer was read yesterday throughout the cities of London, Westminster, and elsewhere within the bills of mortality; and is to be read in all churches and chapels throughout England and Wales, and the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, as soon as the ministers thereof receive the same: and an order was also made for offering up prayers and thanksgiving for the present happy state of his majesty's health in the several churches, congregations, or assemblies, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.

3. Yesterday the appeal of Mr. Bowes against the judgment of the

ecclesiastical court of Doctors Commons in favour of lady Strathmore was finally heard before the court delegates at Serjeant's Inn Hall when their lordships were pleased to affirm the judgment without hearing the counsel in behalf of lady Strathmore, whereby her ladyship is established in the possession of all her estates.—The sentence pronounced was in substance as follows: "That the said Andrew R. Bowes, being unmindful of his conjugal vow, and not having the fear of God before his eyes, did, on divers days specified in the pleadings in the cause, commit the several acts of cruelty therein mentioned, on the person of lady Strathmore; and did also, on the several other days therein set forth, commit the crime of adultery. The court did therefore order and decree, that the said Andrew R. Bowes and lady Strathmore be divorced and live separate and apart from each other; but that neither of the parties marry during the natural life of the other of them."

4. Yesterday the rehearing of the cause between lady Strathmore and Mr. Bowes, respecting the right of her ladyship to the possession of her estates, which she had made over to herself and children, a few days prior to her marriage with Mr. Bowes, came on before the chancellor at Lincoln's Inn Hall.

After Mr. King, counsel for lady Strathmore, had spoke in support of the former decree made by Mr. Justice Buller, the lord chancellor pronounced judgment; his lordship said the question was, whether a deed of settlement, dated 18th of January, 1777, executed by lady Strathmore, with a view to a marriage with Mr. Gray, and which existed, unknown to Mr. Bowes, on the day he married her ladyship, was void upon the principle of a fraud.

lordship said, there was no pre-
tence to say that this deed was intend-
ed as a fraud on Mr. Gray, be-
cause it was framed with his concu-
rrence; nor could it be deemed fraudu-
lent with respect to Bowes, who had
married her ladyship without any pre-
tence of treaty, but in a very precipi-
tate and extraordinary manner.

On the morality of the case his
lordship said, he should make no ob-
jections; in this respect the parties
seemed to stand upon an equality.
By Strathmore's object appeared
the marriage in general, without
reflection as to the character of
the man who offered himself to her
lordship. She had, however, by this
deed, entertained a thought of taking
care of her estates. This was a lu-
cid interval, and if there was any
reason in madness, his lordship con-
cluded, that this deed was a spark of
understanding. His lordship then
said, he had not the least doubt up-
on the case. The deed in question
was beyond all controversy a valid
subsisting instrument, under
which lady Strathmore had a right
in her estates. His lordship there-
fore ordered the decree of Mr. Jus-
tice Buller to be affirmed. *See Vol.*
p. (19).

The lord president of the coun-
cil, by order of the cabinet, sent cir-
cular letters to the sheriffs of the
several counties, who were ap-
pointed last year, acquainting them,
that it is necessary, they should con-
tinue in office during the Lent Assi-
zes; but that new ones would be
appointed before the commencement
of the summer circuits.

After several adjournments,
from time to time, on account of
the happy prospect of his majesty's
recovery, both houses of parliament
met; when the lord chancellor, in
his majesty's name, addressed them

in a speech, announcing farther
causes for the holding of that parlia-
ment, &c. (*See Public Papers.*)

12. At a court of common coun-
cil, addresses of congratulation were
unanimously voted to their majesties
on the king's happy recovery. On
this occasion the lord mayor having
informed the court, that it was the
wish of the secretary of state, that the
addresses be presented by a com-
mittee, great debates ensued. It was
at last settled, that the sheriffs should
wait upon their majesties at Kew, to
know their pleasure when it should
be presented.

Whitehall, March 14. On the
occasion of his majesty's happy reco-
very from his late illness, which was
announced on Tuesday last at one
o'clock by the discharge of the guns
in the Park and the Tower, the most
general and splendid illuminations
ever remembered were displayed
throughout London and Westminster
in the evening, and the most univer-
sal and heartfelt joy was manifested
by all ranks of his majesty's subjects.

18. At a court of common coun-
cil, the sheriffs reported to the court,
that his majesty had appointed the
next day, at one o'clock, to receive
at Kew the addresses from the hands
of the lord mayor and sheriffs; say-
ing, that as the national business so
pressed upon him, he could not re-
ceive the whole court in the accus-
tomed manner. The court seemed to
be unanimously of opinion to com-
ply with the mode his majesty had
prescribed. And a resolution passed,
accordingly, to that effect. Upon
which Mr. alderman Newnham ob-
served, that as the city of London
had on this occasion consented to de-
part from their ancient mode of pre-
senting their addresses to the king on
the throne by the whole court, he
thought they should pass a resolution,
that

that it might remain on record, that they had not in this instance given up their ancient right. • He then read a motion, as follows — “ That it is the inherent and acknowledged right and privilege of this court to be received by his majesty upon the throne; but they have in compliance with his majesty’s wishes, conveyed by the sheriffs, waved the same without prejudice to their rights.” — This passed unanimously.

19. The lord mayor and the two sheriffs, in their carriages, went in a private manner to Kew, where they presented their addresses to their majesties, separately.

The king and queen received them in the most affable manner, and gave them answers expressing their sense of the affection and loyalty of the city of London.

20. Last Friday the workmen, in new paving the choir of St. George’s Chapel, at Windsor, discovered a decay in the stones which closed up the entrance into the vault where Edward IV. had been deposited. Two of the canons and the surveyor entering the vault, viewed the royal body inclosed in a leaden and a wooden coffin, reduced to a skeleton which measured six feet three inches, the skull reclined to the left or north side, with a quantity of long brown hair which had fallen off it; but no traces of envelope or cere-cloth, nor any rings or other insignia. A liquor covered the bottom of the inner coffin to the depth of about four inches, which, on examination, was found to be only the moisture which had drained from the body. On the king’s coffin lay another of wood, only much decayed, which contained the skeleton of a woman; who from the marks of age about the skull, was supposed to be that of his queen, lady Elizabeth Grey, who died three years after him in confine-

ment at Bermondsey Abbey, and was probably buried with less pomp. The body of his fifth daughter Mary, who died the year before him, and was the only person of his family buried at Windsor, was not in this vault, which, from various circumstances, appeared to have been opened and plundered at some former period. On the walls of the vault was written in chalk, in abbreviated characters of the time, Edward or Edwardus IV. and several names of workmen or assistants at the funeral.

Edward IV. died April 9, 1483, and was buried the 18th following in this chapel, the foundation of which he himself had laid.

21. Last night a fire broke out at Mr. Heath’s in Leicester-street, which entirely consumed the same, damaged the hotel next door, and burnt backwards to Princes-street. In the confusion, a child of Mr. Heath’s had been left in a cradle, and being surrounded by the flames, cried out loud enough to be heard. Mr. Heath ran to its relief, and with difficulty, and not without being scorched in several places, rescued it. This ingenious artist, it is said, has lost by this unfortunate accident property in prints, plates &c. to the value of 200*l*. The great picture of the riots in London, in 1780, and the small one of the death of major Pierfon, both the property of Mr. alderman Boydell, were consumed: but Mr. Heath was lucky enough to save the plates of them on which he has been employed for years.

26. A drawing room this day at St. James’s which was the most brilliant and numerous ever seen, being the first since the king’s indisposition. His majesty came to town in the morning on horseback, and alighted at Buckingham-house, where he saw the queen and princesses in their dresses.

... before they went to St. ...
... es's, and about two o'clock re-
... ed to Kew-house in his travel-
... post-chaise. The queen's dres-
... superb beyond all former prece-
... and was enriched by a display
... diamonds of immense value. She
... the words, 'Long live the king,'
... diamonds — and the same motto,
... gold letters, on a white fatten
... band, was on the cap of almost
... y lady. The dresses were al-
... st uniformly white fatten with
... pe draperies and trains embroi-
... ed and fringed.

30. This evening Mrs. Maxwell,
... Harley-street, Cavendish-square,
... sitting alone by the drawing-
... fire, in expectation of some
... company she had engaged, when the
... ker fell on her apron and set fire
... it. Alarmed at the accident, she
... w toward the stair-case, screaming
... assistance: being met by the
... rler, he endeavoured to extinguish
... flames, which had now commu-
... cated to every part of her dress;
... efforts, however, were ineffect-
... al; for though he finally extin-
... quished the flames, after sustain-
... ing considerable injury himself, the
... unfortunate lady was so much burnt,
... at she expired the next morning.

31. Advice is received this month,
... by the Prince of Wales transport,
... apt. Moore, just returned from New
... outh Wales, that the fleet under
... commodore Phillip, which sailed
... from Portsmouth on the 13th of
... May 1787, had anchored in Bo-
... any Bay on the 26th of January
... 1788. This fleet, which consisted of
... the Sirius and Supply frigates, six
... transports, and three victuallers,
... and on board a military force
... amounting to 212 men, officers in-
... cluded; and the convicts they car-
... ried were 561 men, 192 women,
... and 18 children. Of the marines on-
... ly one was lost, and of the convicts

only twenty-four died in the pas-
... sage.

This month died at Dunwich,
... Suffolk, aged 110, Samuel Rook
... Worrell, a fisherman; he followed
... his employment till within eleven
... years of his death.—At Hundersdorf
... in Germany, aged 104, Philip Seith-
... ner, a common soldier: he had
... served many campaigns against the
... Turks, and retained his faculties till
... the hour of his death.—At Lif-
... bon, a friar, of the convent of St.
... Francis, died in his perfect senses at
... 102 years old; and Donna Margari-
... ta Guiacon left this world in her
... 104th year: she leaves a sister be-
... hind who is 97.

A P R I L.

1. Yesterday 36*l.* was paid into
... the exchequer for the use of the
... public, in consequence of the follow-
... ing note received by the chancellor
... of the exchequer.

"Sir,

"You will herewith receive
... bank notes to the amount of 36*l.*
... which is the property of the nation,
... and which, as an honest man, you
... will be so just as to apply to the use
... of the state in such manner, that the
... nation may not suffer by its having
... been detained from the public trea-
... sury. You are implored to do this
... for the ease of conscience to an ho-
... nest man."

3. A proclamation issued for a
... day of general thanksgiving, on the
... 23d of April, for his majesty's hap-
... py recovery.

7. Came on the election of the
... governor and deputy-governor of
... the bank of England for the year
... ensuing, when Mark Weyland, esq.
... was chosen governor, and Samuel
... Bosanquet, esq. deputy-governor;
... and yesterday came on the election
... of 24 directors, when the following
... gentlemen were chosen:

S. Beach-

S. Beachcroft, T. Boddington, R. Clay, B. Coney, W. Cooke, E. Darell, T. Dea, W. Ewer, D. Giles, J. Harrison, T. S. Jackson, Job Matthew, R. Neave, Jos. Nutt, I. Osborne, E. Payne, G. Peters, C. Puller, T. Raikes, G. Thornton, S. Thornton, J. Witmore, jun. B. Winthrop, M. Yeldham, esqrs.

The following is a state of the ballot:

For the directors, or house list 406

For Mr. alderman Pickett's list 119

Majority for the directors 287

The same day a common hall was held at Guildhall, when it was agreed to present separate addresses of congratulation to their majesties on the king's recovery.

13. Mr. Bacon's famous cast in bronze of the river Thames personified, and surrounded with attributes, was erected toward the north angle of Somerset-square. The figure measures upwards of eight feet; and is nearly a ton and a half in weight: under the right arm is an antique urn, behind which a cornucopia extends to the left side.

14. They write from Philadelphia, that a farmer Sunbury, on the Susquehanna, has lately made two barrels of sweet oil (equal to the present olive oil) out of hickory nuts, by simple expression. One half of the smallest species of these nuts, viz. the shell-bark, yielded by an experiment 30 drops of oil. The oil obtained from these nuts has been used in diet, and from the want of oil of an inferior quality has been burnt in lamps.

15. Her Majesty, accompanied by the princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, went to Covent-garden theatre. On her entering the box, the theatre thundered applause. Her majesty sensibly felt the con-

gratulations. When seated, the ordinary curtain was drawn up, and discovered a splendid drop-scene displaying his majesty's arms superbly emblazoned, having a scroll over it, with the words *Long live the king*, and another underneath, *May the king live for ever*. Two cherubs supported the lower scroll, wearing wreaths of laurel over it. The whole painting was decorated with a rich foliage of roses and myrtle surrounding it. Its unexpected display added considerably to the effect.

The principal singers belonging to the theatre, then came forward, who were joined in the song of *God save the king* by the whole audience, and encored a first, second, and third time; with which her majesty was so impressed, that she shed tears of joy.

20. Lord Petre, accompanied by Sir Henry Englefield and Mr. Farmer, had a conference with the minister at his house in Downing-street, concerning the business which has been some time in agitation to be brought before parliament, for easing the burthen of the English catholics by taking off the double land-tax, &c. See Vol. ix. p. (19).

21. It is no less extraordinary than true, that while the East India company have been annually exporting silver to China, for want of other commodities with which to purchase teas, the Dutch have for years past been carrying on a very lucrative trade in tin from the island of Sumatra, which finds an universal consumption in every part of China. An ingenious gentleman, who was lately in the company's service, has explained this circumstance to the court of directors and the lords of the treasury, who have turned so attentive an ear to him,

the company have already sent
tons of tin by the ships of the
season.

The prince of Wales was among
st to patronize the newly dis-
ed trade in tin to China, which
fair to employ ten thousand
men, who, with their families,
lately in want of bread.

Whitehall, April 25. Thursday
being appointed by his majesty
proclamation to be observed as
of general thanksgiving to
ghty God for the signal inter-
on of his good providence, in
wing from his majesty the late
with which he had been af-
d, his majesty was pleased, for
greater solemnity of the day, to
the cathedral church of St.
accompanied by the queen,
royal highnesses the prince of
es, the duke of York, the
ces royal, the princess Au-
the princess Elizabeth, the
of Gloucester, and the duke
Cumberland, and his highness
William; and attended by
houses of parliament, the great-
ers of state, the judges, and
public officers, to return
ks to God for his great mercies
blessings.

The procession was begun at eight
o'clock in the morning by the house
of commons, in their coaches, fol-
lowed by their speaker, in his state-
coach. Next came the masters in
equerry, the judges, and after them
the peers, in the order of preceden-
cy as they were marshalled by the
gentlemen of arms at Westminster, the
youngest baron going first, and the
chancellor, in his state coach,
closing this part of the procession.
After the peers as were knights
of the collars of their respective
orders.

Afterward came the royal family,

in order of precedence, with their
attendants, escorted by parties of
the royal regiment of horse-guards.

Their majesties set out from the
queen's palace soon after ten o'clock,
in a coach drawn by eight cream-
coloured horses, (in which were al-
so two of the ladies of her majesty's
bed-chamber) followed by their roy-
al highnesses the princesses, and
proceeded through the gate at the
Stable-yard, along Pall-mall, and
through the Strand, amid the loyal
acclamations of a prodigious con-
course of people.

The streets were lined, as far as
Temple-bar, by the brigade of
foot-guards, the grenadier compa-
nies of which were posted in St.
Paul's church, and in the church-
yard, and patrolled by parties of
the royal regiment of horse guards.
The avenues into the streets through
which the procession passed were
guarded by the queen's light dra-
goons. From Temple-bar to the
church the streets were lined by the
artillery company and the militia of
the city; the peace officers attend-
ing both within and without the
city, to preserve order.

At Temple-bar his majesty was
met by the lord mayor in a gown
of crimson velvet, by the sheriffs
in their scarlet gowns, and a depu-
tation from the aldermen and com-
mon-council (being all on horse-
back), when the lord mayor surren-
dered the city sword to his majesty,
who having returned it to him, he
carried it bare-headed before the
king to St. Paul's.

His majesty being come to St.
Paul's was met at the west door by
the peers, the bishop of London,
the dean of St. Paul's (bishop of
Lincoln) the canons residentiary,
and the kings and other officers of
arms, the band of gentlemen pen-
sioners,

sioners and the yeomen of the guard attending.

The sword of state was carried before his majesty by the marquis of Stafford into the choir, where the king and queen placed themselves under a canopy of state, near the west end, opposite to the altar.

The peers had their seats in the area, as a house of lords, and the commons in the stalls. The upper galleries were allotted to the ladies of her majesty's bedchamber the maids of honour, and such other ladies of distinction as attended on this occasion. The foreign ministers were placed in the two lower galleries, next to the throne; and the lord mayor and aldermen in the lower galleries near the altar.

The prayers and litany were read and chanted by the minor canons. The *Te Deum* and anthems composed for the occasion were sung by the choir, who were placed in the organ-loft, and were joined in the chorus, as also in the Psalms, by the charity children, in number about six thousand, who were assembled there previous to their majesties arrival. The communion service was read by the dean and residentiaries, and the sermon preached by the lord bishop of London.

Divine service being ended, their majesties returned with the same state to the queen's palace at about half an hour after three o'clock. The guns in the Tower and in the Park were fired three times, first upon the king's setting out, secondly at the singing of *Te Deum*, and thirdly upon his majesty's return; after which the brigade of foot guards fired a *Feu de Joie* in St. James's Park, being drawn up in the front of the queen's palace.

The public demonstrations of joy and loyalty by the inhabitants of London and Westminster, on the

occasion of his majesty's first appearance in public since his happy recovery, exceeded all expression: yesterday evening the illuminations in all parts of this metropolis passed in splendor and magnificence former exhibitions. *London Gazette*

25. On Friday, the day of the general thanksgiving, the universal and magnificent illuminations took place in the metropolis. The devices, in many parts, expressive of unbounded loyalty, were inconceivably various and beautiful.

27. On Wednesday, at two in the afternoon, an alarming fire was discovered in that beautiful wood known by the name of Brambarff, within a mile of Selby, Yorkshire, occasioned by the negligence of a farmer and his servants in that neighbourhood, who were burning weeds at the foot of the wood. The wind being high, the flames communicated to the low and underwood, and in less than an hour the whole was in a blaze, which raged so furiously, that notwithstanding the water engines belonging to Selby were played for some time, and every other assistance that could be procured, made use of, but twelve the same evening the wood was unfortunately consumed; which is very shocking, many lives were kind enough in assisting to the fire under, have ever since been dangerously ill, occasioned by intense heat, and being afterwards exposed to the cold. The trees in the above wood were supposed to be worth upward of 5000*l*.

30. This month died at Gouthway, near Rippon, Yorkshire, his 100th year, Wm. Proff, who worked as a labourer at Stoupe park till within these ten years. He has left a widow and eight children. — At Cronstadt, aged 111, Madame de Chapelet: she was sister to

en, brigadier in the Russian
into which he entered under
ign of Peter the Great, and
ately at the age of 101 years.
preserved their faculties even
last moments of their lives.

M A Y.

On Wednesday, the Andro-
frigate, captain prince Wil-
Henry, arrived at Portsmouth,
days from Halifax.

Mr. alderman Boydell opened
Shakespeare gallery, in Pall-mall,
public inspection. The exqui-
sities of the greatest drama-
tist that ever existed, are here
displayed with a skill and force of
imitation, in many instances, with
which he himself would certainly
have been delighted.

The artists who contribute to this
gallery are the first in the
country; but those whose labours
are pre-eminent are, sir Joshua
Reynolds, Peters, Opie, West, Fu-
llarton, Hamilton, Northcote,
Grove, and Banks.

The gallery is intended to con-
tain three large rooms; only two
of which are yet open. A very fine
group of an alto relievo, to be
placed in the front of the building by
Banks, is exhibited in the first

It represents Shakespeare
seated on a rock, with Poetry on
his right hand presenting him with
a wreath of bays, while she cele-
brates his praise on her lyre. Her
figure is ornamented with a double
column to shew that she has bestowed
double power of tragedy and
eloquence on her favourite son. On
his left hand is Painting, represent-
ing herself addressing the spectator with
an extended toward Shak-
espeare's breast, pointing him out as
the proper model for her pencil. The
figure of his left hand on her shoul-
der signifies her assistance.

6. On the 10th of March, a lady
had the misfortune at Rome to be
severely burnt, by her clothes tak-
ing fire. To give ease to the tor-
ture she felt, when the flames were
extinguished, a domestic had re-
course to some honey that was at
hand, which not only assuaged the
pain, but in nine days accomplished
a cure.

Whitehall, May 9. The king has
been pleased to grant to the right
hon. James lord Malmesbury, and
his issue, his royal licence and au-
thority, in pursuance of the royal
permission of the king of Prussia,
under his signet and sign manual,
bearing date the 21st day of October
last, to add to the arms of his fa-
mily the Black Eagle of Prussia,
either quarterly, or as one of his
supporters, as a public mark of his
Prussian majesty's esteem and re-
gard, and as a memorial of the sa-
tisfaction he derived from his con-
duct, in the character of his maj-
esty's ambassador extraordinary and
plenipotentiary to the states gen-
eral of the United Provinces, during
the late revolution in that country,
as well as from his services in ce-
menting the union between the two
crowns, by the treaty lately signed
at Loo (such arms being first duly
exemplified according to the laws of
arms.) And the king has been
farther pleased to grant to the said
James lord Malmesbury his royal
licence and authority, in compli-
ance with the request of the prince
of Orange, by letter written with
his own hand, dated the 8th of Oc-
tober last, to take and use the mot-
to of his serene highness's house, *Je
maintiendrai*, in commemoration of
the above mentioned revolution: and
his majesty has also been pleased to
order that this his concession and de-
claration be registered in his college
of arms.

(B)

11. The

11. The statue of his majesty in bronze, was placed on a pedestal in the north angle of Somerset-place. See p. (14).

19. The queen's birth-day, not having been observed as usual, in January, was celebrated this day (the real anniversary) at Windsor.

22. James Robinson, William Robinson, and Richard Brooke, esquires, justices of the peace for the Tower hamlets, were brought up for judgment, for discharging Charles Bannister, William Palmer, &c. who had been committed as rogues and vagabonds, for acting plays, &c. at the Royalty Theatre, and imprisoned 14 days. Mr. Justice Ashurst pronounced the sentence of the court, which was, that each of the defendants should pay a fine of 100l. and be imprisoned till it was paid.

25. The court of King's Bench have very humanely determined, that in binding out parish apprentices it shall be done not only with the assent, but in the presence of two justices of the peace, agreeable to the act of 43d Eliz. The court observed, that the duty of magistrates in binding poor children apprentices, was of a very serious and solemn nature. In the eye of the law, they were their guardians and protectors, as they had no body else to provide for them. The act of putting them out apprentices, was therefore doubtless a judicial act, requiring the concurrent attention and sober deliberation of both the magistrates, who ought to be present for that purpose. The court were impelled by their feelings, and a due concern for the future welfare of poor children, to enforce this duty on the part of justices, otherwise they might conceive it to be of little consequence, and pay only slight attention to that which was of great importance to society.

27. A dispute lately happened between the duke of York, and colonel Lenox (nephew and heir to the duke of Richmond) which terminated yesterday in a duel. The dispute originated in an observation of his royal highness, namely, 'colonel Lenox had heard me spoken to him at the club at Daubigny's, to which no gentleman ought to have submitted.' The observation being reported to the colonel, he took the opportunity while his royal highness was on parade, to address him, desiring to know, what were the words which he had submitted to hear, and whom they were spoken. To his royal highness gave no other answer then, than by ordering the colonel to his post. The parade being over, his royal highness went into the orderly room, and looking for the colonel, intimated to him, in the presence of all the officers, that he desired to derive protection from his rank as a private and his station as commanding officer; but that, when not on duty he wore a brown coat, and was ready, as a private gentleman, to give the colonel satisfaction. After a declaration, colonel Lenox wrote a circular letter to every member of the club at Daubigny's, requesting to know whether any such word had been used to him, and appointing last Monday for an answer to each, their silence to be considered as a declaration that no such word could be recollected. On the expiration of the term limited for answer to his circular letter, the colonel sent a written message to his royal highness, to this purpose: "That not being able to recollect any occasion on which words had been spoken to him at Daubigny's to which a gentleman ought not to submit, he had taken the step which appeared to him the most likely

information of the words to his royal highness had alluded to of the person who had said them; that none of the members of the Club had given him information of any such insult being in their knowledge; and therefore expected, in justice to his character, that his royal highness should contradict the report as publicly as he had asserted it." This letter was delivered to his royal highness on Monday by the earl of Winchelsea, when the answer returned not being satisfactory, a message was sent to his royal highness desiring a meeting, and the time and place were settled that evening.

To preclude the unfounded representations which may be produced respecting this duel, the seconds thought it necessary to give the following authenticated account.

In consequence of a dispute already known to the public, his royal highness the duke of York, attended by lord Rawdon, and lieutenant-colonel Lenox, accompanied the earl of Winchelsea, met at Abledon common. The ground was measured at twelve paces, and the parties were to fire upon a flag agreed upon. The signal being given, lieutenant-colonel Lenox fired, and the ball grazed his royal highness's curl. The duke of York did not fire. Lord Rawdon then interfered, and said, "that he thought enough had been done." Lieutenant-colonel Lenox observed, "that his royal highness had not fired." Lord Rawdon said, "It was the duke's intention to fire; his royal highness had come out to give lieutenant-colonel Lenox's satisfaction, to give him satisfaction, and had no animosity against him." Lieutenant-colonel Lenox pressed the duke of York should fire, which was declined, upon a repetition

of the reason. Lord Winchelsea then went up to the duke of York, and expressed his hope, "That his royal highness could have no objection to say, he considered lieutenant-colonel Lenox as a man of honour and courage." His royal highness replied, "That he should say nothing; he had come out to give lieutenant-colonel Lenox satisfaction, and did not mean to fire at him; if lieutenant-colonel Lenox was not satisfied, he might fire again. Lieutenant-colonel Lenox said, "he could not possibly fire again at the duke, as his royal highness did not mean to fire at him." On this both parties left the ground. The seconds think it proper to add, that both parties behaved with the most perfect coolness and intrepidity.

(Signed) WINCHELSEA.
RAWDON.

30. A general meeting of the subscribers to the association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa, was held at the St. Alban's tavern, when an account of the proceedings of the committee during the past year, and of the interesting intelligence which had been received in the course of it, particularly from the late Mr. Ledyard, was submitted to their consideration. By this intelligence, every doubt is removed of the practicability of the object for which the society was instituted; and as several persons have offered themselves as candidates to succeed the late Mr. Ledyard in the service of the association, there is reason to suppose, that the knowledge already obtained will soon be followed by more extensive discoveries. The committee of the former year, consisting of lord Rawdon, the bishop of Landaff, sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Beaufoy, and Mr. Stuart, were re-chosen.—The late Mr. Ledyard

(B 2) had

had proceeded in the service of the society as far as Grand Cairo, had made an agreement with the conductor of a caravan, and was on the point of taking his departure for Sennaare, when he was seized with an illness which terminated in his death.

3. This month died Mr. Coward, of Arncliffe castle, in Westmoreland. He was 116 years old, and able to read without spectacles.

J U N E.

1. On Thursday col. Lenox made a requisition to the duke of York, as colonel of the Coldstream regiment, that his royal highness would permit a call of the officers of that corps, in order that certain propositions, touching his conduct and situation, might be submitted to their consideration. His royal highness informed the friend of Mr. Lenox, "that he could not possibly oppose any design which might tend to relieve Mr. Lenox from his present embarrassment." The meeting of this military convention was held yesterday at the orderly-room at two o'clock; and after a considerable deliberation, the meeting adjourned over to his day at one; when, after a considerable discussion, the convention came to the following resolution: "It is the opinion of the Coldstream regiment, that, *subsequent* to the 15th of May, the day of the meeting at the orderly-room, lieutenant-colonel Lenox has behaved with courage, but, from the peculiar difficulty of his situation, not with judgment."—*Col. Lenox, soon after, exchanged his company in the duke of York's regiment, for the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the 35th regiment of foot. See p. 18.*

2. The assembly of Jamaica has made an act to give the overseers

twenty shillings a-head for every child they raise to twelve months old in any of the plantations.

3. The king of Prussia, to encourage industry and arts, has given orders for a news-paper to be published monthly, and to be distributed *gratis* to the peasants through Silesia, &c. and has further ordered, that in each district every schoolmaster shall read and explain the contents of the paper to his neighbours as cannot themselves read. It is to contain a journal of the progress of agriculture throughout his dominions; prescriptions for the cure of various disorders incident to mankind, cattle, dogs, &c. &c.

4. His majesty's birth-day, as usual, at St. James's; but his majesty was not present. The court was uncommonly numerous and splendid.

9. His majesty went to the house of peers, the first time since his happy recovery, in order to signify the commons, at the bar of the house, his royal approbation of Mr. Addington, to be their speaker.

10. Yesterday, a very curious experiment was tried, that of proving how far an entire copper vessel would answer the purpose of sailing. Mr. Williams, a joint proprietor of the great copper mines, was the projector; and a very numerous party attended the experiment; among whom were lord Mount Edgemurce, sir John Borlase Warren, &c.

The vessel was launched at Deptford, and promises to answer every purpose for which it was designed.

11. A dreadful fire broke out at the king's theatre, in the Haymarket. The fire began in that part of the house, above the theatre, which is called the fly. They were rehearsing a ballet below; and

notice they had of the mischief the sparks falling upon their

No persons were above at me. These circumstances necessarily give rise to suspicions of a meditated design on the part of incendiary. Five houses in Fleet-lane are entirely destroyed, the stables of the White-horse, Mr. Patence's house in Union, and the Globe public-house, corner of Pall-mall, are very damaged.

Angelo's fencing-room, and the double stair-case to the gallery only remain of the immense

This evening, about a quarter of twelve, the theatre at Manchester discovered to be on fire. So rapid was the flames, that the whole building was entirely burnt to the ground in the space of one hour.

On Wednesday, a general yearly court of proprietors was at the East India-house, Leaden-street, when the dividend for half-year ending Midsummer, was fixed at 8l. per cent.

London, June 25. This morning at a little after seven o'clock, the princess royal, princess Augusta, and princess Elizabeth, with for his royal highness the Duke of Gloucester's lodge at Lyndhurst.

Lyndhurst, June 25. Their majesties and their royal highnesses the princess royal, princess Augusta, princess Elizabeth, arrived this afternoon, soon after three o'clock, in perfect health. — *London.*

Captain M^r Kenzie, who was elected some time ago of shooting a lion from the mouth of a cannon, on the coast of Africa, (but pardoned) lately killed in a duel, by a captain at Naples. See vol. vi. p. (79.)

30. John William Rose, esq. elected recorder of London, in the room of Mr. Adair, who had resigned, and his salary ordered to be 600l. a year. Thanks were voted to the late recorder for his able and upright conduct in that office, with the freedom of the city in a gold box of 100 guineas value; and he was ordered to be retained, with the attorney and solicitor-general, in all causes in which the city was concerned. William Fasson, esq. pleaded his being an officer of the Worcestershire militia, and was excused serving the office of sheriff, and Joseph Ballard, esq. paid his fine, which was 600l. he having stood the election at the common hall.

Oxford, June 30. About four o'clock in the morning, an uncommon shock, attended with a violent rushing noise, was felt at St. Mary Magdalen's college, and on the other side of the water, occasioned, as it afterwards appeared, by the falling of the venerable oak which stood at the entrance into the Water-walk, and had for many ages, by its magnitude and antiquity, attracted the admiration of strangers. Its dimensions were as follows:

In girth — 21 feet 9 inches.

Height — 71 feet 8 inches.

Cubic contents 754 feet.

The capacious trunk, for more than 9 feet from the ground, was reduced to a perfect shell; but upwards the tree seemed to be in full vigour of vegetation, though it had long been kept from falling by two or three roots, scarcely so large as a two-inch cable, and those at last reduced to dust. With such slender support, it is wonderful that it should so long have repelled the storms which at different times have torn up huge elms in the adjacent grove, many generations of which it has seen pass away. Dr. Stake-

(B ?) ley,

ley, in 1724, speaking, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, of Magdalen college, says, "The old oak is yet left, nigh which he [the founder] ordered his college to be built." Now the college was founded in 1458; and we must conclude that a tree had something peculiar in its size or its age, to make it an object of attraction on such an occasion. The founder directed the boundary on the north to be near the *great oak*. But they, who are at all acquainted with our ancient forests, will not think it incredible, that an oak, of sufficient importance to attract William Wyndham's attention, should boast of receiving in its green old age a visit from George the Third. Its antiquity has indeed been ascertained with tolerable accuracy, by the usual method of counting the number of circular lines in the grain, each of which is a mark of annual growth in all species of timber. Hence it appears, that this oak has been increasing for upwards of six centuries.

Philadelphia, April 22. Monday his excellency George Washington, esq. the president elect of the United States, arrived in this city about one o'clock, accompanied by the president of the state, governor St. Clair, the speaker of the assembly, the chief-justice, the hon. Mr. Read, the attorney-general, and secretary Thompson, the two city troops of horse, the county troop, a detachment of artillery, a body of light infantry, and a numerous concourse of citizens on horseback and foot.

His excellency rode on horseback in front of the procession. The number of spectators who filled the doors, windows, and streets, which he passed, was greater than on any other occasion we ever remember. The bells were rung through the day and night, and a *feu de joye* was fired as he moved down Market and

Second-streets to the City Tavern.

The joy of the whole city at this august spectacle cannot easily be described. Every countenance seemed to say, "Long, long live George Washington, the Father of the people!" At three o'clock his excellency sat down to an elegant entertainment of 250 covers at the City Tavern, prepared for him by the citizens of Philadelphia. A band of music played during the entertainment, and a discharge of artillery took place at every toast, and which was, "The state of Virginia." The ship *Alliance*, a Spanish merchant ship, were solemnly decorated with colours of different nations. His excellency, having travelled with great expedition from Mount Vernon, proceeded yesterday morning for New York.

J U L Y.

1. On the 26th ult. a court martial [See Vol. v. p. 11 and (90)] was held at the City Tavern, on col. Debbieg, at the execution of the duke of Richmond. The charges preferred against the colonel were three: 1. An insubordination to his grace, as his superior officer, in writing and sending a letter to his grace, dated March 15, in terms of which were insulting, unbecoming an officer. 2. Causing the said letter to be published in a morning paper on the 3d of April last, thereby spreading the said insult. And, 3. exposing the weakness of his country, he having been employed as a military officer in the defence.

The duke spoke to each of the heads, and exhibited the papers. The colonel saved the court the trouble of proofs, by acknowledging the writing, and authorizing the publication of the said papers.

He desired to be indulged

to make his defence, and wish to have a copy of the comments of his accuser. The court complied, and adjourned to the 19th, when the colonel read his defence to the court. He went at some length into the circumstance of the duty of a British officer to suggest what he thought essential to the safety of his country: that he had done his best to draw the attention of the commander-general of the ordnance to the true system of defence for this island; and, not being able to enforce the notice of the noble duke by private communication, he had written his letter.—He offered the plan which he had suggested for the defence of the harbours to the court; and on consideration, they resolved that the paper was not proper to be received.

The colonel declined calling witnesses, and the court was cleared when the sentence was deliberating.

S E N T E N C E.

Upon due consideration of the whole matter, the sense of each member having been taken upon the several articles distinctly, the court martial is of opinion, that the said Hugh Debbieg is guilty of each of the three articles of charge exhibited against him; and doth adjudge, that he be suspended from pay and promotion, as colonel of the corps of royal engineers, for the space of six calendar months."

His majesty, after expressing his regret that an officer of col. Debbieg's rank and experience should, at so young an age, have lost sight of discipline and subordination, adverted to the lenity of the former sentence, and that his majesty was pleased graciously to attribute to the opinion entertained by the court martial of Debbieg's former services and professional merit. His majesty wished upon the same ground, to have

found an opening for the interposition of his royal clemency; but, in support of good order, and for enforcing a good observance of that deference and respect which officers of an inferior degree owe at all times to those which are superior to them in rank and command, his majesty has thought it necessary to confirm the sentence of the court martial, and to direct that the same, together with his majesty's confirmation thereof, be notified in public order.

By his majesty's command,
(Signed) WM. FAWCET, Adj. Gen.

—His majesty has been pleased not only to grant his most gracious pardon to Mr. David Wardrope, late surgeon of the Phaeton frigate; but also, by an order in council, to direct, that he may be restored to his former rank on the list of surgeons, in the royal navy.—He had been tried by a court martial in the Mediterranean, for striking a lieutenant, and sent home under sentence of death; but it appeared also, that he was subject to occasional fits of insanity, in consequence of a wound in his head, received in the service.

Weymouth. July 1. Their majesties and their royal highnesses the prince of Wales, prince of Augusta, and princess Elizabeth, arrived at Gloucester house, in perfect health, at a little after four o'clock yesterday afternoon. The cannon at Portland castle were soon after fired, which were answered by his majesty's ships in the roads, and by a royal salute from the battery on shore; and in the evening the whole town was very splendidly illuminated.

This day the mayor and corporation waited on their majesties with an address, which was received very graciously.

2. A duel took place in a field near the Uxbridge Road, between lieutenant colonel Lenox, and Theophilus

philus Swift, esq. on account of some reflections on the former, in a pamphlet, entitled "Letter to the king, in which the conduct of Mr. Lenox, and the minister, in the affair with his royal highness the duke of York, is fully considered, by Theophilus Swift, esq."—It being agreed, that the colonel should have the first fire, his shot took place in the body of Mr. Swift, whose pistol went off, in consequence of the shock on receiving the wound.—The parties then quitted the field.

3. Letters from New York, mention, that on the 4th ult. general Washington, president of the United States of America, gave a grand entertainment on account of the recovery of his Britannic majesty from his late dangerous illness. The envoys of England, France, Holland, and Portugal, and persons of the first distinction were present.

4. Lord Malmesbury, late ambassador to the states general in Holland, having obtained leave of his court, to resign that employment, instead of taking personal leave of their High Mightinesses, took occasion to express by letter, his acknowledgments for the favours he received during the time he had the happiness of residing with their high mightinesses, which Mr. Fitzherbert, the new minister, was charged by his majesty to deliver, together with his letter of credence, to the states general of the United Provinces. In the conclusion of this letter his lordship says, "He shall ever esteem this epoch (the period of his embassy) amongst the most happy moments of his life. He has seen, during his mission, peace and good order re-established in the republic; he has seen its ancient constitution revived and fixed; and he has had the glory of being the instrument by which the king his master has chosen to renew, by

a solemn treaty, the union so dear between the two nations.

"This consideration will shed pleasure on the rest of his days; and he will not cease wishing for the glory, welfare, and prosperity of the republic of the United Provinces, as well as for that of the serene House of Orange.

London, July 3. MALMESBURY.

The above having been read, the high mightinesses resolved, that a gold chain and medal, of the value of 6,000 florins of Holland, be presented to lord Malmesbury, as a token of their approbation and friendship; and that another, of 600 florins be presented to his secretary.

9. One Tyne, a taylor, who, last year, killed one Earl, a shoemaker, in a boxing match at Brighthelmston [See Vol. ix. p. (35)], is dead of the bruises he received last Tuesday, in a battle with a tiaman, at Wimbledon.

10. Mr. Williams and family of Bratton school, were alarmed from sleep by a dreadful fire, which burst out from the roof of their house. The consternation occasioned by this event, at such a time, is inexpressible. By the mercy of Providence however, not a single person of nearly fifty was hurt.—Mr. Williams has sustained a heavy loss; but two neighbouring gentlemen have afforded him substantial assistance, one, by accommodating him with a large house at Westbury, for the immediate reception of his scholars; the other, by beginning a subscription with a liberal donation.

11. Came on before lord Kenyon and a special jury, an indictment on the prosecution of the duke of York against Mr. Walter, for publishing, on the 21st of February last, a newspaper, called "The Times," containing two libellous paragraphs

ting on the characters of the
s of York, Gloucester, and
berland, as *insincere* in their
ssions of joy on his majesty's
y recovery. The jury brought
their verdict *Guilty*.

A melancholy affair happen-
ed in Whitechapel: Mr. Tyler, a
man in that street, having appre-
hensions that his next door neigh-
bour, Mr. Edis, of the same trade,
held improper views upon his sister,
warned him of the fatal consequen-
ces that would inevitably attend his
interference in such a conduct, and
gave every assurance that could
be supposed satisfactory on the oc-
casion. Mr. Tyler, however, think-
ing he had reason to mistrust these
assurances, on Saturday evening ex-
changed apartments with his sister.
At the same evening Mr. Edis at-
tempted to enter the window of the
sister, and was instantly shot
by Mr. Tyler.—The coroner's
inquest have brought in their verdict
Guilty.

15. Was tried before lord Ken-
yon an indictment upon the profes-
sion of Mrs. Fitzherbert, against
Rev. Dr. Withers, for publish-
ing a scandalous libel reflecting up-
on her character.

Mr. Eriking said, he had the hon-
our to be acquainted with the lady
and was compelled to this appeal
for the protection of her reputation;
she was a person of the most amiable
character; and had never given
the least provocation for the calum-
ny of which she had been made the
victim. The defendant was a cler-
gyman, who, instead of employing
his time as became his sacred profes-
sion, had devoted it in throwing slan-
ders upon the most honourable and
pious characters. He then stated,
that the defendant had published a
pamphlet, from which he read the
following libellous paragraphs:

"She adopted the stale artifice of
absenting herself for some months;
went to Lorrain, and contracted an
acquaintance with the marquis of
D——, with whom she lived in the
greatest familiarity; the consequence
of this intimacy was, the necessity
of her retiring to Paris, when, by
means of her Scotch toad-eaters, the
scandalous transaction was industri-
ously concealed." This libel purports
to be a letter directed to the defend-
ant. At the word Paris, there is an
asterisk, and at the place, to which
it refers, nearly the following words:
"Does the author mean to insinuate
that Lorrain was unable to provide
a midwife, and the other necessaries
to carry into execution the divine
command—*increase and multiply*?"

Lord Kenyon lamented, that the
most exalted virtue was no shield
against calumny; and desired the
jury, if they were not satisfied about
the meaning of the libel, to take
the pamphlet out of court, and to
consider it deliberately.

The jury immediately found the
defendant guilty.

16. Advice is received from Paris,
of a great revolution in France, the
capture of the Bastille, and the exe-
cution of the governor of that for-
tress, and other obnoxious persons,
by the populace. Among the un-
happy persons who owed their eman-
cipation from imprisonment to this
wonderful revolution, was the earl
of Massarene, of Ireland, who, in
consequence of considerable debts,
contracted in France, through the
artifices of some needy adventurers,
had been imprisoned many years in
the Chatelet. The natural love of
liberty led his lordship to lay a plan
for his escape; but the carriage,
which was waiting for his reception,
was kept so long hovering about the
prison, that it caused suspicion
among the gaol-keepers. His lord-
ship

ship was apprehended as he was entering the carriage, and immediately sent into a dungeon many feet below the surface of the Seine, upon which the Chatelet is built. He remained there in such a state of wretchedness, that his beard grew to a most immoderate length, and rendered him a most striking picture of the vicissitudes of human life. He had nearly been stopped at Calais on his way to Dover. He was with two other gentlemen, his companions in misfortunes, and being all extremely mean and shabbily dressed, were suspected for bad persons, and no one seemed desirous to embark in the Packet with them. He was at length obliged to declare himself. On landing at Dover, his lordship was the first to jump out of the boat, and in the fullness of his joy, and in gratitude to Heaven for his deliverance, immediately fell on his knees, and kissing the ground thrice, exclaimed, "God bless this land of liberty." *See the Marriages.*

31. At Winchester assizes, came on before judge Buller and a special jury, an interesting cause between Dr. Farr, of Plymouth and Mr. Hickes, an attorney at Lynton.

Mr. Erskine, the doctor's counsel, claimed an estate for him, as heir at law to the late Mr. Dale. He was aware, however, that a will in favour of the defendant, would be produced, which had been subscribed by the testator, in the presence of three witnesses; and he admitted that he was in possession of no evidence to shew that Mr. Dale was insane, or incapable of making a will; but he had no doubt, when the will came to be proved by the defendant's counsel, it would appear plainly, from the inconsistency of the will itself, and from the examination of the subscribing wit-

nesses, though they were the creatures of Mr. Hickes, that in the fiduciary clause, by which he took the estates, he had put in his own name instead of Dr. Farr's, and thereby imposed on Mr. Dale. He should call but one witness, who, though perfectly honest and disinterested, was so timorous and nervous, that he would not state his testimony; he wished the jury to hear her with indulgence, and he would apply it to the cause by proper observation, in due season. Mr. Erskine then sat down, and the witness, who appeared afterwards to be a natural daughter of the deceased and a legatee of one thousand pounds, under the will, swore. That about ten days before Mr. Dale's death, Mr. Hickes came to Chesson, and told the witness old Mr. Dale was going to provide for her by his will: that he was afterwards two hours with the testator, who gave the witness the will, to put in a drawer, and gave her the key. That Mr. Hickes, when he was home, desired her to see that Mr. Dale did not go to the drawer, and next day asked if he had been there; that the will was then executed in the presence of the three witnesses brought by Mr. Hickes, but was not read over to Mr. Dale. The witness on her cross-examination was more firm and recollected than on her first.

Mr. Morris, counsel for the defendant, then expressed his astonishment, that a gentleman of his friend's rank and experience, should set off from London with such a case, and offer it to a jury of gentlemen, to overturn a will, admitted by her to be duly executed; by a woman half a fool, swearing to a few loose disjointed expressions, which amounted to nothing like evidence. He expatiated on the danger of so over-

ing a will; and then called the subscribing witnesses, who swore, that the will lay open before the testator, who signed it in their presence, and asked them to read it.

On cross-examination, they said it was not read to Mr. Dale; that when they subscribed the will they did not know that Mr. Hickes had written it under it. The will was in Mr. Hickes's hand, and nobody was called to shew when he took the will.

Mr. Erskine replied. His argument was principally pointed to shew the impossibility of any man, who was acting honestly, conducting himself as Mr. Hickes had conducted himself: and said he did not ask for a verdict, if the judge did not condemn him, in saying that it was the strongest sort of proof.

The judge after summing up the evidence observed, That the formal execution of the will was very strong for the defendant; but his conduct was strong against him.

The jury after retiring, brought their verdict for Dr. Farr, by which he recovers all the real estates of the deceased.

AUGUST.

Exeter, August 13. Their majesties, and their royal highnesses the princesses, having set out from Weymouth at eight o'clock this morning, arrived at the Deanery at nine o'clock this evening, in perfect health. *Gaz.*

Saltram, near Plymouth, August 15. This morning, about nine o'clock, their majesties, and their royal highnesses the princesses, set out from Exeter, and arrived at this seat in perfect health, at half after three this afternoon. *Id.*

18. At the last Lent assizes for the county of Northampton, Wini-

fred Gordon, and her son Thomas Gordon, were convicted of murder. Their case is thus related: Mr. Gordon, surgeon and apothecary, of London, retired into that county, with his wife and son. The father, continuing to follow his profession, which was that of a surgeon and apothecary, became obnoxious, for no other reason than that the country people considered them as foreigners, as not being born in the county. There were frequently little quarrels between the neighbours and them, till at last a justice's warrant was obtained for a supposed assault by the father. The constable came to their house to take the father on the warrant; the mother and son told the constable that he was not at home, which the constable knew was not true. He went away, and returned in a short time with some other people, who going to make a forcible entry, the mother and son with a gun opposed them; after a stone was flung at the windows, the mother said to the son, Fire, fire! which he instantly did, and killed the constable on the spot. Being both found guilty a case was reserved for the opinion of the judges. The case of the son was, whether it was necessary to prove the appointment of the constable on the trial; for, if he had not been constable, it would have been justifiable homicide? The judges were of opinion against the son. The case of the mother was, that she being indicted as accessory before the fact, the evidence turning out that she was principal, the judge had doubts whether she was properly convicted. The case was argued before the twelve judges last term, who were of opinion that the indictment was bad.

At the last assizes, Mr. baron Hotham, before he left the town, respite the execution till Monday, August

gust 3, in order that he might have an opportunity of applying to the throne for mercy. Great interest was accordingly made for him; his majesty, in the most gracious manner, granted a second respite and was greatly inclined to pardon him. — In the sequel, however, it was not judged expedient to grant a pardon, and the unhappy youth was executed yesterday.

19. In Germany an excellent and cheap dye has been invented by Wogler, adapted to woollen and cotton manufactures. It consists simply of the seeds of the red trefoil, a plant very common in this country, and employed to feed horses and cattle. A decoction of these seeds is mixed with different mineral substances, and the dyes produced are very beautiful, and of a great variety. Among these are yellows and greens of different shades, as also citron and orange colours. These dyes resist the action of the substances with which trials are usually made much better than the common dyes, and promise many advantages, if adopted, to the manufactures of this country.

24. Last week was celebrated at Nuneham, in Oxfordshire, an entertainment, which, by the goodness of lord and lady Harcourt, is become annual; and which most deservedly may be called a *Fete de Vertu*. The entertainment is admirably calculated to promote general good behaviour and industry among the poor inhabitants of Nuneham. Prizes of merit are given to those inhabitants who have behaved best during the whole year; and prizes of industry to those women and girls who spin best on the day of the fete. The former prizes were distributed at church, with which the ceremonies of the day commenced, at which time a very excellent sermon, or

rather charge, on the occasion, was addressed to the persons immediately concerned, by the minister of the parish. The latter prizes were awarded to the successful candidates by umpires well qualified to estimate the quality of the spun material. Before the spinning began, a dinner was prepared for the poor people, which was rendered doubly agreeable to the guests by the amiable affability and attention of the noble patrons. The spinning then exhibited a spectacle quite novel to most of the spectators present, and very interesting to all. The evening of the fete was concluded with a dance.

Plymouth Dock, August, 27. This morning the king, with the queen and three princesses; left Salamanca on their way to Weymouth, after a stay of twelve days; during which time their majesties, accompanied by the princesses, and attended by the board of admiralty, viewed the dock-yard, the ships building and repairing, and those on that went on board the *Impregnable*, a guardship of 90 guns, and the *Royal Sovereign*, a new ship of 100 guns, ordinary; and proceeded to sea in the Southampton frigate (accompanied by the *Magnificent*, of 70 guns), to view the squadron of evolutions, under the command of commodore Goodall, which was cruising in the offing.

His majesty also inspected the Victualling-office; and afterwards took a view of the Citadel, Gun Wharf, and works on the heights near Caustand-Bay, accompanied by the master-general of the ordnance and the governor of the garrison.

His majesty's barge was constantly attended by the board of admiralty, the rear-admiral commanding in the port, and the captain of the ships, under his command, the

respective barges; and the royal yard, whenever it appeared in, was saluted by his majesty's guns, and by the guns at the Citadel, Drake's Island, and the several forts on shore.

His majesty expressed the highest approbation of the good order and discipline of the fleet; of the excellent condition of the Dock-yard, the armaments, and garrison, and the regularity with which every thing was conducted; and shewed the utmost satisfaction at the demonstration of loyalty and attention with which he was received by all ranks of the fleet, who assembled in great numbers from every quarter, to enhance the happiness of seeing their sovereign amongst them.

The king was yesterday graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on Thomas Byard, esq. captain of the Impregnable, who received the honour, each day, to steer his majesty's barge; and also to direct that the commanders of the Frigate and Wasp Sloops be promoted to the rank of post-captains in his majesty's fleet; the lieutenants commanding the Speedy and Brazen cutters, and the lieutenants of the Barfleur, Impregnable, Carnatic, Bombay-castle, Magnificent, and Southampton, to the rank of masters and commanders, and that twelve midshipmen be made lieutenants.

And his majesty was also graciously pleased to order the following to be distributed, viz.

To the artificers, workmen, and labourers of the Dock-yard, Victualling-office, and Gun-wharf, 1500*l*.
To the poor of Plymouth, Stonehouse, and Plymouth Dock, 250*l*.
To the crews of his majesty's ships, and of the several barges which attended upon him during his stay here, 200*l*. *Gaz.*

Weymouth, Aug. 20. Their majesties, with their royal highnesses the princesses, having left Saltram on Thursday morning last, arrived at Exeter at three o'clock in the afternoon, where they passed the night. They set out from thence at eight o'clock yesterday morning, and returned hither at four in the afternoon, in perfect health. *Id.*

York, Aug. 28. The prince of Wales and duke of York arrived on the race-ground on Monday afternoon, and highly gratified an immense concourse of spectators by their appearance upon the Grand Stand. On Tuesday the prince of Wales was waited upon by the corporation, who went in procession in their formalities from the Guildhall to the Deanery, preceded by their band of music playing "*God save the King*," and presented the following address to his royal highness, with the freedom of this ancient city in a most elegant gold box, which were very graciously received.

"To his royal highness George prince of Wales.

"May it please your royal highness,

"The lord-mayor and corporation of the city of York, animated with the most lively gratitude for the high honour conferred on this ancient city by your presence, beg leave to approach your royal person with the utmost respect and most cordial affection. This honour, Sir, is greatly increased by your royal highness being the only heir apparent to the imperial crown of this realm, whom they have ever had the felicity personally to address.

"They cannot resist the present favourable opportunity of expressing their just admiration of, and unfeigned acknowledgements for the wisdom and moderation which so eminently distinguished the affectionate

tionate and princely conduct of your royal highness in the most awful and trying situation, when all men looked up to your royal highness for protection with the fullest assurance of receiving it; and blessed as this kingdom hath been by divine Providence in the happy recovery of our most gracious sovereign, (for whom they entertain the warmest sentiments of duty and loyalty), it is their fervent prayer that when it shall please the Almighty to call his majesty to a heavenly throne, your royal highness may succeed him in the hearts and affections of a free, brave, and loyal people, and long live to reign over them with the happiness and glory of a patriot king.

"Your royal highness is respectfully entreated to permit your royal name to be enrolled amongst the freemen of this ancient city, and to accept the freedom thereof, which is thus humbly offered to your royal highness's gracious reception."

To which address his royal highness returned the following answer:

"My lord-mayor and gentlemen,

"I thank you for your loyal and affectionate address, and for the satisfaction which you express at my visit to the city of York.

"It gives me very sincere pleasure that my conduct has been properly understood by you, and that my opinions as to the powers necessary to have been trusted to me for the general welfare, have not been mistaken by the respectable citizens of York for an extravagant lust of power, or any unbecoming haste to assume the seat, which to be called to as late as possible is the constant and warmest wish of my heart. Impelled with these sentiments, I must, above all others, rejoice in that happy event which is the subject of your joyful congratulations,

and which touches my feelings more as an affectionate son than the person the most interested in every thing which concerns the prosperity and happiness of the realm.

"I with pleasure accept the freedom of this ancient city, and offer of enrolling my name amongst its citizens."

His royal highness was attended on this occasion by the dukes of Bedford and Queensberry; earl Fitzwilliam, Carlisle, and Derby; colonel St. Leger, lord Clermont, capt. Fitzroy, Mr. Wyndham, lord Downe, lord Foley, lord Rawdon, lord Fielding, sir John Ramsden, Mr. Wentworth, sir Thomas Dundas, Mr. Warwick Lake, &c.

29. At Warwick assizes, Thomas Wale, Jos. Carter, Thomas Tuck and Thomas Iorns, church-warden and overseers of a parish near Coventry, were tried for a conspiracy in procuring a marriage between Elizabeth Horne, a pauper belonging to their own parish, and Joseph Deane of Stoneleigh, in order to remove the burthen from themselves; they were found guilty, and sentenced to six months imprisonment, and Carter and Wale are to pay a fine of 20*l.* each.

S E P T E M B E R.

2. Earl Fitzwilliam gave a magnificent fête at Wentworth-house, Yorkshire, in honour of a visit from the prince of Wales.

In coming to town from Wentworth-house, the prince of Wales encountered an alarming accident, but which was attended by no consequence. About two miles on the other side of Newark, a coach crossing the road, struck the axle of the prince's coach and overturned it. It was on the verge of a slope and the carriage fell a considerable way, turned over twice, and

flipped

ered to pieces. There were in each with his royal highness, Clermont, col. St. Leger, and Lake. Two of the prince's mts were on the box.

The prince suffered only a slight lusion in the shoulder, and his was sprained. His highness undermost in the first fall, and the next roll of the carriage was right uppermost, when he disengaged himself, and was the first to engage and rescue his fellow-travellers: lord Clermont was the most. He is much wounded in the and is otherwise so severely sed, that he was obliged to remain at Newark. The other gentlemen were, like the prince, fortunate enough to escape with little. The accident happened at o'clock at night, and it was a moon light. The carriage of his royal highness's own travel-coach, with hired horses andillions; and the mischance was caused by the wilfulness of theillions, who drove to clear the with their common precipitation. Lake's post-chaise being close behind, the prince and lord Clermont went forward in it to Newark, where his highness slept, and proceeded to London the next morning.

Hereofbury, Sept. 11. On Saturday were executed at the Old Heath, at this place, pursuant to their sentence at our last assizes, Thomas Phipps, esq. the elder, and Thomas Phipps the younger, (father and son), of Llwyney Mapsis, in county, for forging and uttering a note of hand for 2cl. purporting to be the note of Mr. Richard Coleman of Oswestry, knowing the same to be forged.

It was proved on the trial, that Coleman never had any transactions with Mr. Phipps that required the signing of any note whatever;

that about Christmas last, Mr. Coleman was served with a writ, by order of Mr. Phipps at his own suit; which action Mr. Coleman defended; that Mr. Phipps not supporting it, a *non pros* was signed in the action with 2l. 3s. cost, whereupon, Mr. Phipps and his son, with William Thomas, their clerk, made an affidavit, stating, that the note was for a trespass in carrying away some hay from off the land of one of Mr. Phipps's tenants, which Mr. Coleman had taken. Upon this affidavit, the court of Exchequer granted a rule, to shew cause why the *non pros* should not be set aside. Mr. Coleman insisting that the note was a forgery, the matter rested in suspense until the event of this prosecution. After a full hearing of the evidence on both sides, and the judge's charge to the jury, the two Phipps's were pronounced guilty of uttering and publishing the note, knowing the same to have been forged. The judge immediately passed sentence of death upon them, and recommended the jury to acquit William Thomas, who was accordingly found Not Guilty.

Mr. Phipps and his son, from the time of their condemnation till the morning of their execution, persisted in their innocence. However, before they left the gaol, young Phipps confessed that he committed the forgery, avowed his father's innocence of it, and ignorance of its being forged, when published.— They were taken in a mourning coach to the place of execution, accompanied by a clergyman, and another pious person, who had attended them almost daily since their condemnation. On their way to the fatal tree, the father said to the son, "Tommy, thou hast brought me to this shameful end, but I freely forgive thee." To which the son

son made no reply. It being remarkably wet weather, the devotions were chiefly performed in the coach.

When the awful moment arrived that they must leave the sable vehicle, Mr. Phipps said to his son, "You have brought me hither, do you lead the way;" which the youth accordingly did, and in the most composed manner ascended the ladder to a temporary scaffold, erected on purpose, followed by his father. When the devotions were finished, and the convicts tied up, they embraced each other, and in a few moments the executioner let down the scaffold, and they were launched into eternity, amidst a vast concourse of deeply affected spectators, beholding a parent and child suffering an ignominious death for violating the laws of their country.

Mr. Phipps was in his 47th year, and his son just 20.

Their fate is not a little aggravated, when it is considered that Mr. Phipps was possessed of about 300l. a year landed property, beside his practise as an attorney. He has left an unhappy widow, and an amiable daughter, about 16 years of age.

17. Mr. Gibbs of Westbury, who generously accommodated Mr. Williams of Bratton-school, with the use of his house [See p. (24)] has since had it burnt down. This created a suspicion that one of the boys must be the incendiary, which has proved the fact. The boy on whom the suspicion fell has made a confession of his having accidentally set fire to the school-house at Bratton, and wilfully to that of Mr. Gibbs. On his examination he said, "the thought unluckily came into his head, that, if he could burn the school-room at Westbury, he might be sent home, to which his father had not permitted him to return for fifteen or sixteen months past."—He

was committed to Devizes prison [A few days after, he put an end to his existence.]

Tottenham Park, September 10. Their majesties, with their royal highnesses the princesses, set out for Weymouth on Monday morning last, at nine o'clock, and at five in the evening arrived at Longleat, the seat of the marquis of Bath; whence they departed yesterday morning at eleven o'clock, and arrived at this place at four in the afternoon. *Gaz.*

Windfor, Sept. 18. Their majesties and their royal highnesses the princess royal, prince of Wales, and princess Elizabeth, set out from Tottenham Park at ten o'clock this morning, and arrived here at three this afternoon, in perfect health. *ib.*

20. The chapel of Greenwich hospital, which had undergone a ten years repair, in consequence of the devastation made by the fire that happened there on the 2d of January 1779, was opened, and divine service performed in it.—The rebuilding and decorations of it cost 84,000l.

21. A gamekeeper belonging to the earl of Berkeley, on setting his lordship's spring-guns in the park dock, was shot dead on the spot. What is remarkable is, that in the course of four years, by the same gun, three game-keepers have lost their lives, and one gentleman shockingly wounded in fixing the wire on the ground.

29. Wm. Pickett, esq. elected last mayor; Mr. alderman Newman and Thomas Baker, esq. having been previously sworn in sheriffs after several other gentlemen, elected by the livery, had either pleaded disqualifications, refused to give bond, or been declared ineligible.

O C T O B E R.

Colonel Rois, who last week took to ride one horse from London to York in 48 hours, for a messenger, performed his journey in 48 hours and a half, with ease, and had only 15 miles to travel in five hours. The distance from London to York is 202 miles. Colonel passed through Stamford on Sunday, on his return to London, riding on the same horse and performed the journey.

The following is the state of the Carron manufactory in Scotland, the greatest perhaps of the kind known in the world: the consumption of coals amounts to 11,000 tons, at 4s. per ton, and the consumption of each workman is equal to that of the city of London during a whole week. The coals, therefore, are consumed in the Carron founderies as much as suffice to supply a city of 100,000 inhabitants. A thousand workmen are daily employed in the manufactory, whose wages amount to 700l. per week, and 100,000l. per annum. The demands for coals are broad, and particularly from the West Indies, and continue yearly to increase. Two plants of the cochineal have been sent from Kew Garden, and several others brought from China to Madras, where they are cultivated with success, and produce a rival the nopal of Mexico, whence our rich scarlet dye is derived.

The favourableness of the climate, the habitual industry of the workmen, and surprising cheapness of labour, have very fortunately inclined the East India company to encourage the cochineal insect into the Asiatic dominions. Accordingly, in consequence of orders from the Board, Sir Archibald Campbell,

before he left Madras, marked out and inclosed a spot of ground proper for a nopalary, and appointed a superintendent, under the direction of Dr. James Anderson, for the care and management of this article of commerce. Thus there is good reason to expect that this valuable drug will be obtained much cheaper from India in a few years than it can be procured from the Spanish settlements, as the labour of women in Asia does not exceed three halfpence per day, which is less than one-tenth of what it costs in Mexico. It is therefore likely that this branch of commerce will fall into our hands; a circumstance highly deserving of notice, as the annual imports into Europe at present amount to upwards of 300,000l. sterling.

Seeds of the *oldenlandia umbellata*, from the roots of which plant it is extracted the fine permanent red dye so much admired in India cottons, have been sent to our West India islands by Dr. Anderson, of Madras. This plant is so valuable in India, that it is sold there for one guinea per pound. Some prepared roots are also sent to England, to try if the dye can be extracted from it in this country. If this can be effected, a trade will be established in that article from India, to the great benefit of our cotton manufactures.

8. At the general quarter sessions of the peace, held at Chelmsford for the county of Essex, the opinions of messrs. Bearcroft and Shepherd were read, on the singular case of lord Loughborough having, at the last assizes, imposed a fine of 500l. on the county of Essex, for not having in their gaol two distinct rooms for the male and female invalids within the said prison, conformable to the statute of the 14th of Geo. III. The said opinions

(C)

stated,

stated, with becoming diffidence, their doubt of the legal authority, under which such fine had been imposed, and pointed out, that on its being estreated into the court of exchequer, a motion to that honourable court would probably afford the county relief. The court then came, unanimously, to the following resolution, viz. "To resist the payment of the fine thus laid upon the inhabitants of the county of Essex, as an imposition not warranted by law."

10. About two years ago, Mr. John Crombie, merchant in Haddington, suffered a loss by fire, and the damage being estimated by four gentlemen, the money was paid by the Sun-fire office. By the activity, however, of Mr. Crombie and his servants, the loss afterwards turning out to be 30 guineas less than what was paid, that gentleman remitted the money to the Sun fire-office, who, highly pleased with such an instance of integrity, ordered a silver plate, with a suitable inscription, to be presented to Mr. Crombie, and ten guineas to his servants.

Nantwich, Oct. 9. Early on the morning of the 7th inst, the banks of the aqueduct of the Staffordshire canal, across Wincham valley, in this county, gave way, from whence the water rushed down into the river beneath with the greatest impetuosity. Two corn-mills on the same stream below were in imminent danger of being forced down by the vast body of water driving from the canal upon them, but fortunately received much less damage than might have been expected; in consequence of which, and the general heavy rains on the preceding night, there was one of the greatest floods ever remembered on the river Weaver on Wednesday last. The water in the river rose from 16 to 18 feet

above its usual height. Most of the streets were under a violent current of water, from six to eight feet deep, and almost every avenue impassable except in boats. Several hundred thousand bushels of salt were destroyed, and very great injury done to the salt-houses; the town and salt-works surrounded, and in many places three parts covered with a general inundation, formed a scene beyond description awful.

16. This day, just as the duke of Orleans was about to embark for Boulogne, he was stopped by a band of fish-women, by whom he was covered, and obliged to return to his hotel, where the magistrates immediately confined him, and placed a guard over him, till the National Assembly should be informed of the event.

21. The duke of Orleans arrived in town.—His serene highness immediately visited by the prince of Wales and several noblemen of the first distinction. The duke was relieved from his bondage at Boulogne on Tuesday morning, as soon as the express returned from Paris, and the magistrates apologized for the rudeness of the fish-women.

22. The remuneration of the king's physicians is thus finally settled:

To Dr. Willis, the father, 1500l. per ann. for 21 years.

To Dr. Willis, the son, 6500l. per ann. for life.

To the other physicians, 1000l. guineas for each visit to Windsor, and ten guineas for each visit to Kew. This, to sir George Baker, who had the longest attendance, does not amount to more than 1000l. guineas; and to all the others in proportion.

23. In some of the papers of the day is the following hint.—A friend to humanity begs to inform the

in the dangerous case of pins
swallowed by accident, swallowing
undressed, and, in the
of an hour after, another, is
allible remedy for carrying off
pins, if done immediately after
have been swallowed, that is,
the pins have worked them-
into the coats of the stomach.
Yesterday the new-raised re-
of London militia were pa-
in the artillery-ground by eight
in the morning. They after-
marched to St. Paul's, to hear
service. — According to their
and improved establishments,
consist of four companies of
dressed men each, including offi-
On their review the other day
artillery ground, they made
respectable appearance, and
complimented by several offi-
of the guards, on the exactness
of their evolutions, which was hard-
to be exceeded by any of their
corps.

New York, May 18. The ship
Chesapeake, from Bengal, John O'
Donnel, esq. owner and commander,
brought a valuable cargo, con-
sisting of almost every production
of the manufacture of Asia. He has
made a very quick passage, being on-
ly four months, including five or
six days stay at the islands of St. He-
len and Ascension, from Bengal.
Mr. O'Donnel we have the fol-
lowing intelligence :

The Chesapeake was the first Ame-
rican vessel allowed to hoist the co-
lor of the United States in the ce-
lestial river Ganges, and to trade
on it. When earl Cornwallis, the
governor general, then at a great
distance up the country, was applied
for a letter from Calcutta to know
in what manner the Americans
were to be received, his answer was
"in the same footing with other
ships." This answer, being pro-

bably conformable to his instruc-
tions from Great Britain, evinces the
friendly disposition of that nation
in that quarter; for the American
ships pay no more at any of the
English settlements of Bengal, Ma-
dras, and Bombay, which Mr. O'
Donnel visited, than other foreign-
ers. It is to be noticed also, that
the supreme council of Bengal have
taken off a heavy duty, called go-
vernment customs, which included
exports as well as imports; this du-
ty all other nations, except the En-
glish, are liable to.

26. The brig Bell, of Glasgow,
from Jamaica to Georgia, on the
1st of April, off the Matanzas, was
struck with lightning, which in-
stantly killed eleven of the crew.
The captain and two men escaped
death, but much hurt. A few hours
after the accident, the vessel, with
150 negroes, went down. The
captain and his two companions
lashed some spars together, and
with difficulty reached a key near
Cape Florida, where they remained
five weeks in the most wretched con-
dition. They were afterwards re-
lieved by a wrecker off New Provi-
dence, and have since arrived at
Philadelphia.

27. On the 20th of May last
died, at the Caracas, Capt. Cespede,
of the militia of Pardo, aged 110
years. He was esteemed a prodigy
in that climate, where the human
race seldom exceed the age of sixty.
— At Telontia, in New Spain,
about the same period, Jean Cave-
tan, an Indian, aged 130 years,
leaving behind him a son aged 60
years.

NOVEMBER.

4. Beside the damage on the ri-
ver by the great storm on Saturday,
the devastation at sea, particularly
in Yarmouth roads, was dreadful.

(C 2)

Of

Of 150 ships in those roads, one half were dismasted, or otherwise damaged, and no less than 33 foundered.

5. Mr. Thomas Bradford, formerly an upholder in Doncaster, but who, by losses in trade, a few years ago, became a bankrupt, and his last farthing was divided among his creditors; being a man of an active disposition, again engaged in trade, and the fickle goddess having smiled on his honest endeavours, he, on Tuesday last, by an advertisement in the country papers, called his creditors together, and paid them the whole of their demand, amounting to near 2000*l.* after which he gave them an elegant entertainment.

14. George Barrington, in consequence of a rule granted the preceding night, was brought up to the court of king's bench, on his own motion, to pray the allowance of a writ of error. After some conversation between the bench and his council, he addressed the court as follows:

"May it please your lordship,

"I most humbly intreat the indulgence of the court for a few minutes. I feel myself at a loss what to urge in apology for obtruding myself on the attention of the court, except in the peculiar predicament in which I am so unhappy as to stand, and I may add the humility and anxiety with which I am deeply impressed; but whatever diffidence and concern I feel, I cannot remain quite silent on the occasion. The reverence I owe the court, a respectable anxiety with regard to the opinion of the world, and personal justice, will not allow me to be totally silent under the charge of contumacy, imputed to me by this process, and for which the forfeiture of my life is required, though I was

not in intention guilty, however appearances, as to fact, may have been against me: for, my lord, I solemnly declare, that notwithstanding the time which elapsed from the commencement to the completion of the outlawry, and though I had undergone a month's confinement in a distant part of the kingdom from whence I was removed to metropolis by writ of habeas corpus, and brought before sir Samuel Wright, I was then, for the first time, told of the proceedings of the outlawry. Till that dire moment I was really so unfortunate as to have one word of intimation of the subject. Even the person who was sent down from Bow-street to Newcastle, kept my real situation from me as a profound mystery, which none but sir Samuel might reveal. And I trust, that candid consideration, my ignorance in this respect will by no means appear incredible; for it can be easily conceived, that a man may be hurried by his concerns into a distant part of the kingdom, or out of the kingdom.

"In his absence a bill of indictment is preferred against him; what grounds can never be known till a fair and regular trial has taken place. Indeed, when he is absent or on the spot, a bill of indictment is found with no great difficulty, as nothing at that time is heard but what is alleged against the accused. The prosecutor then instantly proceed to outlawry; and if the accused person should happen to be in a remote part of the country, or beyond the jurisdiction where he may be detained by illness or some other inevitable cause, the process may be pushed through the different stages, and be in force against him, before he knows anything of the matter. And here, my

I may be allowed to remark, if the publishers of the daily had been as free in communicating this business, as they had been in the profuse of their fictions concerning me, it would have done me no discredit; or, if the person the part of the prosecution that way given them some of their proceedings, even if the law ordained it not, it would have been no illiberal cause or unworthy condescension, especially on the solemn occasion when I went to preclude a fellow from his right of trial by jury, which was at stake, and every thing else was dear so materially affected by rigid and extraordinary a measure. But no intimation of the I believe, was given, not so as a single advertisement in a newspaper, stating one circumstance of the outlawry. It is true, I have been informed, during my imprisonment, there is a sort of proclamation issued; but as it is merely confined to a particular spot in a particular county, and uttered by an officer, perhaps, in a low voice, and in a cursory manner, it is very probable it may not reach the ears of the accused until too late, until it is in force against him. Returning to his cell, he is taken into custody; in which he protests his innocence, in which he solicits a trial. He is told, that he is an outlaw; he is cast into prison, and where is his resource? If he cannot command a considerable sum of money, he must patiently abide in misery and prison, as long as the prosecutor pleases; and at length, when, perhaps, the prisoner's body is debilitated, his mind harassed and his faculties impaired, by the complicated wretchedness of a prison, the prosecutor, perhaps, condescends,

in a kind of mercy, to bring him before this court to demand judgment of death against him. To urge judgment of death against a fellow-creature, and a fellow-subject, without a trial, without guilt being proved by unquestionable evidence on the one hand, or the accused allowed an opportunity for full vindication on the other; even the bare inspection of proceedings, which passed in the prisoner's absence, denied his counsel or attorney; in this dreadful, this tremendous predicament, I was brought before this august court in Michaelmas term last year. The urbanity of the court shone forth on the occasion with serene brightness, particularly in causing a record of the outlawry to be deliberately and repeatedly read.

"Without that urbanity what might have been my fate? A hapless victim, perhaps, to this extraordinary process, untried and unheard; for though the ability and great legal knowledge of the gentlemen assigned as counsel on my behalf, are too well known to need my humble acknowledgment, yet, perhaps, no counsel, however gifted with learning, experience, and wisdom, if they were not at the same time gifted with supernatural powers, could have been able, without the compassionate spirit of the court, to consider duly the record, or to expose its errors. The humanity of the court was circumscribed in no narrow limits. Time was also granted, that my counsel might consider the legality of the proceedings; and the attorney-general having been pleased, some time after, to issue his writ of error, in consequence of assignment of error by my counsel, it was not, perhaps, unreasonable to hope, that the prosecutor would then either wave the

outlawry, and bring me to an immediate trial, or bring me before the court for their final determination as to the outlawry. The want of pecuniary means might hinder me from doing it, but he could have no such impediment; and as he had laid a charge against me, why not bring it to an issue as soon as possible? But when he learned that a writ of error was obtained, he stopped his proceedings, leaving me to move myself before the court, if I could, or to suffer all the pains of imprisonment if I could not. The latter, unhappily for me, has been the case ever since; for I found myself distressed to the utmost degree, by the heavy and unavoidable expence attending the steps necessary for defence against the outlawry. I found myself disappointed of the relief and remittance which I looked for from the feelings of relations in no mean circumstances. I found myself threatened with death or perpetual imprisonment through the rigour of the process on the one hand, and on the other there was the original indictment and obloquy and prepossession to contend with. Those distracting circumstances, my lord, made up a part of a comfortless confinement of fifteen months past, and but a part, for the measure of affliction hath been filled by domestic concerns of a less public but not of a less poignant nature. How I have borne it, that Being best knows, without whose permission no sparrow falls to the ground, and who sometimes tries, for his own wise purposes, the extremest strength of his creatures; but surely I should have sunk under the weight of such accumulated woe, if patience and hope had not been my supporters. But being at length enabled to bring my case before the court, not without

some ray of hope of meeting the fair and impartial trial, I began allowed in the humblest manner, assure your lordship, that I should feel little less pain than the anxiety of the execution could inflict, were to quit this presence without laying at the feet of the court the most humble, sincere, and hearty thanks. And I trust I shall not offend in embracing this opportunity to say how truly sensible I am of the liberal and dispassionate conduct of the attorney-general in the matter. The fervent effusion of a grateful heart may not perhaps be unacceptable to an amiable and enlarged mind, which disdained the idea of oppressing the oppressed, being led by unfair bias. Give leave, may it please your lordship to declare, with the most respectful submission, that the benignity of the court, the candour of the attorney-general, and the able and diligent exertions of the gentlemen whose hands my defence is placed, have made an ardent and lasting impression on my mind, a powerful impression that will last for ever.

This speech was heard with most profound attention.

Mr. Le Mesurier, on the part of the prosecution, said, if the prisoner had confined himself to his own situation, he should not have said a word on this business. But he seemed to find fault with the conduct of the prosecutor. He admitted the case of the prisoner was hard.

Lord Kenyon here interrupted and observed there was no question before the court, nor any pretension for the counsel to say any thing to Newgate. See Vol. IX. p. 37.

The prisoner was then removed to Newgate. See Vol. IX. p. 37.

18. The presence of his majesty this evening at Covent garden theatre, (for the first time since his

with the queen and the three princesses, operated as a means to fill the house beyond any thing since his majesty's first appearance after his coronation. — The scene resounded with all the joyful expressions of loyalty and affection.

This day was effected the greatest object of internal navigation in this kingdom. The Severn united to the Thames by an immediate canal ascending by land, through the vale of Chalcot, to the height of 343 feet, 40 locks; there entering a funnel through the hill of Sapertra, the length of two miles and three furlongs, and descending by 22 locks, it joined the Thames near Lechlade.

A boat, with an union flag on its mast-head, passed laden for the first time to St. John's bridge below Lechlade, in the presence of great numbers of people who were assembled on the occasion.

The rev. Dr. Withers was sentenced by the court of king's bench to pay a fine of 50*l.* to be imprisoned 12 months in Newgate, afterwards to give security for seven years, himself in 500*l.* and securities in 250*l.* each. See (25).

Mr. Walter was sentenced by the same court to pay a fine of 100*l.* to be imprisoned twelve months in Newgate, to stand once on the pillory at Charing cross, and on the expiration of his imprisonment, to find security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 500*l.* and two others in 100*l.* See page (24).

George Barrington being brought before the court of king's bench, Mr. Wood, one of the counsel, proceeded to state the facts upon which he meant to argue that the present outlawry

ought to be reversed. The first error of which he should take notice, was to be found in the return of the writ of exigent. The language of that return was this; "At my county court in and for the county of Middlesex," whereas it ought to have been, "At my county court of Middlesex," the words "of Middlesex" being necessary immediately after the words "my court." This error he said was taken and allowed in the case of the King v. Wilkes; and if it was admitted in a civil case, surely it would not be rejected in a criminal one.

The second error was in the return of the proclamation, where the prisoner is required to render himself on the 25th of February, which was subsequent to the time of the outlawry having been completed, the prisoner being an outlaw on the 21st of that month.

The court said they should forbear to give any opinion upon the first error stated by the prisoner's counsel; but that the second objection was unquestionably fatal to the outlawry, and therefore ought to be reversed.

Mr. justice Ashhurst then said, "Let the judgment be reversed, and the prisoner restored to all that he has lost by the outlawry."

A *procedendo* was directed to carry back the indictment to its proper place.

The prisoner then gracefully bowed to the court, and was conducted to Newgate. See p. (36).

A duel was fought on the 26th of May by capt. Thomas Baker, and Jacob Brown, esq. of Camden, South Carolina. They fired together at the distance of ten yards, and both fell; capt. Baker was shot through the body, and expired in the field in about twelve minutes. Mr. Brown was shot in the

lower part of his belly, and the ball was cut out of his left side, but he died twenty hours after. When these gentlemen had fallen, they conversed calmly together, and exchanged forgiveness.

30. Died this month at Galston, in Scotland, Marian Gibson, aged 100. About ten years ago she received a set of new teeth, and her eye-sight was so clear that she could read the smallest print. She walked to Irwine, which is 13 miles from her place of residence, and returned next day. She spun upon the rock without the use of spectacles, and continued very strait. — At Scrooby, near Bawtry, Mr. Thomas Loveday, aged 101 years, 75 of which he practised the occupation of a blacksmith and farmer.

DECEMBER.

1. The celebrated Dr. Herschell has discovered a seventh satellite moving round Saturn, and still nearer to his body than any of the rest. It is about 26 seconds only of apparent distance from his centre; the exterior boundary of the ring being 22 seconds from it by estimation. The periodic time of this satellite is less than 24 hours; that of the sixth is 32 hours 41 minutes, 12 seconds. Saturn's ring continues still visible, by Dr. Herschell's largest telescope; and, a few nights ago, he saw three of the satellites on the ring at one time. The ring appears to him to be every where of an uniform thickness.

3. The freeholders of Yorkshire, to perpetuate the memory of, and mark their esteem for, their late worthy representative sir George Saville, bart. have, by subscription, erected a statue of him in York cathedral.

8. Was tried in the court of king's bench, an information against Mr.

Perryman, late printer of the Morning Herald, for a libellous paragraph on the house of commons charging the house with having been influenced by Mr. Pitt, to adopt in favour the defence, intended to be made by sir Elijah Impey, to charge exhibited against him in the house, in opposition to public justice.

Lord Kenyon stated, that it certainly became the house, in support of its dignity, as the grand inquest of the nation, on such an occasion to address his majesty (as in this instance they had done) to protect those who had been guilty of charging them with improper motives in the execution of their duty. The house had paid a proper attention to the constitution, by sending the case to be discussed before a jury, and not taking cognizance of its virtue of their own authority, which might have crushed an individual without being heard. But, notwithstanding this, the dignity of the house ought not to influence the verdict of the jury. They ought to consider the question on its own merits, as if it had been prosecuted by the meanest individual in the kingdom; every thing was to be decided by them on the evidence they had heard.

The question was, whether this was a libel on the house of commons? If the jury were of opinion, that this paper did not reflect on the house of commons, however libellous on Mr. Pitt and sir Elijah Impey, it would not constitute the offence charged in this information. The jury, without going out of court, pronounced the defendant guilty.

9. Was tried, before lord Kenyon and a special jury, an information filed by the attorney-general, against Mr. Stockdale, bookfeller in Pall Mall.

y, for publishing a libel upon
house of commons, reflecting
their conduct in the impeach-
ment of Mr. Hastings.

After the attorney-general had
pleaded for the crown, and Mr.
Barrington for the defendant, the jury
was sworn for the purpose of perusing
the libel, and comparing it with the
instruction affixed to it by the in-
struction. After two hours delib-
eration, they returned with a ver-
dict of "not guilty."

The same day, came on the trial
of an action for criminal conversa-
tion, brought by capt. Parsloe
against Mr. Sykes, son of sir Fran-
cis Sykes, bart. The facts were
proved; and the conduct of
the defendant appeared to be mark-
ed by such circumstances of delibe-
ration and deep-planned perfidy, and
an atrocious dereliction of all
principles that are held dear and
sacred in society, that the jury gave
the whole damages, which the
plaintiff had demanded.—*Ten thou-
sands.*

Yesterday, George Barrington
was placed at the bar of the Old
bailey. He was indicted for pri-
vately stealing a purse of money
from Haviland Le Mesurier, esq.
the 19th of January 1787. Mr.
Le Mesurier, the counsel, in open-
ing the case, informed the court,
that he gave up the capital part.
The evidence for the prosecu-
tion had been heard (which did not
appear sufficiently strong to fix the
guilt upon the prisoner) he was ask-
ing whether he had any thing to say
in his defence. He then entered
a very long and elegant de-
fence, apparently unstudied, from
various hesitations which occurred in
his delivery.—It went on the illi-
berty of the paragraphs against
him, on the severity of his confine-
ment and outlawry, and on the

prejudice attached to his general
reputation. He spoke three quar-
ters of an hour. He began thus:
"The benignity and candour which
mark the judicial proceedings of this
country, of which I have recently
met a distinguished proof, induce
me to hope, with the utmost humi-
lity, that the indulgent attention of
the court will not be withheld on the
present occasion, but that it will be
extended, not through the merit of
any thing I can urge, but from the
generous and impartial impulse of
your own minds, towards every one
who is so unhappy as to stand here
the subject of accusation." He then
proceeded to say, that this was just
his case; that he was at the play
by an order from a friend, and was
coming out, when he was taken and
carried to the Brown Bear, from
which he found a convenient op-
portunity to withdraw—unfortu-
nately to withdraw—and he hoped
it would rather be considered as a
retreat from prejudice, than a flight
from accusation; that he neither
used violence nor pecuniary influ-
ence; and entirely acquitted Blandy
from being privy to his retreat;
yet, that if he were of a disposition
to rejoice at calamity, he might in
this case, as that man (Blandy) was
one of his worst enemies, by intro-
ducing his name on all occasions,
and defaming him. He proceeded
—"Among the vices incident to
human nature, and the crimes which
have been so lavishly imputed to
me, there are two which, I trust,
neither the accusing spirit, nor the
recording angel, need to blush or
weep at on my account—I mean
cruelty, and calumny, which is,
perhaps, the worst of cruelty." He
spoke of the necessity of public jus-
tice, but said, there was also such
a thing as individual justice; and
concluded thus: "Gentlemen, per-
mit

mit me ultimately to observe, that the question is not now what the private opinion of individuals concerning George Barrington may be; but whether there is, or is not, that full, clear, and unequivocal evidence, which the wisdom of ages has established as the criterion for jurors to decide by, and which ought never to be departed from in any case whatever. To strain a point to acquit, may proceed from god-like motives; and perhaps men of the most vindictive temper must respect in others the benevolent impulse; but to strain a point to condemn, is repugnant to justice, conscience, and humanity."

Judge Ashhurst summed up the evidence with many impartial observations; and the jury, after a very short conference, returned a verdict, *not guilty*. Barrington bowed with his usual address, and retired from the bar. See (p. 9) & (39).

11. In Glamorganshire an experiment has been made on the use of potatoes in fattening oxen. They are found to answer admirably well. The cattle soon are voraciously fond of them, and prefer them to hay, or any other food. They are well washed, and given raw. Some gentlemen have sliced the potatoes with an engine, others give them whole. They answer well either way.

12. On Monday, a fire broke out at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, the seat of lord Orford. The North wing of that noble mansion is consumed; and the fire would have entirely destroyed the whole building, if its progress had not been impeded by a stone arcade which divides the wing from the main edifice. The part destroyed was the place to which the valuable pictures were chiefly appropriated, most of which have suffered in the havock of

the conflagration. The Chinese group, by Locatelli, is also destroyed.

Among the other losses by the fire were two exquisite tables; the composition was ore, which had cost one guinea per ounce, and the workmanship invaluable. Four magnificent alabaster vases, which stood in as many niches in the approach to the gallery, valued at 3000*l.* The beautiful marble chimneypieces, cornices, &c. are all reduced to a mere powder. Nothing is left standing but the walls. The damage is estimated at 60,000*l.*

14. A warrant has just received the royal signature for 26*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* to Brook Watson, esq. for the expense of a discovery lately made of a new method of cultivating hemp.

15. On Saturday was held a trial of the pix of monies coined at the Mint in the Tower of London, by the earl of Effingham, in presence of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, at Westminster-hall; when upon the strictest scrutiny by an able jury of goldsmiths, the coins were found fully agreeable to the standard of his majesty's exchequer.

The chancellor of the exchequer did not attend; and the lord chancellor, in his charge to the jury, said, that so sacred was the trial by jury, that he trusted in God the people of England would always consider it as their indefeasible right, and that under no pretence, either of revenue or of any thing else, would this great safeguard of their properties be trenching upon; that an infringement of this right was an act for which the longest life of the most exalted minister that this country ever was blessed with could never atone. In maintenance of these sentiments, he related the evils that had been suffered by the country in

debasement of the coin, when a bill of the pix by a jury was not thought necessary, previous to a master of the Mint receiving his *quietus*.
 12. Earl Cornwallis has totally abolished the slave trade in Bengal, and has issued a proclamation, declaring "That all persons who may hereafter be found either directly or indirectly concerned therein, shall be prosecuted in the Supreme Court; and, if a British subject, shall, on conviction, be sent to Europe. A reward of 100 rupees is offered for discovering any offender against the proclamation, and 50 rupees more for every person, of either sex, who is delivered from slavery, or illegal confinement, in consequence of such discovery." It is published in the different languages of the country, and has been sent to all the merchants, traders, and public offices, for their notice.
 16. A general bill of the christenings and burials, from Dec. 16. 1788, to Dec. 15. 1789.

Christened.

Males	9341
Females	8822

In all	18163
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Buried.

Males	12611
Females	10138

In all	22749
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Whereof have died,

Under years	6936
Between 2 and 5	2237
5 and 10	800
10 and 20	810
20 and 30	1459
30 and 40	1889
40 and 50	1893
50 and 60	1686
60 and 70	1455
70 and 80	1093
80 and 90	415
90 and 100	69

100	6
101	1
102	1
103	1
105	1

Increased in the burials this year 1052.

BIRTHS in the Year 1789.

Jan. 8. Lady of the right hon. Charles Townsend, a daughter.

14. Lady Elizabeth Yorke, a daughter.

16. Duchess of Northumberland, a son.

Feb. 23. Countess of Aylesford, a son.

28. Lady Augusta Clavering, a daughter.

Lately, viscountess Maitland, a son.

Duchess of Leinster, a daughter.

28. Lady of sir Egerton Leigh, bart. a daughter.

March 2. Lady Louisa Macdonald, a son.

13. Lady Carysfort, a daughter.

19. Lady Theodosia Maria Vyner, a son.

April 21. Lady of sir Henry Tichborne, bart. a son.

May 30. Lady of sir Geo. Cornwall, bart. a daughter.

Lady of lord Kinnaird, a son.

June 1. Georgiana, dowager baroness Middleton, wife of Edward Miller Munday, esq. a daughter.

14. Lady of the right hon. Henry Addington a son.

23. Viscountess Deerhurst, a son.

30. Countess of Plymouth, a son.

July 3. Viscountess Galway, a son.

5. Lady Sarah Crespigny, a son.

6. Her Catholic majesty, a princess, named Maria Isabella &c. &c.

13. Lady of J. Blackburne, esq. M. P. for Lancashire, a son.

14. Coun

14. Countess of Salisbury, a daughter.

15. Lady Arden, a daughter.

28. Lady Melbourne, a daughter.

29. Lady of lord Saltoun, a daughter.

Aug. 4. Lady of lieutenant-gen. John Hale, a son, her one and twentieth child.

12. Countess of Glasgow, a son.

14. Lady of sir John Thorold, bart. a son.

17. Lady of Richard Aldworth Neville, esq. a son.

Sept. 8. Lady of the hon. col. Rodney, a son.

12. Countess Poulett, a son.

Lady of sir Gregory Page Turner, bart. a son.

18. Lady of the hon. Mr. Petre, a daughter.

27. Lady of the hon. Mr. Justice Wilson, a son.

Oct. 2. Lady of sir James Tylney Long, bart. a daughter.

6. Lady of sir Wm. Burrell, bart. a daughter.

8. Lady of lord Boston, a son.

12. Lady of sir Geo. Armytage, bart. a daughter.

17. Lady of the hon. James Thomas Twisleton, a daughter.

18. Countess Spencer, a son.

30. Princess Frederic of Denmark, a daughter.

Nov. 5. Lady Geo. Henry Cavendish, a son.

18. Lady Balgonie, a daughter. Lady Mary Martin, a son.

29. Lady of the right hon. Thomas Orde, a son.

30. Lady of sir Thomas Rumbold, bart. a daughter.

Dec. 2. Countess dowager Waldegrave, a daughter.

3. Lady Mary Horton, a daughter.

11. Lady of lord Napier, a daughter.

14. Viscountess Stormont, a daughter.

16. Duchess of Leeds, a son.

25. Countess of Abergavenny, a son.

MARRIAGES in 1789.

Jan. 4. Geo. Talbot, esq. son of the late hon. and rev. Dr. Talbot of Barton, to miss Charlotte Drake, daughter of the late rev. Dr. Drake of Amertham.

8. Nicholas Calvert, esq. to the hon. Frances Pery, daughter of viscount Pery of Ireland.

11. Major Henry Gage, nephew and heir to lord Gage, to miss Skinner, daughter of the late general Skinner.

18. Major-gen. sir Henry Calden, bart. to miss Osborne, daughter of the late admiral Osborne.

19. Edward Hales, esq. son of sir Edward Hales, bart. to miss Lucy Darell, daughter of Henry Darell, esq.

Lately, lord Rosehill, son of the earl of Northesk, to miss Richetta, daughter of Wm. Henry Richetta, esq. of Longwood, Hants.

Charles Blois, esq. eldest son of sir John Blois, bart. to miss Clara Price, daughter of Jocelyn Price, esq. of Camblesforth, Yorkshire.

Feb. 16. General Rainsford to miss Cornwallis Molyneux, daughter of the late sir More Molyneux.

17. Charles Owen Cambridge, esq. to the Hon. Mrs. Cochrane.

21. The hon. Richard Edgumbe to lady Sophia Hobart, daughter of the earl of Buckinghamshire.

23. John Holden Strutt, esq. son to John Strutt, esq. M. P. for Malden, to lady Charlotte Fitzgerald, sister to the duke of Leinster.

24. Thomas Ivis Cooke, esq. to lady Amelia Murray.

Lately,

ately, lord de Clifford of Ire-
to miss Mary Bourke, daughter
the archbishop of Tuam.

Jacob Astley, esq. eldest son of
Edward Astley, bart. to miss
Browne, daughter of the late Sa-
el Browne, esq. of Lynn.

March 9. Baron de Roebeck to
Anne Fitzpatrick, daughter of
hon. Richard Fitzpatrick.

Thomas Horton, jun. esq. of
royde-house, Yorkshire, to lady
Gordon, daughter of the earl
Aberdeen.

22. John, lord Lindores to miss
Reeve, daughter and coheirefs
the late sir Thomas Reeve, bart.

Rev. Edward Townshend,
shew to the late Charles, viscount
Townshend, to miss Louisa Milner,
daughter of the late sir William
Milner, bart.

3. Nathaniel Wm. Wraxall,
M. P. to miss Lascelles, daugh-
ter of the late Peter Lascelles, esq. of
Wights, Herts.

April 1. Henry, lord Apsley to
Miss Lenox, daughter of lord George
Lennox.

3. Sir Robert Sinclair, bart. to
Madelina Gordon, daughter of
duke of Gordon.

ately, at Utrecht, lord Aghrim,
of the earl of Athlone, to miss
Munter.

3. Duke of Aost, son of the
of Sardinia, to the archduchess
Maria Theresa.

24. Bernard Edw. Howard, esq.,
Farnham, Suffolk, to lady Eli-
beth Bellafyse, daughter of earl
vonberg.

ately, capt. Barrington Price
lady Maria Bowes, daughter of
the late earl of Strathmore.

May 16. Sir John Caldwell,
ant of the sacred Roman empire,
and bart. to miss Harriot Meynell,
daughter of the late Hugh Meynell,

20 Sir Simeon Stuart, bart. to
miss Olmius, daughter of the hon.
John Luttrell Olmius.

23. Lord Leslie, son of the coun-
tess of Rothes, to the hon. miss Pel-
ham, daughter of lord Pelham.

John Sullivan, esq. of Ritechin's
Park, Bucks, to miss Henrietta
Anne Barbara Hobart, daughter of
the hon. George Hobart.

Edward Desbrowe, esq. of Wal-
ton upon Thames, to miss Charlotte
Hobart, daughter of the hon. George
Hobart.

28. The hon. Mr. Talbot, bro-
ther and heir to the earl of Shrews-
bury, to miss Clifton, second daugh-
ter of the late Thomas Clifton, esq.
of Leatham, Lancashire.

June 6. Mr. Markham, son of
the archbishop of York, to miss Sut-
ton, daughter to sir Richard Sutton.

9. Cholmoley Dering, esq. se-
cond son of sir Edw. Dering, bart.
to miss Yates, daughter of the late
sir Joseph Yates.

15. Lord Wm. Murray, to miss
Hodges, grand daughter of the late
sir James Hodges.

Tho. Lockwood, jun. esq.
to miss Charlotte Manners Sutton,
daughter of the late lord George
Manners Sutton.

22. John Maxwell, esq. son of
the bishop of Meath, to the hon.
miss Annesley, daughter of viscount
Valentia.

30. The earl of Newburgh to
miss Webb, niece to sir John Webb,
bart.

Sir Wm. Foulis, bart. to miss
Mary Anne Turner.

July 1. Viscount Powerscourt to
lady Catharine Meade, daughter to
the earl of Clanwilliam.

4. Henry Lefant, esq. to miss
Sheridan, sister of Rich. Brinsley
Sheridan, esq. M. P. for Stafford

8. Fitzwilliam Barrington, esq.
second son of sir Fitzwilliam Bar-
rington,

ington, bart. to miss Marshall, daughter of capt. Sam. Marshall of the navy.

9. George Tierney, esq. M. P. for Colchester, to miss Miller, daughter of the late Michael Miller, esq. of Bristol.

10. James Gordon, jun. esq. of Moore Park, Herts, to miss Whitbread, daughter of Sam. Whitbread esq.

11. George Douglas, esq. of Cavers, to lady Grace Stewart, daughter of the earl of Moray.

Lord Wm. Russell to lady Charlotte Villiers, daughter of the earl of Jersey.

16. Sir Charles Watson, bart. son of the late admiral Watson, to miss Juliana Copley, daughter of the late sir Joseph Copley, bart.

26. Charles Drummond, esq. son of Robert Drummond, esq. of St. James's square, to miss Lockwood, third daughter of the rev. Edw. Lockwood, of Portman-square.

27. The hon. col. Fane, to miss Lowe.

28. John Campbell, esq. to lady Caroline Howard, daughter of the earl of Carlisle.

Aug 1. Wm. Lockwood, esq. son of the rev. Edw. Lockwood, of Portman square, to miss Jekyll, daughter of the late Edw. Jekyll, esq.

3. The hon. W. Finch, brother to the earl of Aylesford, to miss Brouncher, daughter of the late Henry Brouncher, esq. of St. Christopher's.

4. James Fox Lane, esq. to the honourable miss Pitt, daughter of lord Rivers.

6. Charles Cameron, esq. to lady Mary Hay, daughter of the late earl of Errol.

7. Michael Angelo Taylor, esq. M. P. for Poole, to miss Vane, daughter of sir Henry Vane, bart.

Lawrence Palke, esq. only son of

sir Robert Palke, bart. to lady Mary Bligh.

Lately at Lintz, in upper Austria, Geo. Sheldon, esq. to the countess dowager Daun, daughter of Charles, prince of Aversperg, and widow of Leopold count Daun, prince of Tiano, in Naples, and son of the celebrated marshal count Daun.

10. Charles Stirling, esq. of the navy, son of sir Wm. Stirling, to miss Charlotte Grote, daughter of the late Andrew Grote, esq.

12. Sir Patrick Blake, bart. to miss Phipps, of Bury.

13. Christopher Nevil, esq. to miss Mann, niece to the late sir Horatio Mann, K. B.

Lately, Wm. Butler, esq. to the hon. miss Massey, daughter of the late lord Massey.

Henry Cavendish, eldest son of the right. hon. sir Henry Cavendish, bart. to miss Cooper, niece to the bishop of Kildare.

Lately, Thomas Lister, esq. M. P. for Clitheroe, to miss Adelaide Farmer.

19. Earl of Massareene to madame Mary Anne Barcier, the lady that lately accompanied him from France. *See page (2).*

29. John King Dashwood, esq. only son of sir John Dashwood, bart. to miss Broadhead, daughter of Theodore Broadhead, esq. of Carshalton.

Sept 9. Lieutenant-col. Charles Lenox to lady Charlotte Gordon, daughter of the duke of Gordon.

16. Henry Hervey Aston, esq. to the hon. miss Ingram, daughter to the late lord Irvin.

26. Sylvester Douglas, esq. to the hon. miss North, daughter of lord North.

Oct. 12. Robert Blencowe, esq. of the Inner Temple, to miss Penelope Robinson, daughter of sir George Robinson, bart.

Sir William Dolben, bart. to Scotchmer, relict of the late Scotchmer, esq. of Bury.

Edward Law, esq. son of the bishop of Carlisle, to miss Tow-
daughter of Geo. Philip Tow-
esq.

4. Sir James St. Clair, to Bouverie, niece to the earl of
nor.

Thomas Fitzherbert, esq. P. for Arundel, to miss Pye, daughter of the late Robert Pye, D.

15. John Brander, esq. to Williams, niece to the earl of
entry.

Henry Hare Townstrend, esq. Bruce-castle, to miss Charlotte
e, daughter of sir James Lake,

6. Capt. Sutherland, of the na-
to miss Louisa Colebrooke,
daughter of sir Geo. Colebrooke,

DEATHS in 1789.

1. Fletcher, lord Grantley, of justice in eyre south of Trent, formerly speaker of the house
commons.

The right. hon. Charles Wol-
Cornwall, speaker of the house
commons, and chief justice in
the north of Trent.

Sir Robert Bernard, bart.

Lady Betty Archer, sister to the
earl of Halifax, and relict of
Henry Archer, esq.

Sir William Maxwell, bart.

Noel, lord Berwick.

Don Genaro, second son of their
ilian majesties.

1. Sir Charles Barrow, bart. M.
for Gloucester.

2. Miss Campbell, daughter of
late lord William Campbell.

3. Godfrey Wentworth, esq.

formerly lord-mayor of York and
M. P. for that city.

Lately, James, viscount Clifden,
of Ireland.

22. The hon. Anne Herbert, re-
lict of the hon. Nicholas Herbert.

23. Mrs. Brooke, author of Emi-
ly Montague, a novel, and other
admired productions.

Lieut. gen. Wm. Wynyard.

The hon. Harriet Emma Maria-
na Devereux, daughter of viscount
Hereford.

25. Admiral James Young.

28. Vice admiral James Gambier.

The hon. Mrs. Temple, mother
of lord Palmerston.

Feb. 3. Don Carlos, youngest son
of their Sicilian majesties.

7. Sir Thomas Halifax, knight,
M. P. for Aylesbury, and alder-
man of London.

Anne, dowager viscountess Bangor.

8. Hon. Mr. Talbot, brother
and presumptive heir to the earl of
Shrewsbury.

14. Lady Henrietta Gordon,
daughter of Alexander, second duke
of Gordon.

Rev. Edw. Roger North, vicar
of Harlow, in Essex, cousin to lord
North.

15. Lady dowager Bamfylde, mo-
ther of sir Charles Warwick Bam-
fylde, bart.

Rear admiral Matthew Whitwell,
younger brother to lord Howard
de Walden.

17. The hon. miss Johnstone,
sister to the marquis of Arundale.

22. The hon. Eleanor Courtney,
sister of viscount Courtney.

25. Lady Robinson, relict of sir
William Robinson, bart.

March 7. The hon. Frances Ca-
tharine Legge, daughter of lord
Lewisham.

11. Alice Agar, countess of Bran-
don.

23. Thomas, duke of Leeds.

31. Charles,

31. Charles, prince Palatine of Birkenfeld, and duke of Bavaria.

April 2. Major-gen. John, lord Macleod, son of the late earl of Cromartie.

5. William Holles, viscount Vane of Ireland, the title extinct.

7. Achmet IV. grand signior.

8. John, earl of Caithness.

9. Sir Brooke Boothby, bart.

13. Brigadier gen. Hope, lieutenant gov. of the province of Quebec.

22. The youngest daughter of lord Vernon.

29. The hon. Mrs. Hamilton sister to lord Castlemart.

Lately, sir Henry Peyton, M. P. for Cambridgeshire.

James, viscount Lifford, lord chancellor of Ireland.

May. 6. The hon. Geo. Byron, brother to lord Byron.

12. The hon. John Wm. Townshend, only surviving son of the late right hon. Charles Townshend, and heir to the barony of Greenwich, on the death of his mother Carolina, countess dowager of Dalkeith.

13. Sir Thomas Wm. Trollope, bart.

16. Lady of Dr. Christopher Wilford, bishop of Bristol.

17. The hon. Emily Elizabeth Coventry, daughter of viscount Deerhurst.

23. The lady of Joshua Grigsby, esq. M. P. for Suffolk.

28. Thomas Plumer Byde, esq. formerly M. P. for Herts.

29. Georgiana lady dowager Middleton, wife of Edward Miller Munday, esq.

31. Lieut. gen. Mackay, commander in chief for Scotland.

June 2. At Berlin, baron Knyphausen, an Hessian general, in the British service in the late war.

3. Lady of lord Ducie.

4. Louis Joseph Xavier Benedict, dauphin of France.

The hon. Mrs. Vane, relict of the hon. Raby Vane, brother of the earl of Darlington.

7. Sir Stanier Porter, knight.

15. Sir John Silvester, bart.

16. The hon. Charlotte Napier, daughter of Lord Napier.

24. In the Charter-house, 84, Mr. James Horne, formerly merchant at Canterbury, and father-in-law to viscount Allen of Ireland.

26. Ralph, viscount Wicklow of Ireland.

30. Lady Frances Steuart, first daughter of the earl of Wemyss, and relict of the late sir James Steuart Denham, bart.

July 1. Miss Hannay, daughter of sir Samuel Hannay, bart.

8. Mrs Mary Craven, mother of lord Craven.

12. James Brydges, esq. son of the late hon. and rev. Henry Brydges, brother to the first duke of Chandos.

17. Countess of Lauderdale.

23. Christabella, dowager countess Saye and Sele.

27. Oswald Mosley, eldest son of sir John Mosley, bart.

28. Countess of Charleville.

29. Sir Watkin William Wynne, bart. M. P. for Denbighshire.

30. The dowager lady Carbery.

31. Richard, viscount Boyne.

The hon. Gen. John Fitzwilliam.

Countess dowager of Castlehaven.

Aug 3. Elizabeth, lady dowager Cathcart.

Rt. hon. sir John Goodrick, bart. M. P. for Ripon, and former ambassador to Sweden.

8. Louisa, marchioness of Landowne.

14. The hon. miss Southwell, daughter of the late lord Clifford of Appleby.

Lady Mitchell, relict of sir Andrew Mitchell, bart.

Peter Delmé, esq. M. P. for
eth.

the infant son of the right. hon.
Addington.

Lady Anne Cole, daughter
earl of Enniskillen.

Mrs. Burrel, grandmother to
Burrel, the duchesses of
Cumberland and Hamilton,
Lady Lovaine.

James, earl of Lauderdale.

Lord Carlingford, only son
earl of Tyrconnel.

Mrs Washington, mother of
Washington esq. president of
United States.

4. The duchess of St. Alban's.
Countess of Dyfart.

Alexander Fordyce, esq.

Edward Hulfe, esq. grandson
Edward Hulfe, bart.

ately, the hon. Caroline Sack-
ville to viscount Sackville.

Sir Robert Barker, bart. ma-
jor commander in chief of the
India company's forces in
al.

ately, at Carrickfergus, the
hon. Dominic Rice.

Countess of Donegal.

Right hon. sir Thomas Mil-
art. of Glenlee, president of the
of session in Scotland.

James, duke of Chandos; the
extinct, that of the barony
Chandos excepted.

ately Margaret Graham, relict of
ate Nichol Graham esq..

2. Francis, earl of Hunting-

James, earl of Abercorn.

Thomas Hunt, esq. M. P. for
min.

John, earl of Stair.

Mrs. Lascelles, wife of gene-
Lascelles, formerly miss Catley.

6. Lady of lord Macdonald.

George, earl Waldegrave.

7. Lady Mannock, relict of sir
Mannock, bart.

fig.

20. Anne, countess dowager of
Albemarle.

27. George Byng, esq. M. P. in
the last parliament for Middlesex.

George Anson, esq. M. P. for
Lichfield.

Nov. 8. Admiral John Vaughan.

9. The hon. Mrs Howard, wife
of Henry Howard, esq. and daugh-
ter of the last lord Archer.

15. Mrs. Letitia Cromwell, daugh-
ter of Mr. Richard Cromwell, grand-
son of Henry Cromwell, lord lieu-
tenant of Ireland in the protectorate
of his father Oliver.

18. Rear admiral sir Francis Sa-
muel Drake, bart.

Sir John Read, bart.

Thomas Beddingfield, esq. son
of sir Richard Beddingfield, bart.

Duchess of Albany, natural daugh-
ter of the late pretender.

20. Archduchess Maria Anna of
Austria.

21. Sir Edward Knatchbull, bart.

26. John Elwes, esq. formerly M.
P. for Berks.

Dec. Lately sir J. Lister Kaye, bart.

13. Lady of the hon. George
Keith Elphinstone.

Henry James Butler, great uncle
to the earl of Laneshorough.

Lately, in France, James Paine,
esq. the celebrated architect.

22. George Nassau Clavering
Cowper, earl Cowper.

26. Lady Forbes, relict of sir
William Forbes, bart.

Lately, Alexander Irvine, esq.
M. P. for East Loos.

27. John, lord Ruthven.

29. William Sotherton, esq. fa-
ther of the present M. P. for Ponte-
fract.

PROMOTIONS in 1789.

January 5. Right hon. William
Wyndham Grenville, speaker of
the house of commons.

(D)

14. Right

14. Right hon. Wm. Brabazon Ponsonby and Charles, lord Loftus, to be joint postmasters general of Ireland.

Feb. 27. Robert Lawley, esq. eldest son of sir Robert Lawley bart. to be equerry to the duke of Cumberland.

March 11. Earl Delawar, to be a lord of the bed-chamber.

12. Major-general West Hyde, to be col. of the 20th regiment of foot.

14. General Joseph, lord Dover, to be col. of the 1st regiment of life-guards.

Gen. Studholme Hodgson, to be col. of the 11th regiment of light dragoons.

Aubrey, earl of Burford, to be major of the 34th regiment of foot.

17. Lt. general sir Charles Grey, K. B. to be col. of the 7th regiment of dragoon guards.

Major-general Francis Lascelles, to be col. of the 8th regiment of light dragoons.

21. Dr. Samuel Halifax, bishop of Gloucester, to be bishop of St. Asaph.

28. Dr. Euseby Cleaver, to be bishop of Cork and Ross.

April 3. John, earl of Chatham, to be a privy-counsellor.

6. The hon. major Robert Hobart, to be chief secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

7. Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, to be master surveyor of the ordnance.

9. Prince Edward, to be col. of the 7th regiment of foot.

10. Major-general William Gordon, to be col. of the 71st regiment of foot.

Rt. hon. Henry Theophilus Clements and lieut. col. Richard St. George, to be governors of the country of Leitrim.

16. Lord Robert Fitzgerald, to be secretary of the embassy to France.

The hon. major Robert Hobart to be a privy-counsellor of Ireland.

2. Sir Robert Murray Ker, K. B. to be a privy-counsellor.

May 5. Robert, archbishop of Dublin, the right hon. Hugh Cameron, chief justice of the common pleas, and sir Samuel Bradstreet, one of the justices of the king's bench, to be commissioners for the keeping of the great seal of Ireland.

9. James, lord Malmesbury, p. (17).

15. Rt. hon. sir Wm. Wynn to be a privy-counsellor.

George, duke of Montagu, to be lord lieutenant of Huntingdonshire.

16. Right hon. Alleyne Fitzclarence, to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the states general of the United Provinces.

19. Prince William Henry, to be duke of Clarence and Andrews in Great Britain, and of Munster in Ireland.

20. Wm. duke of Manchester to be lieut. col. of the Huntingdonshire militia.

30. Dr. Richard Beadon, to be bishop of Gloucester.

June 1. Hon. capt. Geo. Keppel Elphinstone to be treasurer and controller of the household to the duke of Clarence.

2. Hon. Tho. Francis Wynn, LL. D. to be professor of the law in Oxford.

Captains sir John Borlase Wren, bart. and Charles Montagu Pole, and col. Wm. Dalrymple to be grooms of the bedchamber to royal highness.

Captains Hugh Cloberry Clarke and the hon. John Rodney, col. John Hyde, to be his equerries.

The rev. Geo. Waddington, Tho. Lloyd, and Wm. Tutin to be his chaplains.

Dr. Wm. Blane and Dr. Benjamin Mosely, to be his physicians.

latter physician of the household.
 Thomas Keate, esq. to be surgeon.
 Mountfort Longfield, esq. to
 be governor of the city of Cork.

Right hon. Wm. Wyndham
 Knollys, to be secretary of state.

Major-general Geo. Ainslie to
 be col. of the 13th regiment of foot.

General James Murray to be
 col. of the 21st regiment of foot.

Lt. general lord Adam Gordon
 to be commander in chief of the
 army in Scotland.

Lt. general James Grant, to be
 governor of Stirling castle.

Henry Addington, esq. to be
 speaker of the house of commons.

Tho. lord Sydney. to be vis-
 count Sydney.

Tho. viscount Sydney, to be
 chief justice in eyre south of Trent.

Dr. Euseby Cleaver, bishop of
 Cork and Ross, to be bishop of
 Clogher and Ferns.

Rev. Wm. Forster, A. M. to be
 bishop of Cork and Ross.

Hon. John Trevor, envoy
 extraordinary to the court of Turin,
 to be minister plenipotentiary to
 that court.

Rev. Tho. Postlethwayte, B. D.
 to be master of Trinity College,
 Cambridge.

Lt. col. Charles Lennox. of the
 2nd regiment of foot guards, to be
 lieutenant col. of the 35th regiment
 of foot.

Right hon. John Fitzgibbon
 to be lord chancellor of Ireland.

The duke of Clarence, and
 the right. hon. Henry Addington,
 to be privy-counsellors.

Rev. John Cole and John
 Aldlake to be chaplains to the duke
 of Clarence.

Mr. Geo. Rutherford and Mr.
 Halliday, to be his surgeons extra-
 ordinary.

Mr. Pratton, to be his apothecary.

Mr. Robinson, to be sub-treasurer.

July 6. Right Hon. John Fitz-
 gibbon lord chancellor of Ireland, to
 be lord Fitzgibbon.

Major gen. Robert Prescott, to be
 col. of the 28th regiment of foot.

10. Rev. John Cleathing, A. B.
 to be domestic chaplain to the duke
 of Gloucester.

17. John Lloyd and John Mit-
 ford, esqs. to be justices of the coun-
 ties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, &c.
 and also king's council.

18. Martin Eden, esq. envoy ex-
 traordinary at Dresden, to be mi-
 nister plenipotentiary there.

Charles Henry Fraser, esq. to be
 secretary of embassy at the court of
 Madrid, and minister plenipoten-
 tiary in the absence of the ambassa-
 dor.

Alexander Strutton, esq. to be
 secretary of legation at the court of
 Vienna.

William Lindsey, esq. the same
 at the court of Petersburg.

Francis James Jackson, esq. to
 be the same at Berlin.

Peter Holmes, Richard Town-
 send Herbert, Edward Fitzgerald;
 Samuel Hayes, and George Raw-
 son, esqrs. to be commissioners of
 the stamp-duties in Ireland.

Charles, lord Loftus, and Charles,
 earl of Bellamont, postmasters
 general of Ireland.

Edward Tighe, esq. sir Frederick
 Flood, bart. Charles Henry Coote,
 and John Reilley, esqrs. with the
 auditor of the imprest for the time
 being, to be commissioners of ex-
 traordinary and imprest accounts.

20. Rev. Henry Harrison, to be
 chaplain to the duke of Clarence.

Mr. Harrison of Pall Mall, to
 be apothecary to his household.

21. Rev. William Bingham, M:
 A. to be archdeacon of London.

Rev. John Wilson, M. A. to
 be vicar of Catterick, Yorkshire.

Aug. 8. Right hon. William Pitt, hon. Edward James Eliot, Richard, earl of Mornington, John Jeffries, viscount Bayham, and Henry lord Apſley, to be lords of the treasury,

James, Marquis of Graham, to be a privy-counſellor, and preſident of the committee for the conſideration of all matters relative to trade and foreign plantations in the abſence of lord Hawkeſbury.

12. Henry, earl of Clanrickarde to be marquis of Clanrickarde.

Randal William, earl of Antrim to be marquis of Antrim.

George, earl of Tyrone to be marquis of the county of Waterford.

Wills, earl of Hillsborough to be marquis of Downſhire.

Francis Charles, viſcount Glerawly to be earl Anneſley.

William, viſcount Enniſkillen to be earl of Enniſkillen.

John, viſcount Erne, to be earl Erne.

John Joſhua, lord Caryſfort to be earl of Caryſfort.

John, lord Earlsfort to be viſcount Clonmell.

John Newport, Robert Bateſon Harvey, Samuel Hayes, and Robert Hoſſon Barry, eſqrs. to be baronets.

Arthur Wolfe, eſq. to be a privy-counſellor and attorney-general.

John Toler, eſq. to be ſolicitor-general.

John, earl of Glandore and John Joſhua, earl of Caryſfort, to be guardians and keepers of the rolls.

All theſe creations and appointments of the kingdom of Ireland.

Aug. 15. Joſeph Ewart, eſq. envoy extraordinary at Berlin, to be miniſter plenipotentiary at that court.

John, earl of Chatham, Richard Hopkins, eſq. Charles George, lord Arden, Samuel, lord Hood, ſir Francis Drake, bart. Robert, viſ-

count Belgrave, and the late John Thomas Townſhend, lords of the admiralty.

Constantine John, lord Malton and James, marquis of Graham, be paymaſters-general of the ſtrength.

18. James, earl of Salisbury, to be marquis of Salisbury.

Thomas, viſcount Weymouth, to be marquis of Bath.

George, viſcount Mount Edcumbe and Valletort, to be earl Mount Edcumbe.

Hugh, lord Forteſcue, to be lord Forteſcue and viſcount Ebrington.

19. Hon. Joſeph Hewit, to be ſecond ſerjeant at law in Ireland.

Henry Lawes, earl of Carhampton, to be lieutenant-general of the militia in Ireland.

22. William Henry, earl of Clarendon, to be gentleman of the chamber to the prince of Wales.

Lieutenant-general William Muſgrave, commander in chief for the time being, the right hon. James Cuffe, Ponſonby More, William Handcock, Robert Landgriffe, ſir David Dundas, adjutant-general, the hon. George Jockſon, Frederick French, and the late Henry Pomeroy, to be commiſſioners of the barracks in Ireland.

26. Thomas Byard, eſq. captain in the navy, knighted.

27. George Evelyn, viſcount Eſſex, to be chief juſtice in the North of Trent.

Sept. 7. Mr. Thomas Wood to be inſpector of lottery offices.

9. Right hon. Hugh Carleton, juſtice of the common pleas in Ireland to be baron Carleton of Ireland.

Right hon. William Eden to be baron Auckland of Ireland.

Right hon. Luke Gardiner to be baron Mountjoy, of Ireland.

Right hon. Robert Stewart to be baron Londonderry of Ireland.

John Browne, bart. to be baron Kilmaine, of Ireland.

Nicholas Lawless, bart. to be baron Cloncurry of Ireland.

Henry Gore, esq. to be baron of Ireland.

Sampson Eardley, bart. to be baron Eardley, of Ireland.

12. Lord Walsingham and earl of Westmoreland to be masters-general.

Earl of Chesterfield to be master of the mint.

Timothy Caswall, esq. to be commissioner of excise.

John Armstrong and John Agar to be privy-counsellors of Ireland.

Andrew Snape Douglas, esq. to be clerk of the treasury.

Rev. George Mangles to be chaplain to the prince of Wales.

Thomas Loftus, esq. to be principal storekeeper of the ordnance of Ireland.

Robert Wynne, esq. to be clerk of the deliveries.

John Armit esq. to be secretary to the board of ordnance.

John Joshua, lord Carysfort, to be a privy counsellor of Ireland.

Sir Francis Vincent, bart. to be resident at Venice.

Lieutenant-general John Douglas to be colonel of the 5th regiment of dragoon-guards.

Alexander, earl of Balcarras, to be colonel of the 63d regiment of foot.

7. Duke of Dorset, to be steward of the household.

John, earl of Westmoreland, to be a privy counsellor of Great Britain, and lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of the late earl of Sandwich, and rev. George Hamilton, A. canon of Windfor, deceased, daughter of the late James, Earl of Cornwall, to have precedence as

the daughter of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain.

28. Ashton Warner Byam, esq. attorney-general of Grenada, knighted.

30. Lieutenant-colonel Richard St. George to be inspector of recruiting parties in Ireland.

31. Hay Campbell, esq. of Succoth, to be president of the college of justice in Scotland.

Robert Dundas, esq. of Arncliffe, to be lord advocate of Scotland.

Robert Blair, esq. solicitor for Scotland.

Now. 2. Major Francis Grose to be lieutenant-governor of New South Wales.

3. John Laforey, esq. of Antigua, a bart.

13. John Wm. Rose, esq. recorder of London, to be serjeant at law.

17. Earl Fauconberg to be colonel of the North York militia.

SHERIFFS appointed for the Year 1789.

Berkshire — Edward Golden, of Maiden Earley, esq.

Bedfordshire — Samuel Boyden, of Milton Ernests, esq.

Bucks — Richard Davenport, of Great Marlow, esq.

Camb. and Hunt. Thomas Pantton, of Fen Ditton, esq.

Cheshire — Sir John Chetwode of Agden, bart.

Cornwall — Robert Lovell Gwatkin, of Kiliow, esq.

Cumberland — Thomas Denton, of Warnal-hall, esq.

Derbyshire — Martin Farnell, of Coton in the Elmes, esq.

Devonshire — Montague Edmund Parker, of Whiteway, esq.

Dorsetshire — Frederick Thomas Wentworth, of Henbury, esq.

Essex — Thomas Fowell Buxton, of Earl's Colne, esq.

(D 3)

Glou.

Gloucestershire—George Miller,
of Ozleworth, esq.

Herefordshire—William Taylor,
of Tillington, esq.

Hertfordsh.—Drummond Smith,
of Tring Park, esq.

Kent—John Cartier, of Bedgbury,
esq.

Leicestershire—Josiah Cockshutt,
of Osbaldiston, esq.

Lincolnshire—Lewis Dymoke, of
Screvelby, esq.

Monmouthshire—Thomas Lewis,
of Saint Peer, esq.

Norfolk—Brampton Gurdon Dillingham,
of Letton, esq.

Northamptonshire—Rich. Hanwell,
of Long Buckby, esq.

Northumberland—Robert Lisle,
of Acton, esq.

Nottinghamshire—John Chamberlin,
of Sutton Bonnington, esq.

Oxfordshire—John Blackall, jun.
of Hasley, esq.

Rutlandshire—Benjamin Cramp,
of Oakham, esq.

Shropshire—Joseph Oldham, of
Cainham, esq.

Somersetshire—George Temp-
lar, of Shapwick, esq.

Staffordshire—Thomas Lever-
fage Fowler, of Penford, esq.

Suffolk—Nathaniel Lee Acton,
of Livermore, esq.

County of Southampton—William
Harris, of New Arlesford, esq.

Surrey—Thomas Sutton, of East
Molesey, esq.

Suffex—Sir Ferdinando Poole,
Lewes, bart.

Warwickshire—Thomas Wainwright,
of Moreton Morrell, esq.

Worcestershire—John Spooner,
of Leigh-court, esq.

Wiltshire—Thomas Grove,
Fern, esq.

Yorkshire—Walter Fawkes,
Farnley-hall, esq.

S O U T H W A L E S

Carmarthen—Walter Thomas,
Wainrhodod, esq.

Pembroke—George Roche,
Clareston, esq.

Cardigan—John Jones, of Den-
Ormond, esq.

Glamorgan—John Lewellyn,
Welch St. Donats, esq.

Brecon—Jeffreys Wilkins,
Brecon, esq.

Radnor—Thomas Duppa,
Knighton, esq.

N O R T H W A L E S

Anglesea—John Williams,
Nantannog, esq.

Carnarvon—William Hughes,
Nantcall, esq.

Denbighshire—Charles Brown,
of Marchwiell, esq.

Flint—Richard Wilding, of
taty, esq.

Merioneth—Edward Lloyd,
Palan, esq.

Montgomery—Francis Lloyd,
Domgay, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

At the Division in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, December 16, 1788, on the Second Resolution, moved that Day, by the Right Honourable William Pitt.

London, ALDERMAN WATSON, in the Chair.

*For the question.**Against the Question.*

*Kingdon,
Monmouth,
Alban's,
Llborough, Suffolk,*

Wm. Drake, jun. Esq.
Wm. Grimston Esq.

E. L. Loveden,

Wm. Cha. Sloper, Esq.
P. C. Crespigny, Esq.
Samuel Salt, Esq.

Llborough, Yorksh.

Sir R. Pepper Arden
J. Galley Knight, Esq.
Wm. Fellowes, Esq.
Benj. Lethieullier, Esq.
Nicholas Bayley, Esq.
Hon. J. L. Gower

Tho. Fitzherbert Esq.
Rich. Beckford, Esq.

Andover,

*Anglesea,
Appleby,
Brundel,*

Robert Mackreth, Esq.
Sir Thomas Hallifax
William Devaynes, Esq.
Lord Viscount Bayham
Sir H. Williams, Bart.

Wm. Wrightson, Esq.
John Cleveland, Esq.
Abel Moysey, Esq.

*Aburton,
Aplebury,
Barnstaple,
Bath,
Beaumaris,
Bedfordshire,*

Samuel Whitbread, Esq.
Marquis of Graham
Lieut. col. Manners

Earl of Upper Ossory
Hon. Andrew St. John
William Colhoun, Esq.

*Bedford,
Bedwin,*

Geo. Vanfittart, Esq.
Hen. James Pye, Esq.

Lord Viscount Fielding

*Beralsston,
Berkshire,*

Berwick,

Sir J. Pennyman Bart.
Lord Westcote

Sir general Vaughan
Gilbert Elliot, Bart.

*Beverley,
Boswell,
Bishop's Cufle,*

William Clive, Esq.
Henry Strachey Esq.
John Kenrick, Esq.
Sir Rob. Clayton, Bart.
Sir Jn. Morshead, Bart.
Thomas Hunt, Esq.
Viscount Palmerston

Blackingly,

Bodmyn,

Boroughbridge,

Sir Rich. Sutton, Bart.

(D 4)

Bosfiney,

	<i>For the Question.</i>	<i>Against the Question.</i>
<i>Bosfiney,</i>	Matthew Montagu, Esq. Hon. Charles Stuart	Sir Peter Burrell
<i>Boston,</i>		
<i>Brackley,</i>	Colonel Egerton Timothy Caswell, Esq.	
<i>Bramber,</i>	Sir H. G. Calthorpe, Bt. Major Hobart	
<i>Breconshire,</i>		Sir Charles Gould
<i>Brecon,</i>		Charles Gould, Esq.
<i>Bridgenorth,</i>	J. H. Browne, Esq.	Tho. Whitmore, Esq.
<i>Bridgewater,</i>	Sir Alex. Hood, K. B. Robert Thornton, Esq.	
<i>Bridport,</i>		Thomas Scott, Esq. Charles Sturt, Esq.
<i>Bristol,</i>	Matthew Brickdale, Esq.	
<i>Buckinghamshire,</i>	Rt. Hon. W. W. Grenville	
<i>Buckingham,</i>	Edmund Nugent, Esq.	
<i>Callington,</i>	John Call, Esq.	
<i>Calne,</i>	Joseph Jekyll Esq.	
<i>Cambridgeshire,</i>	Philip Yorke, Esq.	
<i>Cambridge Univerf.</i>	Rt Hon. Wm. Pitt Lord Euston	
<i>Cambridge, Town of</i>	Francis Dickens, Esq.	
<i>Camelford,</i>		James Macpherson, Esq. Sir Sam. Hannay, Bart.
<i>Canterbury,</i>	George Gipps, Esq. Charles Robinson, Esq.	
<i>Cardiff,</i>		Sir H. Mackworth, Bart.
<i>Cardiganhire,</i>		Earl of Lisburne
<i>Cardigan,</i>		John Campbell, Esq.
<i>Carlisle,</i>	John Christian, Esq.	Rowl. Stephenson, Esq.
<i>Caermarthen,</i>		John G. Phillips,
<i>Castle Rising,</i>	Walter Sneyd, Esq. Charles Boone, Esq.	
<i>Cheeshire,</i>	Sir R. S. Cotton, Bart.	John Crewe, Esq.
<i>Chester,</i>	Tho. Grosvenor, Esq. R. W. Bootle, Esq.	
<i>Chilfchurch,</i>		Sir John Frederick, Bart. Hans Sloane, Esq.
<i>Chichester,</i>	Geo. W. Thomas, Esq. Tho. Steele, Esq.	
<i>Chippingham,</i>	George Fludyer, Esq.	James Dawkins, Esq.
<i>Cirencester,</i>	Lord Apsley	
<i>Cliitheroe,</i>	Richard Master, Esq.	Thomas Lister, Esq. John Lee, Esq.
<i>Cockermouth,</i>		J. C. Statterthwaite Esq. Humph. Senhouse Esq. Cockermouth

For the Question.

Against the Question.

Sir Robert Smyth, Bart.

John Bond, jun. Esq.
Henry Bankes, Esq.
Sir Wm. Lemon, Bart.
Sir Samp. Gideon, Bart.
John Wilmot, Esq.
Robert Nicholas, Esq.

Sir W. Moleworth, Bt.

J. Walker Heneage, Esq.
Sir Hen. Fletcher, Bart.
Wm. Lowther, Esq.

Richard Hopkins, Esq.

Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.
Rich. Myddleton, Esq.
Lord Geo. Cavendish
Edw. M. Mundy, Esq.
Lord G. A. H. Cavendish
Edward Coke, Esq.
John Pol. Bastard, Esq.

John Rolle, Esq.
Francis J. Browne, Esq.

Hon. George Damer
Wm. Ewer, Esq.

Robert Preston, Esq.
Robert Shaftoe, Esq.

Hon. W. S. Conway
Hon. Andrew Foley
Edw. Winnington, Esq.
Sir G. W. Vanneck, Bt.
Sir John Eden, Bart.
John Tempest, Esq.
Wm. H. Lambton, Esq.

Barne Barne, Esq.

Sir Charles Davers, Bart.

Alexander Irvine, Esq.
Lord Viscount Belgrave,
Lord Charles Fitzroy,
Tho. B. Bramston, Esq.
Sir John Rushout, Bart.
Cha. W. B. Rouse, Esq.
John Baring, Esq.

Sir C. W. Bampfylde,
Bart.

General Philipson
Major-general Bathurst

Sir Roger Mostyn, Bart.

Major W. Williams,
Philip Rashleigh, Esq.
Hon. Rich. Edgcombe
James Fraser, Esq.
J. James Hamilton, Esq.
Samuel Smith, Esq.
Charles Edwin, Esq.
Hon. Capt. Berkeley
Thomas Master, Esq.

John Webb, Esq.

Francis Baring, Esq.

Grantam,

	<i>For the Question.</i>	<i>Against the Question.</i>
Grantham, East Grimsby,	George Sutton, Esq.	John Harrison, Esq. Dudley Long, Esq.
East Grinstead, Guildford, Hampshire,	George Medley, Esq. Hon. Thowas Onslow Robert Thistlethwaite, Esq.	Hon. general Norton Jervoise C. Jervoise, Esq.
Harwich, Haslemere,	John Robinson, Esq.	John B. Garforth, Esq. John Lowther, Esq.
Hastings,	John Stanley, Esq. John Dawes, Esq.	
Helston, Herefordshire, Hereford,	James B. Burgess, Esq. Rt. hon. Tho. Harley	Roger Wilbraham, Esq. Sir Geo. Cornwall, Bt. John Scudamore, Esq. James Walwyn, Esq. Wm. Plumer, Esq.
Hertfordshire, Hertford,	Viscount Grimston, Baron Dimdale John Calvert, Esq. Lionel Darell, Esq.	
Heydon, Heytesbury, Higham Ferrers, Highworth, Hindon, Honiton,	Sir C. F. Ratcliffe, Bt. Wm. Egerton, Esq. Rt. hon Sir G. Yonge, K. B.	W. P. A'Court, Esq. Right Hon. F. Montagu William Evelyn, Esq.
Horsham,	Jer. Crutchley, Esq. Phil. Metcalf, Esq.	Sir George Collier
Huntingdonshire, Huntingdon,	Viscount Hinchinbroke,	Earl Ludlow Sir Walter Rawlinson Jn. Willet Payne, Esq.
Ilchester,	Benjam. Bond Hopkins, Esq. George Sumner, Esq. C. Alex. Cricket, Esq. William Praed, Esq. Hon. Charles Marsham	William Middleton, Esq. Filmer Honeywood, Esq. Hon. Horatio Walpole
Ipswich, St. Ives, Kent, King's Lynn, Kingston, upon Hull,	Sam. Thornton, Esq. W. Spencer Stanhope, Esq.	
Knaresborough, Lancashire, Lancaster,	John Blackburne, Esq.	Viscount Duncannon, Thomas Stanley, Esq. Sir Geo. Warren, K. Ab. Rawlinson, Esq. Sir John Swinburne
Launceston, Leicestershire,	Lord Arden John Peach Hungerford, Esq. Wm. Pochin, Esq. Colonel Macnamara Cha. Lor. Smith, Esq.	
Leicester,		

For the Question.

Against the Question.

Minster,
Heard,
Witthiel,
Wes,
Wolshire,

John Hunter, Esq.
Penn A. Curzon, Esq.
Hon. Edw. Jas. Eliot
Hon. John Eliot
John Tho. Ellis, Esq.
Thomas Kemp, Esq.

Sir John Sinclair, Bart.
Hon. Hen. Pelham
Sir John Thorold, Bart.
C. Anderson Pelham
Esq.

Wcola,
Wchfield,
Wverpool,
Wndon,

Jn. F. Cawthorne, Esq.
Bamber Gascoyne, Esq.
Sir Watkin Lewes,

Hon. R. L. Saville
George Anson Esq.
Lord Penrhyn
Nath. Newnham, Esq.
John Sawbridge, Esq.
Lord Clive
Rich. P. Knight, Esq.

Wggershall,
Wme Regis,

Geo. Aug. Selwyn, Esq.
Nath. W. Wraxall, Esq.
Hon. Thomas Fane
Hon. Henry Fane
Robert Colt, Esq.
George Rose, Esq.
Matthew Bloxam, Esq.
John Strutt, Esq.

Clement Taylor, Esq.
Sir Peter Parker, Bart.
Viscount Melbourne
Viscount Maitland
Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke
Wm. Weddell, Esq.

Wmington,
Waldstone,
Walden,
Walmesbury,
Wlton,

Earl of Courtown
Sir Philip Hailcs, Bart.
Sir Thomas Rich, Bart.
Hugh Boscawen, Esq.
William Young, Esq.
Christo. Hawkings, Esq.
Hen. Drummond, Esq.
Wm. Mainwaring, Esq.
Lord Muncaster
Robert Wood, Esq.
Major-general Rooke
Marquis of Worcester

William Clayton, Esq.

Wlborough,
Wlton,
W. Mawes,
W. Michael,
Widburst,
Widdlesex,
Wilbourn Port,
Wlnebad,
Wlmonmouthshire,
Wlmonmouth,
WlMontgomeryshire,
WlMontgomery,
WlMorpatb,

David Howell, Esq.
Edward Cotsford, Esq.
Colonel W. Popham

John Morgan, Esq.

Wm. Mostyn Owen, Esq.
Whitshed Keene, Esq.
Peter Delmé, Esq.
Sir James Erskine, Bart.

WlNewark,

Lieut.col. John Sutton
Lord Mulgrave
Sir Archib. Macdonald
Richard Vernon, Esq.

WlNewcastle under
WlLinc,

Newcastle

	<i>For the Question.</i>	<i>Against the Question.</i>
Newcastle upon Tyne, } Newport, Cornwall, Newport, Hants, Newton, Lancashire, Newton, Hants,	Charles Brandling, Esq. Hon. John Townshend Thomas Brooke, Esq. John Barrington, Esq. Mark Gregory, Esq. Sir John Wodehouse, Bt. Henry Peirse, Esq. Edwin Lascelles, Esq. Sir Jas. Langham, bart.	Sir M. W. Ridley, Bt. Sir John Miller, Bt. Edw. Rushworth, Esq. Tho. P. Leigh, Esq.
Norfolk, Northallerton,	Sir John Wodehouse, Bt. Henry Peirse, Esq. Edwin Lascelles, Esq. Sir Jas. Langham, bart.	Sir Edward Astley, Bt.
Northamptonshire, Northumberland,		Tho. Powys, Esq. Sir Wm. Middleton, Bt. Charles Grey, Esq. Rt. Hon. W. Wyndham Lord E. C. Cavendish Bentinck C. Meadows Pierrepont Esq.
Norwich, Nottinghamshire,	Hon. Hen. Hobart	Dan. P. Coke, Esq. Viscount Malden Hon. G. Seymour Cam way Lord Charles Spencer Lord Robert Spencer Hon. Peregrine Bertie Francis Page, Esq. Hugh Owen, Esq. Sir John St. Aubyn, Bt. Richard Benyon, Esq. Hon. Lionel Damer Viscount Downe, Wm. Joliffe, Esq. John Macbride, Esq.
Nottingham, Oakhampton, Orford,	Robert Smith, Esq. Humphrey Minchin, Esq.	
Oxfordshire, Oxford,		
Oxford University, Pembroke, Penryn, Peterborough,	Sir Wm. Dolben, Bart.	
Petersfield,		
Plymouth, Plympton,	Robert Fanshawe, Esq. John Stephenson, Esq. John Pardoe, jun. Esq. John Smyth, Esq. Wm. Sotherton, Esq. Wm. M. Pitt, Esq. Hon. W. Cornwallis Sir H. Houghton, Bart. George Bowyer, Esq. John Aldridge, Esq. Thomas Johnes, Esq. Francis Annesly, Esq. Richard A. Neville, Esq. Earl of Lincoln	
Pontefract,		
Poola, Portsmouth, Preston, Queensborough,		Mich. A. Taylor, Esq. Sir H. Featherstone, Bt. Rt. hon. Gen. Burgoyne
Radnorshire, Reading,		
East Retford, Richmond,		Wharton Amcotts, Esq. Earl of Inchiquin Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. Wm. Lawrence, Esq.
Rippon, Rochester,	Sir C. Middleton, Bart.	

For the Question.

Against the Question.

Romney,
Landshire,
at,
st,
wich,
Sarum,
Sarum,
borough,
ford,
stisbury,
reham,
bury,
erfetshire,
ampton,
abwari,
ffordshire,
fford,
msford,
gning,
kbridge,
bury,
Folk,
rey,
ix,
mworth,
rstock,
anton,
esford,
shire,

John Henniker, Esq.
Rich. J. Sullivan, Esq.
G. B. Brudenell, Esq.
Rt. hon. C. W. Cornwall, *Speaker*
Wm. Bellingham, Esq.
Reginald Pole Carew, Esq.
John Kynafton, Esq.

Philip Stevens, Esq.
Charles Brett, Esq.
Hon. W. H. Bouverie
Rt. hon. J. C. Villiers
George Hardinge, Esq.
Earl of Tyrconnell
Geo. Obaldefton, Esq.

Hans W. Mortimer, Esq.
John Drummond, Esq.
John Peachey, Esq.
John Hill, Esq.
Edw. Phelps, Esq.
John Fleming, Esq.
James Amyatt, Esq.
Henry Thornton, Esq.
Paul Le Mefurier, Esq.
Lord Gower
Sir Edw. Littleton, Bart.

Sir George Howard,
K. B.
Henry Cecil, Esq.
Hon. Rich. Howard
Jas. Gordon, jun. Esq.
William Smith, Esq.
John Langfton, Esq.
Sir John Rous, Bart.
Joshua Grigby, Esq.
Sir Jos. Mawbey, Bart.
Lord George Lenox
John Calvert, jun. Esq.

Alexander Popham, Esq.
Sir Benj. Hammett
Sir Charles Kent, Bart.
George Jennings, Esq.
Sir G. P. Turner, Bart.

Ger. Noel Edwards, Esq.
Wm. Dickenson, Esq.

Major Lemon

William Huffey, Esq.

Sir Godfrey Webster

Hon. Edw. Monckton
R. B. Sheridan, Esq.

T. Boothby Parkins, Esq.

Hon. William Norton
Hon. Thomas Pelham
John Courtney, Esq.
Rt. Hon. H. Fitzpatrick
Lord John Ruffel

Robert Vyner, Esq.
Tiverton,

	<i>For the Question.</i>	<i>Against the Question.</i>
<i>Tiverton,</i>	Hon. Dudley Ryder	Robert Kingsmill, Esq.
<i>Totnes,</i>	Hon. Colonel Phipps	Hon. Hugh Conway
<i>Tregony,</i>		
<i>Truro,</i>	Henry Addington, Esq.	
<i>Wallingford,</i>	Colonel Boscawen,	
<i>Wareham,</i>	Sir Francis Sykes, Bart.	
<i>Warwickshire,</i>	Thomas Farrer, Esq.	John Calcraft, Esq.
	Sir Robert Lawley, Bt.	
	Sir Geo. A. W. Shuckburgh, Bart.	
<i>Warwick,</i>		Robert Ladbroke, Esq.
<i>Wells,</i>	Clement Tudway, Esq.	
<i>Wendover,</i>		Robert Burton, Esq.
<i>Wenlock,</i>		John Ord, Esq.
<i>Weobly,</i>	Sir John Scott,	Sir H. Bridgeman, Bart.
<i>Westbury,</i>	Hon. Thomas Thynne	George Forrester, Esq.
<i>West Looe,</i>	Samuel Estwick, Esq.	
<i>Westminster,</i>	John Madocks, Esq.	
	Major John Scott	
	James Adams, Esq.	
<i>Westmoreland,</i>		Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox
<i>Weymouth and</i>		Lord John Townshend
<i>Melcomb Regis,</i>		Sir M. Le Fleming,
<i>Whitchurch,</i>	William Selwyn, Esq.	John Lowther, Esq.
<i>Wigan,</i>		Rt. Hon. Welbore Ellis
<i>Wilton,</i>	Lord Herbert	John Purling Esq.
<i>Winchelsea,</i>		Viscount Middleton
<i>Winchester,</i>	Richard Gamon, junr.	John Cotes, Esq.
	Esq.	Orlando Bridgeman,
<i>Windsor,</i>	Earl of Mornington	John Nesbitt, Esq.
<i>Woodstock,</i>	Sir H. W. Dalswood, Bt.	Henry Penton, Esq.
	Francis Burton Esq.	
<i>Worcestershire,</i>		Hon. Edw. Foley
<i>Worcester,</i>	Samuel Smith, Esq.	Hon. Col. North
<i>Wootton Bassett,</i>		Hon. Robert S. C.
<i>Chipping Wycombe,</i>	Robert Waller, Esq.	
<i>Tarmouth, Norfolk,</i>	Sir John Jervis, K. B.	
	Henry Beaufoy, Esq.	
<i>Tarmouth, Hants,</i>		Phillip Francis, Esq.
<i>Yorkshire,</i>	Henry Duncombe, Esq.	Tho. Jer. Clarke,
<i>York,</i>	Wm. Wilberforce, Esq.	
	Rich. Slater Milnes, Esq.	Lord Galway
		SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND.

For the Question.

Against the Question.

George Skeene, Esq.
Sir Dav. Carnegie, Bart.

Lord F. Campbell
Sir James Duff, Bart.
Pat. Home, Esq.

Col. J. Stuart

Burnet Abertrombie,
Esq.

John Anstruther, Esq.

George Dempster, Esq.

Ilay Campbell, Esq.

Sir Robert Laurie, Bart.

Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas
Sir Adam Ferguson, Bt.
Earl of Fife
Colonel Wemyss
Archib. Douglas, Esq.
John Hamilton, Esq.
Lord Wm. Gordon
Sir Hector Monro, K. B.

Sir A. Edmonston, Bart.

R. Allardice Barclay, Esq.

Wm. Adam, Esq.
Alexander Stewart, Esq.

Sir Chas. Preston, Bart.
Sir Jas. S. Denham

Colonel Fullarton
Sir William A. Cunningham, Bart.

Colonel Dundas

Alexander Brodie, Esq.

David Murray, Esq.
Hon. General Murray

John Shaw Stewart, Esq.
F. H. Mackenzie, Esq.

Sir George Douglas, Bt.
Mark Pringle, Esq.
Major Moore

Sir Tho. Dundas, Bart.

Lieut. General Grant
Andrew McDowall, Esq.

Paired

Paired off for the question.

Buckingham,
Calne,
Kirkwall, &c.
Shropshire,

Right Hon. James Grenville
Right Hon. Isaac Barré
Charles Ross, Esq.
Sir Richard Hill, Bart.

Paired off against the Question.

Banbury,
Dumbartonshire,
Wilton,
Winchelsea,

Lord North
Hon. G. Keith Elphinstone
Rt. Hon. W. G. Hamilton
William Nedham, Esq.

On Monday the 22d, in favour of the Third Resolution, proposed the Right Honourable William Pitt, and against the amendment proposed thereto by Mr. Dempster.

For the original Motion.

Against the original Motion.

Beverley,
Bristol,
Caernarvonshire,
Dartmouth,
Devizes,
Heidon,
Heydon,
Haverfordwest,
Ipswich,
Litchfield,
Orford,
Oxfordshire,
St. Ives,
Salisbury,
Steyning,
Tiverton,
Worcestershire,
Windsor,

Sir C. Sykes, Bart.
Henry Cruger, Esq.
John Parry, Esq.
Edmund Bastard, Esq.
Henry Addington, Esq.
Edward Bearcroft, Esq.
Wm. Chaytor, Esq.
Lord Kensington
William Middleton, Esq.
Thomas Gilbert, Esq.

Lord Beauchamp

Lord Wenman
Richard Barwell, Esq.
Charles Ambler, Esq.
Sir J. Honeywood, Bart.
Sir John Duntz, Bart.
Wm. Lygon, Esq.
P. P. Powney, Esq.

The following Gentlemen have been prevented by illness from attending the House during the present Session.

Cambridgeshire,
Calington,
Rochester,
Somersetshire,
Minehead,
Marionethshire,

Sir H. Peyton, Bart.
Paul Orchard, Esq.
Nathaniel Smith, Esq.
Sir J. Trevelyan, Bart.
J. F. Luttrell, Esq.
E. L. Vaughan, Esq.

the Division in the House of Lords, on Friday the 26th of December, 18, on the Question of the Amendment to the Resolution moved by Lord Gordon.

C O N T E N T S.

Spencer	Cardiff
Abergavenny	Hawke
<i>Viscounts</i>	Foley
Hereford	Loughborough
Bolingbroke	Portchester
Maynard	Rodney
Hampden	Rawdon
<i>Lords</i>	Douglas (Duke of Queensbury)
Audley	Malmesbury
St. John	SCOTCH PEERS.
Clifton (Earl of Darnley)	<i>Marquis</i>
Teynham	Lothian
Craven	<i>Earls</i>
Boyle (Earl of Cork)	Eglington
Hay (Earl of Kinnoul)	Cassilis
Cadogan	Selkirk
Monson	Breadalbane
Chedworth	<i>Viscount</i>
Ponsonby (Earl of Bessborough)	Stormont.
Walpole	<i>Lord</i>
Stawell	Kinnaird
Pelham	<i>Bishops</i>
Egmont	Winchester
Vernon	Landaff
	Bristol.

N O T - C O N T E N T S.

Westmorland	Ker (D. of Roxburgh)
Winchelsea	Waldegrave
Chesterfield	Effingham
Essex	Harrington
Doncaster	Warwick
Abingdon	Harcourt
Gainsborough	Darlington
Rochford	Fauconberg
Coventry	Delawar
Poulett	Radnor
Oxford	Chatham
Aylesford	Bathurst
Sussex	Aylesbury
Stanhope	Clarendon
Macclesfield	Leicester

(E)

Uxbridge

Uxbridge	Digby	Galloway
Norwich (Duke of Gordon)	Sundridge (Duke of Argyle)	Hopetoun
Talbot	Amherst	Lords
Strange (D. of Athol)	Rivers	Elphinstone
Viscounts	Thurlow (Chancellor)	Cathcart
Howe	Harrowby	
Weymouth	Brudenell	Archbishops of
Falmouth	Walsingham	Canterbury
Mount Edgcumbe	Bagot	
Lords	Sydney	Bishops of
Willoughby de Broke	Lovaine	London
Howard of Walden	Carteret	Durham
Osborne (Marquis of Carmarthen)	Elliott	Bath and Wells
Middleton	Bulkeley	Carlisle
Onslow	Somers	Salisbury
Romney	Berwick	Peterborough
King	Delaval	Worcester
Montford	Hawkesbury	Chester
Fortescue	Dover	Lincoln
Cardale	SCOTCH PEERS.	Bangor
Boston	Earls	Gloucester
	Morton	St. David's.
	Moray	

Protest of the Lords, who voted on Monday December 29, against agreeing to the Resolutions of the Commons, delivered at a Conference on the 23d.

DISSENTIENT,

1st. Because we adhere to the ancient principle recognized and declared by the act of the 13th of Charles the Second, that no act or ordinance, with the force and virtue of a law, can be made by either or both houses of parliament, without the king's assent; a principle standing as a bulwark to the people against the two houses, as the two houses are their security against the crown.

2dly. Because this principle is tacitly admitted by the third resolution, while it overthrows the practice, by a simulate appearance of the royal assent, under a commis-

sion to pass bills; a commission which would be inconsistent with the provisions of an act of 13th Henry the Eighth, requiring, that every commission shall be signed by majesty's hand. In our present unhappy situation, that essential requisite being unattainable, we cannot condescend to give a sanction to a counterfeit representation of a royal signature, and we dare not assume a power to dispense with a law which makes that signature essential to the validity of a commission to pass bills.

3dly. Because we conceive, that the unquestionable rights of the people, so fallaciously represented as being upheld by these resolutions, are violently infringed by an unnecessary assumption on the part of the two houses, of powers beyond those which the nation has signed them. Invariable practice

good times, and positive laws
 established by complete parliaments,
 and constitutionally represent-
 the nation, have defined these
 powers. And we cannot, but re-
 with the utmost apprehension,
 proposal to overstep those boun-
 ds; when the consequence of
 usurpation is so fatally marked
 the history of our country.

ly. Because it was confessed,
 the debate, that the powers of
 commission were not to be con-
 solely to the act of appointing
 agent: to what other purposes
 may extend, were not explain-

State necessity, the avowed
 and of the measure, may serve
 the pretext to any diminution of
 the prerogative of the crown,
 the liberties of the people, that
 suits the designs of ambition.
 All experience had shewn, to our
 fathers, the boundless mischief of
 power thus usurped under plausible
 pretences; and it is peculiarly
 duty of the house of peers to
 seek the renewal of the practice
 assume the name, without the
 assistance of the royal authority,
 which this house was once anni-
 cipated, the monarchy overthrown,
 the liberties of the people sub-
 verted.

thly. Because these dangerous
 alarming consequences of the
 measure adopted would have been
 avoided by the amendment reject-
 ed. It proposed to substitute a mea-
 sure conformable to the practice
 of our ancestors, at the glorious era
 of the Revolution. They seized
 upon public necessity as a con-
 text for the usurpation of new
 powers, but proceeded in a plain
 explicit form to the revival of
 royal authority with full effi-
 cacy, before they entered upon the
 exercise of their legislative functions.

Pursuing a similar course, the amend-
 ment proposed the immediate no-
 mination of the natural represen-
 tative of the king, the heir appa-
 rent of the crown; to whom alone,
 it was universally admitted, the
 eyes and hearts of all men, during
 the present unhappy conjuncture,
 were turned; that with a perfect
 and efficient legislature, such fu-
 ture provisions might be enacted, as
 the preservation of the full and un-
 diminished authority of the crown,
 and the liberties of the people,
 may require.

FREDERICK
 HENRY
 Northumberland
 Suffolk and Berks
 Maynard
 Rawdon
 Audley
 Clifton
 Chedworth
 Wentworth Fitzwilliam
 Walpole
 Derby
 Scarborough
 Portchester
 Southampton
 Hertford
 Plymouth
 Ponsonby
 Hereford
 Cholmondeley
 Foley
 Boyle
 Lovel and Holland
 Abergavenny
 Teynham
 Bedford
 Cadogan
 Carlisle
 Cassilis
 Cardiff
 Hay
 Kinnaid
 Loughborough

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Pelham

Pelham
 Spencer
 Norfolk, Earl Marshal
 Breadalbane
 Malinesbury
 Rodney
 Selkirk
 Portland
 Devonshire
 Chr. Bristol.
 Craven
 Huntingdon
 Lothian
 Townshend

*Letter from the right hon. William Pitt
 to the Prince of Wales, Dec. 30.*

Sir,

The proceedings in parliament being now brought to a point, which will render it necessary to propose to the house of commons, the particular measures to be taken for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority, during the present interval, and your royal highness having some time since signified your pleasure, that any communication on this subject should be in writing, I take the liberty of respectfully entreating your royal highness's permission to submit to your consideration the outlines of the plan, which his majesty's confidential servants humbly conceive (according to the best judgment which they are able to form) to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances.

It is their humble opinion, that your royal highness should be empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, during his majesty's illness, and to do all acts which might legally be done by his majesty; with provisions, neverthe-

less, that the care of his majesty's royal person, and the management of his majesty's household, and the direction and appointment of the officers and servants therein, should be in the queen, under such regulations as may be thought necessary. — That the power to be exercised by your royal highness should not extend to the granting the real or personal property of the king, (except as far as relates to the renewal of leases), to the granting any office in reversion, or to the granting, any other term than during his majesty's pleasure, any pension, or office whatever; except such as may by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour; nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any person except his majesty's issue, who have attained the age of 21 years.

These are the chief points which have occurred to his majesty's servants. I beg leave to add, that the ideas are formed on the supposition that his majesty's illness is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be difficult to ascertain beforehand, the precise period which these provisions ought to last; but if unfortunately his majesty's recovery should be protracted to a more distant period than they were reason at present to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament, to reconsider these provisions, whenever the circumstances appear to call for it.

If your royal highness should be pleased to require any farther explanation on the subject, and should condescend to signify your opinion that I should have the honour of attending your royal highness for that purpose, or to intimate to you in any other mode in which your royal highness may wish to receive

planation, I shall respectfully wait
for royal highness's commands.

I have the honour to be,

With the utmost deference and
submission,

Sir,

Your royal highness's
Most dutiful and devoted servant,

W. PITT.

*Evening-Street, Tuesday Night,
December 30, 1788.*

*Answer to the foregoing Letter, de-
scribed by his Royal Highness to the
Lord Chancellor, Jan 1, 1789.*

The prince of Wales learns from
Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceed-
ings in parliament are now in a
state, which enables Mr. Pitt, ac-
cording to the intimation in his
former letter, to communicate to
the prince the outlines of the plan
which his majesty's confidential ser-
vants conceive to be proper to be
proposed in the present circum-
stances.

Concerning the steps already taken
by Mr. Pitt, the prince is silent.
Nothing done by the two houses
of parliament can be a proper sub-
ject of his animadversion; but
previously to any discussion
in parliament, the outlines of a
plan of government are sent for
consideration, in which it is
supposed that he shall be personally
principally concerned, and by
the royal authority, and the
public welfare may be deeply affect-
ed. The prince would be unjustifi-
able were he to withhold an explicit
declaration of his sentiments. His
silence might be construed into a
tacit approbation of a plan, the
success of which every monarch
is bound by duty to his father and sove-

reign, as well as of regard for the
public interest, obliges him to con-
sider as injurious to both.

In the state of deep distress, in
which the prince and the whole
royal family were involved, by the
heavy calamity which has fallen up-
on the king, and at a moment when
government, deprived of its chief
energy and support, seemed pecu-
liarly to need the cordial and united
aid of all descriptions of good sub-
jects, it was not expected by the
prince, that a plan should be offer-
ed to his consideration, by which
government was to be rendered
difficult, if not impracticable, in
the hands of any person intended to
represent the king's authority, much
less in the hands of his eldest son—
the heir apparent of his kingdoms,
and the person most bound to the
maintenance of his majesty's just
prerogatives and authority, as well
as most interested in the happiness,
the prosperity, and the glory of the
people.

The prince forbears to remark
on the several parts of the sketch of
the plan laid before him; he appre-
hends it must have been formed
with sufficient deliberation to pre-
clude the probability of any argu-
ment of his producing an alteration
of sentiment in the projectors of it.
But he trusts, with confidence, to
the wisdom and justice of parlia-
ment, when the whole of this sub-
ject, and the circumstances connect-
ed with it, shall come under their
deliberation.

He observes, therefore, only ge-
nerally on the heads communicated
by Mr. Pitt—and it is with deep re-
gret the prince makes the observa-
tion, that he sees in the contents of
that paper, a project for producing
weakness, disorder, and insecurity
in every branch of the administra-
tion of affairs.—A project for divid-

(E 3) ing

ing the royal family from each other—for separating the court from the state; and therefore, by disjoining government from its natural and accustomed support, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to the prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public, by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity.

The prince's feelings on contemplating this plan, are also rendered still more painful to him, by observing that it is not founded on any general principle, but is calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicions (wholly groundless, he trusts) in that quarter, whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain.

With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the prince can have but little to observe. No light or information is offered him by his majesty's ministers on these points. They have informed him *what* the powers are which they mean to refuse him, not *why* they are withheld.

The prince, however, holding as he does, that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of this constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there, as a trust for the benefit of the people; and that they are sacred only as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise and balance of the constitution, which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject—must be allowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which calls for the extinction or suspension of any one of those essen-

tial rights in the supreme power or its representative; or which can justify the prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment shall be made, to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on.

The prince has only to add, that if security for his majesty's repelling his rightful government, whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object of this plan, the prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary, or even conducive, to that end, to be the first to urge it as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement in which he would consent to share.

If attention to what is presumed might be his majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his recovery, be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the prince expresses his firm conviction, that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge, that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority and diminished energy—a state, hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the security of the monarch, and the rights of his family.

Upon that part of the plan which regards the king's real and personal property, the prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr Pitt, or proper to suggest to the prince, the restraint he proposes against the prince's granting away the king's real and personal property. The

re does not conceive, that, during the king's life, he is, by law, enabled to make any such grant; and is sure, that he has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess such power. But it remains for Mr. Pitt to consider the even-interests of the royal family, and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of them by others.

The prince has discharged an honorable duty, in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted to his consideration.

His conviction of the evils which arise to the king's interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in the present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs in the prince's mind, every other consideration, and will induce him to undertake the arduous trust imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity which of all the king's subjects he bears the most) in full confidence, that the affection and loyalty to the king, the experienced attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties, inseparable from this critical situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the king, and with advantage to the public.

(Signed)

G. P.

Westminster House,
January 2. 1789.

List of the Lords, who voted on Tuesday Jan 23, against agreeing to the Resolutions of the Commons, delivered at a Conference on the preceding Tuesday.

DISSENTIENT.

1st. Because we firmly adhere to the principles and arguments, on which we disapproved the resolutions formerly passed by this house, especially when the legislative power of the two houses of parliament, unconstitutionally assumed by those resolutions, is meant to be employed to restrict or suspend many important and essential branches of the royal power, at the moment of the declared incapacity of the king.

2dly. Because we think the power of conferring the rank and privileges of the peerage, as a reward to merit, is necessary to the royal authority, in order to afford an incitement to vigorous exertions in the service of the state, and is more peculiarly necessary (like all other parts of the prerogative) when the regal power is to be exercised by a substitute, with an authority uncertain and precarious in its duration: but especially on the present occasion, as it is the only branch of the prerogative sufficiently powerful to afford a remedy against such a combination in this house, as other parts of this system of restriction and mutilation, have a natural and obvious tendency to produce.

And because we conceive that this restriction, may create an interest in the members of this house, to withhold their assent to restore the ancient powers of the crown in this respect.

3dly. Because we conceive, that by the subsisting law of the land, his majesty's property is sufficiently secured from any undue disposition and alienation, and the resolution on that subject can have no other effect, but to convey to the public injurious suspicion, and unjust imputation, on the character and intentions of his royal highness the prince of Wales.

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4thly. Because we are of opinion, that in order to maintain the proper dignity of the crown, and preserve the due influence and respect which arises from the great offices of the state, it is necessary that the person exercising the royal authority in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, should be attended by those distinguished servants, whose functions have been established for the purpose of adding weight and splendor to the regal office. We cannot agree to a division of the royal power; to the creation of a fourth estate, unknown to the constitution of this country.

FREDERICK	Southampton
HENRY	Shaftesbury
Lothian	Chedworth
Devonshire	Portland
Audley	Huntingdon
Craven	Egremont
Bedford	Ponsonby
Carlisle	Malmesbury
Portchester	Sondes
Pelham	Montfort
Breadalbane	Derby
Cassilis	Hertford
Abergavenny	Cadogan
Loughborough	Boyle
Scarborough	Maynard
Foley	Eglington
Ponsonby	Sandwich
Douglas	Kinnaird
Rawdon	Aberdeen
St. John	Chr. Bristol
R. Llandaff	Hay
Cholmondeley	Rodney
Hereford	Northumberland
Peterborough	W. Fitzwilliam
Stawell	Buckingham-
Cardiff	shire.

Diss. for the 2d, 3d, and 4th reasons.

St Albans.

Diss. For the 1st, 2d, and 4th reasons only,

Clifton Spencer
Suffolk and Berks Hawke.

Diss. For all the reasons given in this protest, except those in the latter parts of the 2d reason, viz. beginning at these words, "but especially on, &c." and thence to the end of that second reason.

Selkirk.

Resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, and presented to the Prince of Wales, on Friday, Jan 30.

Resolved, that for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the royal authority, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances and the urgent concerns of the nation appear to require, it is expedient that his royal highness the prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the royal authority, according to the laws and constitution of Great Britain, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and under the style and title of Regent of the kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government, and administration of the same, which belong to the king of this realm to execute, and perform, according to the laws thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

Resolved, that the power, so to be given to his royal highness the prince of Wales, shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except to his majesty's royal issue who shall have attained the full age of twenty years.

Resolved, that the said power

did not extend to the granting of office whatever in reversion, or the granting of any office, salary, pension, for any other term than his majesty's pleasure, except offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.

Resolved, that the said powers should not extend to the granting of any part of his majesty's real or personal estate, except so far as relates to the renewal of leases.

Resolved, that the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, should be committed to the queen's most excellent majesty; and that his majesty should have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices of his majesty's household; and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid: and that, for the better enabling her majesty to discharge this important trust, it should also be expedient that a council should be appointed, to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters aforesaid, and with power from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine upon oath the physicians and others attending his majesty's person, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all matters relating thereto.

Die Mercurii, 28^o Januarii, 1789.

Resolved, that a committee be appointed, to attend his royal highness the prince of Wales with the resolutions which have been agreed on by the lords and commons for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority during his majesty's illness, by empowering his royal highness to exercise such authority in

the name and on the behalf of his majesty, subject to the limitations and restrictions which the circumstances of the case appear at present to require; and that the committee do express the hope which the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, entertain, that his royal highness, from his regard to the interests of his majesty and the nation, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his royal highness, as soon as an act of parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said resolutions into effect.

Answer of the Prince of Wales to the Lords and Gentlemen, appointed to deliver to him the foregoing Resolutions.

My lords and gentlemen,

I Thank you for communicating to me the resolutions agreed upon by the two houses, and I request you to assure them in my name, that my duty to the king my father, and my anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered, by a longer suspension of the exercise of the royal authority; together with my respect for the united desires of the two houses, outweigh, in my mind, every other consideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to me, in conformity to the resolutions now communicated to me. I am sensible of the difficulties that must attend the execution of this trust, in the peculiar circumstances in which it is committed to my charge, of which, as I am acquainted with no former example, my hopes of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience.

experience. But confiding that the limitations, on the exercise of the royal authority, deemed necessary for the present, have been approved by the two houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his majesty's disorder may not be of long duration, and trusting, in the mean while, that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two houses and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in this interval, I will entertain the pleasing hope, that my faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the king, his crown, and people, may be successful.

Resolutions agreed to by the Lords and Commons, presented to her Majesty on Friday, Jan. 30, 1789.

Resolved, that the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, should be committed to the queen's most excellent majesty, and that her majesty should have power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several offices in his majesty's household, and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his majesty's royal person, during the time aforesaid. And that, for the better enabling her majesty to discharge this important trust, it is also expedient that a council should be appointed, to advise and assist her majesty in the several matters, and with power, from time to time as they may see cause, to examine upon oath the physicians and others attending his majesty's person, touching the state of his majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

Resolved, that the resolution agreed to by the lords and commons respecting the care of his majesty's royal person, and the direction of his majesty's household, be laid before her majesty, with an humble address, expressing the hope which the lords spiritual and temporal and commons entertain, that her majesty will be graciously pleased to undertake the important trust proposed to be invested in her majesty, as soon as an act of parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said resolution into effect.

Her Majesty's Answer to the Lords and Gentlemen, who delivered the foregoing Resolutions.

My lords and gentlemen,

My duty and gratitude to the king, and the sense I must ever entertain of my great obligations to this country, will certainly engage my most earnest attention to the anxious and momentous trust intended to be reposed in me by parliament. It will be a great consolation to me to receive the aid of a council, of which I shall stand so much in need, in the discharge of a duty wherein the happiness of my future life is indeed deeply interested, but which a higher object, the happiness of a great, loyal, and affectionate people, renders still more important.

Speech of Earl Bathurst, in the Name of the Lords Commissioner, appointed by his Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, to declare certain Causes of the Meeting of Parliament, Tuesday, Feb. 3.

My lords and gentlemen,

In pursuance of the authority given to us by his majesty's commission under the great seal, which has been

read, amongst other things, to be the causes of your present illness, we have only to call your attention to the melancholy circumstances of his majesty's illness; in consequence of which, it becomes necessary to provide for the care of his majesty's royal person, and for the administration of the royal authority, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, in such manner as the exigency of the case seems to require.

Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, Tuesday March 10.

My lords and gentlemen, His majesty not thinking fit to be present here this day in his royal person, has been pleased to cause a commission to be issued under his great seal, authorizing and commanding the commissioners, who are appointed by former letters patent to hold this parliament, to open and declare certain further causes for adjourning the same: which commission I will now hear read.

The commission stated, that whereas his majesty had found it convenient to call his parliament in May, 1784, and that it had afterwards been adjourned and prorogued, from time to time, until the 20th of November last; and that as his majesty, for certain reasons, could not then attend in person, it had undergone various adjournments, until the February following, when he had been pleased to issue his orders, that it should be opened by commission, appointing the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, lord privy seal, president of the council, lord steward of the household, duke of Richmond, lord chamberlain, viscount

Wentworth, lord Bathurst, the two secretaries of state, and the lord chief justice of the court of king's bench, commissioners for that purpose; and that, as there were still certain reasons why he could not attend in parliament in person, as usual, he had thought proper to command another commission, appointing the same commissioners to communicate his royal message to parliament.]

And the said commission being read accordingly, the lord chancellor said.

My lords and gentlemen,

In obedience to his majesty's commands, and by virtue of both commissions already mentioned to you (one of which has now been read), we proceed to lay before you such further matters as his majesty has judged proper to be now communicated to his parliament.

His majesty being, by the blessing of Providence, happily recovered from the severe indisposition with which he has been afflicted: and being enabled to attend to the public affairs of his kingdom, has commanded us to convey to you his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs which you have given of your affectionate attachment to his person, and of your zealous concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions.

The interruption which has necessarily been occasioned to the public business, will, his majesty doubts not, afford you an additional incitement to apply yourselves, with as little delay as possible, to the different objects of national concern which require your attention.

His majesty has likewise ordered us to acquaint you, that, since the close of the last session, he has concluded

cluded a treaty of defensive alliance with his good brother the king of Prussia, copies of which will be laid before you: that his majesty's endeavours were employed, during the last summer, in conjunction with his allies, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the extension of hostilities in the North, and to manifest his desire of effecting a general pacification: that no opportunity will be neglected, on his part, to promote this salutary object; and that he has, in the mean time, the satisfaction of receiving, from all foreign courts, continued assurances of their friendly dispositions to this country.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

We are commanded by his majesty to acquaint you, that the estimates for the current year will forthwith be laid before you; and that he is persuaded of your readiness to make the necessary provisions for the several branches of the public service.

My lords and gentlemen,

We have it particularly in charge from his majesty to assure you, that you cannot so effectually meet the most earnest wish of his majesty's heart, as by persevering in your uniform exertions for the public welfare, and by improving every occasion to promote the prosperity of his faithful people, from whom his majesty has received such repeated and affecting marks of invariable zeal, loyalty, and attachment, and whose happiness he must ever consider as inseparable from his own.

Speech of the Lord Chancellor to both Houses of Parliament, on Tuesday Aug. 11.

My lords and gentlemen,
We have it in command from his

majesty, to express to you the satisfaction with which his majesty has observed the continued proofs which you have given, during the present session, of your uniform attention to the public business, and of your zealous concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the welfare and prosperity of his people.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His majesty has particularly directed us to return his thanks for the readiness with which you have granted the necessary supplies for the several branches of the public service.

My lords and gentlemen,

Although the good offices of his majesty and his allies have not hitherto been effectual for restoring the general tranquillity of Europe, he has the satisfaction of seeing that the further extension of hostilities has been prevented, and that the situation of affairs continues to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said,

My lords, and gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the 24th of October next, to be then held; and this parliament be accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 29th day of October next.

Speech of the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Houses of Parliament, on Tuesday, Feb. 5.

My lords and gentlemen,

With the deepest concern I find myself obliged, on opening the present session of parliament, to communicate to you the painful in-

tion that his majesty has been for
the time afflicted by a severe ma-
lady, in consequence of which he
not honoured me with his com-
mands upon the measures to be re-
commended to his parliament.

I have directed such documents
I have received respecting his
majesty's health to be laid before
me; and I shall also communicate
you, so soon as I shall be enabled,
with further information as may af-
fect your deliberations on that me-
lancholy subject.

Gentlemen of the house of com-
mons,

Deeming it at all times my indis-
pensable duty to call your attention
to the security of the public credit,
and to the maintenance of the civil
and military establishment, I have
ordered the public accounts to be
laid before you.

My lords and gentlemen.

It is unnecessary for me to express
to you my earnest wishes for the
welfare and prosperity of Ireland,
which, in every situation, I shall al-
ways be anxious to promote: nor
need I declare my confidence in that
affectionate attachment to his majes-
ty, and in that zealous concern for
the united interest of both king-
doms, which have manifested them-
selves in all your proceedings.

*Test of the Peers of Ireland, who
voted, on Monday, Feb. 16. against
the Address to the Prince of Wales,
requesting his Royal Highness to take
upon him the Office of Prince Regent.*

DISSENTIENT,

1st. Because, the address in ques-
tion to his royal highness the prince
of Wales, is an address, requesting
that he will be pleased to take upon
him the government of this realm in
such manner as is therein mention-

ed, and to exercise and administer,
according to the laws and constitu-
tion of this kingdom, all royal pow-
ers, jurisdiction, and prerogatives to
the crown and government thereof
belonging, without any law or au-
thority whatsoever that we know of,
authorizing him so to do.

2dly. Because, we are apprehen-
sive that the said address may be
construed to be a measure tending
to disturb and weaken that great
constitutional union, whereby, as
fully declared, enacted, and speci-
fied in sundry acts of parliament in
this kingdom, this realm of Ireland
is for ever united and knit to the
imperial crown of England, and
as a member, appending and right-
fully belonging thereto.

3dly. Because, although in every
sentiment of duty, affection, and re-
spect, towards his royal highness,
we hold ourselves equal to, and
will not be exceeded by, any of
those who join in the said address,
or by any other person whatsoever;
and are, and ever shall be, ready to
lay down our lives and fortunes in
the support and maintenance of the
just rights of our most gracious
sovereign, and of every branch of
his royal and august family: we
cannot pay any compliment to his
royal highness, or to any one, at the
expense of what we consider as great
constitutional principles; and we
cannot, (for such are the workings
of duty, affection, and respect in our
breasts,) join in the said address,
which may, as we are apprehensive,
bring difficulty and embarrassment
upon his royal highness, already too
much oppressed by the great calami-
ty which hath befallen our most
gracious sovereign, his royal father.

Signed

Lifford, C.	Carysfort
R. Dublin	Valentia
Harberton	Mornington
	Long-

Longford	Carysfort,
Beckive	Courtown
Chetwynd	G. L. Kilmore
Hillsborough	Ranelagh
Altamont	Mountmorres.

DISSENTIENT

For the second reason in the foregoing protest.

And also, because feeling every sentiment of duty, respect, and attachment to his royal highness the prince of Wales, and thinking him the only proper person to be appointed to this high station, I consider, that to address his royal highness to accept the regency of this kingdom, before we have any authority to know, that he is as yet appointed regent of Great Britain, is inviting him to assume a power, which under the actual and existing constitution of Ireland, he cannot exercise, inasmuch as by statute 10 of Henry VII. no bill can receive the royal assent here, that is not certified from Great Britain under the great seal of England, and until his royal highness shall have authority to direct the use of that great seal, he cannot discharge the functions of the regal office for Ireland. It is impossible, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, that any person should be regent of Ireland, who is not at the same time regent of Great Britain.

Glandore.

DISSENTIENT

1st, Because, with an anxious desire that the regency of this kingdom, during his majesty's indisposition, should be conferred on his royal highness the prince of Wales in a manner most expressive of respect and affection to his royal highness, and convinced that his royal highness will think that mode of appointment most expressive of duty and affection, which is constitu-

tional, and must conduce to preserve the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland inseparable, we consider an address of the two houses of parliament, purporting of its own authority, to confer royal power, at a time when they are fully competent to pass a bill for the purpose of effectually providing for the exercise of the same, to be a most dangerous violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution.

2dly. Because, the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland (on which the safety of the constitution in church and state depends) is preserved and maintained by the unity of the executive power alone; and yet the address proposed by the resolution now passed, is to appoint his royal highness regent of Ireland, without our being certain that his royal highness is or will be regent of Great Britain, and without making any provision, that his royal highness shall not continue to be regent of Ireland longer than he shall be regent of Great Britain. Thus exposing to chance and accident the preservation of the only bond of that connexion between the countries upon which all that is dear to us depends, and making a precedent that may be of the most fatal consequence to posterity.

Tyrone

Wm. Offory

Wm. Leighlin and Ferns
Bellamont.

DISSENTIENT,

For the first reason in the protest immediately preceding,

And also, because we consider that if by virtue of this address alone, his royal highness the prince of Wales shall take upon himself the regal powers of this kingdom, his royal highness will by such assumption be drawn in to decide upon an

important

important constitutional question, especially affecting Great Britain and Ireland.

And also, because we consider the words in the address, "and longer," as unnecessary and at the same time disrespectful to the Prince of Wales, tending to convey the idea that this country can confer, and that the prince might continue to hold over the powers of a regent for a longer time than the continuation of the king's indisposition incapacitated his majesty from being restored to the full exercise of the powers appertaining to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland.

Carhampton, Conyngham.

Answer of the Lord Lieutenant to the Address of both Houses, requesting him to transmit their address to the Prince of Wales.

My lords and gentlemen.

Under the impression which I feel my official duty, and of the oath which I have taken as chief governor of Ireland, I am obliged to decline transmitting this address into Great Britain.

For I cannot consider myself warranted to lay before the prince of Wales an address, purporting to invest his royal highness with powers to take upon him the government of this realm before he shall be enabled by law so to do.

Statement of the Minority in the Irish House of Lords against the Resolutions voted Feb. 19, asserting the Right of both Houses to declare a Prince Regent.

DISSENTIENT,

Because the undoubted right, and the indispensable duty, declared in the said resolution to have been ex-

ercised and discharged by the lords and commons of Ireland, and to which it is alleged they are alone competent, do not in any legal or sound sense, appear to us to have any existence. — And because, the assuming a right in the lords and commons alone, to confer upon his royal highness the prince of Wales the government of this kingdom, under the style and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers and prerogatives to the crown and government thereof belonging, or the addressing his royal highness to take upon himself such government in manner aforesaid, before he be enabled by law so to do, seems to us altogether unwarrantable, and to be highly dangerous in its tendency to disturb and break the constitutional union, whereby this realm of Ireland is for ever knit and united to the imperial crown of England, on which connexion the happiness of both kingdoms essentially depends; and we are the more apprehensive of danger, lest the so doing should be considered as tending to the prejudice, disturbance, or derogation of the king's majesty in, of, or for the crown of this realm of Ireland.

Lifford, C.

Hillborough

William Oslory

Valentia

Courtown

Mornington

Longford

Altamont

Geo. Lewis Kilmore

J. Clogher

Ranelagh

William Leighlin and Ferns

Bellamont

Powerseourt

Powercourt
Glandore
Mountmorres
Enniskillen
R. Dublin
Conyngham
Tyrone
Lanesborough
Beftive
Chetwynd
Carhampton
Harberton.

*Protest of the Lords against the Vote
of Censure on the Lord Lieutenant.*

DISSENTIENT,

Because, when his excellency the lord lieutenant, his majesty's representative here, hath told us, that under the impression of his official duty, and of the oath that he hath taken as chief governor of this kingdom, he is obliged to decline transmitting to Great Britain the addresses of both houses of parliament to his royal highness the prince of Wales, it doth not consist with that decorum, with that justice, and with that grave proceeding with which this house, the great and dernière court of justice, should ever act, to proceed to a condemnation and censure of his excellency, without being allowed to enquire and look into the constitution of his office, or into his oath:— and besides, we cannot consider it as a want of respect to his royal highness the prince of Wales, the not transmitting the said address to him, as it would expose his royal highness to difficulty and embarrassment, by laying him under the disagreeable necessity of deciding upon great, legal, and constitutional principles, in which his royal highness's future interests, and the rights of that imperial crown which he is born to

inherit, may be very deeply concerned:— and, moreover, we conceive this house ought ever to be mindful of the station in which the constitution hath placed it, and ought to resist every thing which partakes of intemperance and excess.

Lifford, C.
Hillsborough
Powercourt
William Offory
Mountmorres
Valentia
Courtown
Morningsham
Enniskillen
Longford
Altamont
Glandore
R. Dublin
Tyrone
Carhampton
Beftive
Lanesborough
Harberton
Conyngham
Bellamont
Geo. Lewis Kilmore
J. Clogher
William Leighlin and Fern
Ranelagh.

*Protest on Friday, Feb. 20. upon the
Motion for putting off the Consideration
of appointing parliamentary
Commissioners to carry the Address to
the Prince of Wales, to the 1st of
October, being negatived.*

DISSENTIENT.

1st. Because the appointment of parliamentary commissioners, by ballot, the 27th of June, 1661, to superintend the interest of the Irish parliament, and to counteract private claims and petitions in England, was in consequence of a conference with the house of commons

which weighty reasons, which
ar upon the journals, were as-
ed by them, for the adoption
his measure: and because this
orable precedent was not duly
ded to in the present proceed-

ly. Because that commission,
661, cost this country twelve
ousand pounds; and although
noble commissioners, with pro-
dignity, seem to disclaim any
of pecuniary compensation,
a measure ought not to be
pted, nor such a precedent creat-
unless upon most momentous
onal concerns, upon the ground
great public inconvenience and
ence in future.

ly. Because it was admitted in
ate, that the address was incom-
e and inefficient, without an act
parliament. The proceeding for
reason has begun at the wrong
—and I should be sorry that the
ble and respectable commissioners
ould carry a premature and nu-
tury invitation to his royal high-
s the prince of Wales, to take
on him an office—intended to be
ated by law, which as yet has no
al existence in this country.

ly. Because the transfer of
regal powers from a British mo-
rch upon the throne to his suc-
or, resembles the irregular and
alent proceedings against king Ed-
ard the Second.

ly. Because the style and title
prince regent of Ireland, is a fan-
ul designation,—of which no re-
mbance can be found in our an-
s—nor are the terms of that
le (in my humble opinion) justi-
ed by courtesy or precedence,
ntenanced by grammar, or war-
nted by law.

ly. Because there are authen-
accounts of his majesty's progres-
convalescence, and well-found-
1789.

ed hopes of his shortly resuming
the royal functions may be enter-
tained—and that an act of regency
will not be necessary.

7thly. Because, if we may reason
from the past to the future, from
what has to what may happen, ha-
zard conjectures upon probable con-
sequences, and reflect upon his ma-
jesty's early magnanimity upon the
proceedings in the regency bill, in
1765, it may be supposed, with due
submission, that it is not impossible
that our gracious sovereign may
provide, with the advice of his
faithful parliaments, for such aid
and assistance as may be expedient
and necessary, and make those per-
manent provisions, during his reign,
which may accord with his own,
and with the wishes of his people.

Mountmorres.

*Address presented to the Prince of
Wales, Feb. 27, by the Delegates
from both Houses.*

To his royal highness George
Prince of Wales.

The humble address of the lords
spiritual and temporal, and knights,
citizens, and burgesses, in parlia-
ment assembled.

May it please your royal highness,

We, his majesty's most dutiful
and loyal subjects, the lords spiritu-
al and temporal, and the commons
of Ireland in parliament assembled,
beg leave to approach your royal
highness, with hearts full of the
most loyal and affectionate attach-
ment to the person and government
of your royal father, to express the
deepest and most grateful sense of
the numerous blessings which we
have enjoyed under that illustrious
house, whose accession to the throne
of these realms has established civil

(F) and

and constitutional liberties upon a basis which, we trust, will never be shaken; and at the same time to condole with your royal highness upon the grievous malady with which it has pleased heaven to afflict the best of sovereigns.

We have, however, the consolation of reflecting, that this severe calamity hath not been visited upon us, until the virtues of your royal highness have been so matured as to enable your royal highness to discharge the duties of an important trust, for the performance whereof, the eyes of all his majesty's subjects of both kingdoms are directed to your royal highness.

We therefore beg leave humbly to request, that your royal highness will be pleased to take upon you the government of this realm, during the continuance of his majesty's present indisposition, and no longer; and under the style and title of prince regent of Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to exercise and administer, according to the laws and constitution of this kingdom, all regal powers, jurisdictions, and prerogatives, to the crown and government thereof belonging.

Answer of the Prince of Wales to the foregoing Address.

My lords and gentlemen,

The address from the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Ireland, which you have presented to me, demands my warmest and earliest thanks. If any thing could add to the esteem and affection I have for the people of Ireland, it would be the loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the king, my father, manifested in the address of the two houses.

What they have done, and the manner of doing it, is a new proof of their undiminished duty to his majesty, of their uniform attachment to the house of Brunswick, and their constant attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connexion between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, so indispensably necessary to the prosperity, the happiness, and the liberties of both.

If in conveying my grateful sentiments on their conduct, in relation to the king, my father, and to the inseparable interest of the two kingdoms, I find it impossible to express adequately my feelings on what relates to myself, I trust you will not be the less disposed to believe, that I have an understanding to comprehend the value of what they have done, a heart that must remember and principles that will not suffer me to abuse their confidence.

But the fortunate change which has taken place in the circumstances, which gave occasion to the address agreed to by the lords and commons of Ireland, induces me to delay, for a few days, giving a final answer, trusting, that the joyful event of his majesty's resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, may then render it only necessary for me to repeat those sentiments of gratitude and affection to the loyal and generous people of Ireland, which I feel indelibly imprinted on my heart.

Final Answer of the Prince of Wales to the Deputation from both Houses of the Parliament of Ireland March 12.

My lords and gentlemen,

The happy event of the king's recovery, and the consequent resumption of the exercise of his au-

spici-

ous government, announced by royal commission for declaring further causes of holding the Parliament of Great Britain, has away the melancholy necessity which gave rise to the arrangement proposed by the parliament of and; but nothing can obliterate in my memory and my gratitude, the principles upon which that arrangement was made, and the circumstances by which it was attended. I consider your generous kindness to his majesty's royal family, and the provision you made for preserving the authority of the crown in its constitutional energy, as the most unequivocal proof which could be given of your affectionate loyalty to the king, at the time when, by an afflicting dispensation of Providence, his government had suffered intermission, and his house was deprived of its natural protector. I shall not pay so ill a compliment to the lords and commons of Ireland, as to suppose that they are mistaken in their reliance on the moderation of my views and the purity of my intentions. A full confidence, directing the manner of proceeding toward those who entertain sentiments becoming the high situation to which they are raised, furnishes the most powerful motives to the performance of their duty; at the same time that the liberality of sentiment which, in conveying a trust confers an honour, have no tendency to relax that vigilant vigilance and that public jealousy which ought to watch over the exercise of power.

My lords and gentlemen, Though full of joy for the event which enables me to take leave of you in this manner, personally, I cannot but regret your departure: I have had the opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of your pri-

vate characters, and it has added to the high esteem which I had before entertained for you on account of your public merits; both have made you the worthy representatives of the great bodies to which you belong.

I am confident that I need not add my earnest recommendation to the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony of the two kingdoms, which in their mutual perfect freedom will find the closest as well as the happiest bond of their connexion.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to both Houses of Parliament, March 14.

My lords and gentlemen,

With the most heartfelt satisfaction I take the earliest opportunity to inform you, in obedience to the king's commands, that it has pleased Divine Providence to remove from him the severe indisposition with which he has been afflicted; and that, by the blessing of Almighty God, he is now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of his kingdoms, and personally to exercise the royal authority.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have submitted to his majesty's consideration the supplies which you have already granted for the immediate exigencies of the public service, and the performance of the national engagements; and I am commanded by his majesty to express his perfect confidence in your readiness to make such farther provision as shall be necessary for the usual support of his majesty's government.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have it particularly in charge from his majesty to assure you, that

the prosperity of his loyal and faithful people of Ireland, from whom his majesty had repeatedly received the strongest proofs of affectionate attachment to his sacred person, will be ever near to his heart; and that his majesty is fully persuaded, that your zeal for the public welfare will enable him to promote, by every wise and salutary measure, the interests of this kingdom.

"I cannot conclude this communication to you without expressing my fullest conviction, that his majesty's faithful parliament of Ireland does not yield to any of his subjects in sincere and devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for the restoration of his majesty's health, and in fervent prayers that a long continuance of that blessing may secure to the people the happiness which they have constantly enjoyed under his majesty's mild and auspicious government."

Address of the House of Lords of Ireland to his Majesty.

Most gracious sovereign.

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, embrace, with unfeigned and lively joy, this opportunity of renewing to your majesty our most dutiful and sincere professions of unalterable loyalty and affectionate attachment to your majesty's sacred person, family, and government; and of assuring your majesty, that we find ourselves unequal to express the ardent feelings of our hearts at the joyful communication, which, by your majesty's command, has been made to us, that it has pleased the divine Providence to remove from your majesty the severe indis-

position with which you have been afflicted, and that you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and personally to exercise your royal authority: that, for these signal marks of divine favour, we shall not cease to pour out the lively effusions of gratitude and thanksgiving to the Almighty, who has vouchsafed, in the plenitude of his mercy and goodness, to restore our beloved monarch to the fervent and united prayers of his people.

We gratefully acknowledge your majesty's goodness, in the assurance you have been pleased to give us, that the prosperity of your loyal and faithful subjects of this kingdom must ever lie near to your heart.

We shall endeavour to justify the confidence which your majesty is pleased to repose in your parliament of Ireland, by a cheerful concurrence in such wise and salutary measures as may enable your majesty to fulfil your gracious intentions, promoting the general interests and happiness of all your dominions.

We beg leave humbly to assure your majesty, that, sensible of the happiness which we have constantly enjoyed under your majesty's mild and auspicious government, we do not yield to any of your people in the sincerity with which we offer our devout acknowledgments to Almighty God for your majesty's happy restoration to your former health; and that we shall unceasingly supplicate the Divine Providence for a long and uninterrupted continuance of that inestimable blessing.

His Majesty's Answer.

His majesty receives with the greatest satisfaction the dutiful and loyal address of the lords spiri-

temporal, in parliament assembled.

His majesty accepts in the most precious manner the renewal of their professions of affectionate attachment to his person, family and government, and feels with the greatest sensibility the joyful expressions of their hearts upon the interposition of divine Providence, in restoring him again to the personal exercise of his royal functions. The happiness and prosperity of his faithful subjects in Ireland are objects very near his majesty's heart; and he confides in the wisdom of the parliament of that kingdom, that they will pursue such measures as will enable him to fulfil his intentions of promoting the general interests of all his dominions.

Address of the House of Commons of Ireland to his Majesty.

Most gracious sovereign.

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, beg leave to lay before your majesty our assurances of the sincere and cordial satisfaction with which we are penetrated, on being informed from the throne, by your majesty's command, that it has pleased the divine Providence to remove from your majesty the severe indisposition with which you have been afflicted; and that, by the blessing of Almighty God, you are now again enabled to attend to the urgent concerns of your kingdoms, and personally to exercise your royal authority.

Your majesty entertains a just confidence that we shall cheerfully proceed in making such provision as may be necessary for the honourable support of your majesty's government.

We should be dead to every generous feeling, should we omit to acknowledge your majesty's unceasing solicitude for the interests of Ireland, or to second, by every salutary effort, your benevolent wishes for the welfare of your people. The numerous blessings derived to this kingdom from your majesty's auspicious reign are deeply imprinted in our bosoms; and, sensible as we are of the inestimable value of their benefits, we beg leave to repeat to your majesty upon this joyful occasion, our most sincere professions of respect and attachment to your royal person, family, and government.

We conclude these our fervent congratulations with devout acknowledgments to the Almighty for this signal instance of his goodness, in restoring our beloved monarch to the prayers of an afflicted people. Our gratitude for such a mark of the Divine Favour is only equalled by the ardency of our wishes for the continuance of your majesty's health, and that your majesty may enjoy that invaluable blessing during a long and happy reign.

His Majesty's Answer.

His majesty thanks his faithful commons for their loyal and affectionate address, and for their assurances of the sincere and cordial satisfaction which they feel on the interposition of Divine Providence in removing from him the severe indisposition with which he has been afflicted.

Nothing can be more satisfactory to his majesty than the disposition expressed by the house of commons cheerfully to proceed in making such provisions as are necessary for the honourable support of his majesty's government.

He receives with the greatest
(F 3) pleasure

pleasure the acknowledgments of the house of commons of their sense of the solicitude which his majesty can never cease to entertain for the interests of Ireland, as well as their professions of respect and attachment to his person, family, and government.

Address of the House of Commons of Ireland to the Prince of Wales, voted March 20, on Occasion of the final Answer of his Royal Highness.

May it please your royal highness.

We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to offer to your royal highness our warmest thanks for your answer to our address.

With hearts overflowing with the liveliest joy, we congratulate your royal highness upon the happy event of the king's recovery, and the consequent re-assumption of the exercise of his auspicious government; an event highly pleasing to the subjects of the whole empire, but peculiarly grateful to a nation so highly indebted to their most excellent sovereign during the whole course of his reign; and we rejoice in the reflection that the father of his people is blessed with a son, who is likely, in the fullness of time, to continue to his majesty's loyal and affectionate subjects of Ireland the blessing of his government.

Thoroughly conscious that nothing can add more to that esteem which your royal highness has been pleased to express for the two houses of parliament, than their loyal and affectionate attachment to the person and government of the king, we will steadily persevere in those

principles of duty, loyalty, and affection, which have so happily recommended them to the favourable opinion of your royal highness.

We feel the highest satisfaction in finding that what we have done, and our manner of doing it, have received your approbation, and that your royal highness is pleased to consider our conduct as a proof of our undiminished duty to his majesty, our uniform attachment to the house of Brunswick, and our constant care and attention to maintain inviolate the concord and connection between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, which we consider as indispensably necessary to the prosperity, happiness, and liberties of both; and we beg leave to assure your royal highness, that from those principles we shall never depart.

We are happy to find that your royal highness considers our just attention to his majesty's royal family, and the provision made by us for preserving the authority of the crown in its constitutional energy, as the most unequivocal proof which could be given of our affectionate loyalty to the best of sovereigns, at the melancholy period when, by an afflicting dispensation of Providence, his government has suffered an intermission, and his illustrious house was deprived of its great and natural protector.

We have the justest reliance on the moderation of the views and purity of the intentions of your royal highness, and we have the fullest conviction in our minds that any trust which could have the most distant tendency to relax that provident vigilance and public jealousy which ought to watch over the exercise of power, would not have

acceptable to the exalted sentiments of your royal highness, whose understanding and principles are considered more valuable by the generous and affectionate heart which dictates their dictates.

We can with the greatest truth most solemnly assure your royal highness, that it is the ardent wish of the parliament and people of Ireland to continue to cultivate the harmony and inseparable interests of the two kingdoms; firmly convinced that in their mutual perfect freedom they will find the closest as well as the happiest bond of their connection; and we offer our warm acknowledgments to your royal highness for your recommendation to persevere in such a conduct, and consider your royal highness's commendation, so worthy the high station in which you are placed, as an additional proof of your attention to the welfare of both countries.

We assure your royal highness, that if any thing could add to the exultation of our minds at the happy event of the recovery of our most beloved sovereign, it would be the measure which we feel in reflecting, that the heir to his majesty's crowns inherits the virtues of his royal father—virtues which every part of your royal highness's conduct, during the late melancholy and trying situation, has placed in the most illustrious point of view; and the repeated marks of graciousness and condescension with which your royal highness has been pleased to honour the two houses of parliament, must ever remain impressed in the most indelible characters of affection and gratitude on the hearts of the people of Ireland.

[An address to the same effect was voted by the lords.]

Protests against the Address of Thanks to the Prince of Wales, voted in the Irish House of Lords, March 23.

DISSENTIENT,

Because, although desirous to express our humble thanks to his royal highness the prince of Wales, for his gracious answer to the address of both houses of parliament, and that to a degree which might induce us to pass over the departure which there seems to be in the mode and form of this address from the usual course and proceeding of parliament, yet we cannot agree to this address, which doth not consist, as we conceive, with those constitutional principles which are maintained in our protests of February last, and to which we adhere.

Lifford C.
R. Dublin
Ranelagh
Chetwynd
Longford
Altamont
Harberton
Tyrone
Lanborough
Wm. Ossory
Glandore
Mountmorres.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because the uniform and regular practice in this house has been, as appears from its earliest records, to pass a short vote of thanks for answers from the king to addresses of this house, to be laid before his majesty by the lord lieutenant.

2dly, Because that, on the 12th of December 1715, a committee which had been appointed to draw up an address of thanks to his majesty king George the First, for his gracious answer to a congratulatory address upon his accession, were discharged from that duty, and a

(F 4) short

short vote of thanks for his majesty's gracious answer was passed, to be transmitted by the lord lieutenant; since which time this method of proceeding has uniformly prevailed, except in the instances of answers which complied with requests from this house, or where royal assurance had been given of some great national benefits bestowed, or intended to be conferred, upon this country; in which cases, addresses of thanks have been presented, of which only eight instances appear upon the journals of this house.

3dly, Because the first instance of an address of this description, the 18th of August 1700, was in consequence of her majesty queen Anne having complied in her answer with a request of this house conveyed by an address; and on the 12th of December 1723, another instance occurs of a similar address of thanks, upon the royal assurance of the intended revocation of Wood's patent.

4thly, Because that, on the 14th of December 1763, an address, or vote of thanks, does not appear upon the journals, in consequence of her majesty's most gracious answer to a congratulatory address upon her marriage.

5thly, Because, although his royal highness's answer to the address of this house is most polite and gracious, yet it cannot be proved that any solid national benefit could be derived from it; and though it must be the wish and desire of every loyal subject to pay every mark of respect to his royal highness, and to every branch of the royal family, I cannot agree to a mode of proceeding which indicates a greater compliment, and a greater degree of attention, than have usually been paid to his majesty and to his royal predecessors.

6thly, Because the supposed exi-

gency of the state, which originated the proceedings upon a regency, is no more, and consequently the measure should no longer be preferred in public contemplation by addresses from parliament, which may have a mischievous tendency in future. And because, lastly, that the late wise, political, and judicious proceedings of the parliament of Great Britain afford a memorable example well worthy of regard and attention, where proceedings upon the regency were suspended, upon the report of his majesty's convalescence, and discharged and done away upon the happy and satisfactory confirmation of his majesty's perfect recovery and complete re-establishment.

Mountmorres.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant to his House, on Monday, May 25.

My lords and gentlemen,

The business of this interesting session being concluded, I am happy to release you from further attendance in parliament, and to communicate to you the strongest assurances of his majesty's paternal regard, and of the satisfaction he feels in the growing prosperity of his people of Ireland.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

In obedience to the king's commands I am to thank you in his majesty's name for the supplies which you have granted for the public exigencies and for the support of his majesty's government; and you may be assured of my care and attention to the proper application of them.

My lords and gentlemen.

I behold with the highest satisfaction the increasing wealth and commerce of this kingdom, the natural effect of good order and of active industry.

ry, encouraged, protected, and
ended by the several salutary
which from time to time have
enacted for those purposes.
happy to think that a perma-
foundation is laid for the fur-
improvement of the country by
act now passed for the promotion
encouragement of inland navi-
on: a system which, connected
the prosperous state of your
agriculture, promises, with the bless-
of Divine Providence, to secure
every part of the kingdom the
best enjoyment of that essential
icle of your commerce, the trade
corn.

You well know how greatly the
erefts of the nation are forwarded
the preservation of peace, and by
enforcing a due submission, to
laws: and I have the most per-
confidence, that upon your re-
to your respective counties you
all impress these ideas on the
inds of those who look up to your
ample, and are directed by your
fluence. My conduct shall be uni-
formly governed by every principle
which can tend to promote the wel-
fare and happiness of Ireland.

*Account of the Meeting of the Mer-
chants, Bankers, and Traders of the
City of London, at the London Ta-
Jan. 7, 1789, by the Chairman
who convened the Meeting.*

London Tavern, Jan. 7, 1789.
At a numerous and respectable
meeting held here this day by public
virtuement,
Samuel Beachcroft, esq. was call-
ed to the chair.

The following motion was made
and seconded, and, upon the question
being put, was carried in the affir-
mative by a great majority.

That the thanks of this meeting

be given to the right hon. William
Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer,
for his able, spirited, and manly de-
fence of the constitutional rights of
this empire, and to those members
of the honourable house of commons
who have supported him on the oc-
casion.

The address will lay at this place
for signatures between the hours of
eleven and two o'clock, by such
gentlemen as may approve thereof.
SAMUEL BEACHCROFT, chairman.

*Another Account of the Meeting at the
London Tavern, by Mr. Alderman
Pickett, who took the Chair, on the
Secession of Mr. Beachcroft.*

London Tavern, Jan. 7, 1789.

At a meeting of the merchants,
bankers, and traders of London held
here this day,
Samuel Beachcroft, esq. in the
chair.

A motion was proposed by Ed-
ward Payne, esq. and seconded by
William Waddington, esq.

That an address of thanks be
presented to the right hon. W. Pitt,
for his able, spirited, and manly de-
fence of the sacred constitution of
this empire, and to those members
of the honourable house of com-
mons who supported him.

After a tumultuous debate, the
question was put, and the chairman
thought proper to declare, on a
shew of hands, that the majority
was in favour of an address.

The meeting being dissatisfied, a
division was demanded by Mr. Stock,
and seconded by Jacob Wilkinfon,
esq. which division had been pre-
viously claimed by Mr. Alderman
Skinner, and promised by the chair-
man; but while the tellers were nam-
ing, the chairman and his commit-
tee hastily and abruptly withdrew.

A large

A large majority now called Mr. Alderman Pickett to the chair, on which the motion was again put, that a division should take place. Alderman Curtis was appointed teller for the question—Mr. Stock against it.

The chairman then directed, that those gentlemen who approved of the question should go to the right-hand; those who disapproved, to the left.

The tellers were directed to proceed to a division, when Mr. Alderman Curtis suddenly left the room, without assigning any reason for so doing. The friends of the address declined appointing another teller. Mr. Stock proceeded to ascertain the numbers, when there appeared a very considerable majority against the address.

A motion was now made by Mr. J. N. Mitchell, and seconded by Mr. Alderman Skinner, That the conduct of Mr. Beachcroft, in quitting the chair without waiting for the division, was partial and highly censurable, which was carried by a great majority.

WILLIAM PICKETT.

The chairman having quitted the chair, a motion was put and carried, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Alderman Pickett, for his acceptance of, and impartial conduct in, the chair.

Speech of Samuel Beachcroft, Esq. to the Right hon. William Pitt, on Thursday, January 15, on presenting to him the Vote of Thanks of the Merchants, Bankers, and Traders of the City of London.

Sir,

It is with the highest satisfaction that I present to you the vote of thanks of the merchants, bankers and traders of the city of London,

convened by public advertisement at the London Tavern, on Wednesday the 7th instant.

Although the resolution I have now the honour to deliver to you, Sir, is confined to the single object of your very able defence of the right of the two houses of parliament to supply the defect in the legislature, occasioned by the indisposition of his majesty, it was my wish, and I am persuaded, it was the wish of many respectable gentlemen who attended that meeting, to have extended our thanks to the many advantages this country has derived from your wise and upright administration: particularly for your great attention to our commerce, to the improvement of the public revenue, and the advancement of public credit. But the confusion that followed the determination of the meeting upon the question, rendered any further proceedings impracticable.

To which Mr. Pitt returned the following answer:

Downing-street, Jan. 17, 1783.
Sir

I take the liberty of addressing myself to you, as chairman of the meeting of merchants, bankers, and traders of the city of London, to express the grateful sense I entertain of the distinguished honour done me by the declaration of their sentiments contained in their resolution of the 7th instant. I shall ever consider it as one of the most flattering circumstances of my life, to find my public conduct sanctioned by the approbation of so numerous, and peculiarly respectable a class of my fellow-citizens, the continuance whose good opinion it will be my constant ambition to deserve. I am more particularly happy in the mark of their concurrence, on an occasion immediately affecting the most important rights of parliament.

the essential principles of the constitution. Permit me, sir, to say my warmest thanks to you, and the other gentlemen of the committee, for the very favourable expression of your sentiments with which you accompanied the communication.

I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem,

Sir,

your most obedient,
and faithful servant.

WILLIAM PITT.

JOEL BEACHCROFT, esq.

Journal of a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Southwark, 1790. 7.

Sam Weston, esq. in the chair. Resolved, That it is the right and duty of the freemen of this land to express their sentiments upon public measures, and upon the conduct of public men, as often as occasion require.

Resolved, That when persons invested with offices of great trust and responsibility, discharge their duty with firmness and integrity, they are to be distinguished by public approbation.

Resolved, That the resolution of the two houses of parliament asserting their right to provide the means of supplying the defect of the royal prerogative, arising from his majesty's indisposition, appears to be conformable to the constitution, and deserves the thanks of the whole British nation.

Resolved, That a letter be delivered to the right hon. William Pitt, to express the approbation of his meeting, of his public conduct during the event of the king's illness.

Resolved, That the following letter be now read,

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To the right hon. William Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer, and first commissioner of his majesty's treasury.

Sir,

When public occasions have made it necessary for the people to declare their sentiments of the measures of government, the inhabitants of the ancient town and borough of Southwark, have not been remiss in the exercise of that unalienable privilege.

During an æra of great national felicity; at an hour dedicated to the commemoration of the glorious Revolution, which restored, and established on a firmer basis, the rights of the freemen of this empire; it pleased the Almighty to suffer that felicity to be interrupted.

The malady of our gracious sovereign (lamented by all his subjects) having, of necessity, suspended the exercise of his royal functions, a situation was produced, for which the wisdom of our ancestors had made no express provision, and which had a natural tendency to excite great uneasiness and disorder.

To provide for the public security in such a conjuncture, could belong only to the two houses of parliament; and we trust every arising exigency will be supplied by their wisdom.

By resorting to that authority, his majesty's ministers have equally demonstrated their affection to the sovereign and his royal house, and their respect for the constitutional rights of the people of this realm.

Whilst the important trusts with which you stood invested, on this solemn occasion, rendered you more deeply responsible to your country, we have had the happiness to perceive, that your conduct has allayed the public apprehensions, and hath produced that concord which, in

in such a crisis, is of the last importance to the general safety.

The inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, in a meeting convened by public advertisement, have therefore agreed in a request, that you will be pleased to accept their thanks.

Resolved, That the letter now read, be signed by the chairman, and presented by him to Mr. Pitt.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed in the public papers.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman for his candour and impartiality.

WILLIAM WESTON,
Chairman.

Account of the Meeting of the Freeholders of Devonshire, at the Castle of Exeter on, Friday, Jan. 16, 1789.

At a meeting of the high sheriff, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Devon, assembled by public notice, at the Castle of Exeter, on Friday January 16, 1789, during the quarter sessions, the following resolutions were agreed to.

Resolved, That we feel it our duty in the present alarming crisis, to declare that the right hon. William Pitt, has, in our opinion, justified by his conduct in office, that confidence in his ability and integrity, which this county expressed, at the time of his first appointment.

Resolved, That the thanks of this county be given to the right hon. William Pitt, for his wise, economical, and laborious discharge of the duties of his present situation, for his attention to our navigation, trade, and manufactures, and for his prudent and vigorous measures in the administration of foreign

affairs; in consequence of which this country now enjoys, under the blessing of God, peace, plenty, and increasing opulence, extended commerce, security at home, and respect abroad, to a degree which has been unexampled since the administration of his illustrious father the earl of Chatham.

Resolved also, that the thanks of this county be given to him, for his whole conduct in consequence of that awful and calamitous event which suspends the exercise of the executive government; for having invariably asserted and maintained the rights of the people, for his zealous and faithful attachment to the person and interest of our sovereign, particularly manifested in the anxiety which he has shewn for enabling his majesty to return health, to re-assume without embarrassment, the exercise of his constitutional authority over a free and loyal people.

Resolved, That the sheriff be desired to communicate these resolutions to Mr. Pitt, and to call them to be inserted in the public papers.

Resolved, That sir John Chickter, bart. high sheriff for the county; the right hon. lord Fortescue lord lieutenant; and J. Rolle, J. P. Bastard, esqrs. members of this county, be desired to wait upon the regent immediately after appointment, with the following humble address, submitting to royal highness, in the most respectful manner, the earnest and anxious wish of this county for the continuance of his majesty's present ministers, as enjoying the most approved approbation of their sovereign, the confidence of both houses of parliament, and the general opinion of the country.

to his royal highness George Prince of Wales, regent.

We, the high sheriff, gentlemen, jury, and freeholders of the county of Devon, assembled by public summons, at the Castle of Exeter, during the quarter sessions, beg leave humbly to approach your royal highness with the most unfeigned sentiments of duty and respect; and to declare, that whilst we deplore the present calamitous situation of this country, arising from his majesty's indisposition, we are anxious to express the happiness and confidence we feel in finding the execution of government of the state committed to the care and protection of your royal highness, whose situation and distinguished virtues so eminently entitle your royal highness to that high and momentous office.

With every attachment that can be paid by a grateful people to the house of Brunswick; with the most entire confidence that your royal highness have no other object than the common welfare of the sovereign and the people, and feeling in common with all our fellow-subjects, the good effects of those wise and prudent measures which have distinguished the present servants of your majesty, we beg leave to express our earnest hopes, that your royal highness may continue that confidence to them, which they have so justly enjoyed under your illustrious father.

Account of a Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Northumberland, at Morpeth, on the 21st of January.

Morpeth, January 21, 1789.
At a meeting of the gentlemen, jury, and freeholders of the county of Northumberland, held here

this day, Gawen Aynsley, esq. in the chair, a motion was proposed by Rowland Burden, esq. and seconded by William Ord, of Fenham, esq. that an address of thanks be presented to the right hon. William Pitt, for his conduct in parliament on the present emergency. This motion being put, was negatived almost unanimously.

A motion was then made by Jonathan Thompson, esq. and seconded by sir H. G. Liddell, bart. that the thanks of this meeting be given to sir William Middleton, bart. and Charles Grey, esq. our worthy representatives, for their conduct in parliament; which motion the chairman refusing to put, he and his friends left the Town-hall abruptly.

Sir Henry George Liddell being then called to the chair, the same motion was put and carried nemine contradicente; and the following resolutions were then agreed to.

Sir Henry George Liddell, bart. in the chair.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to sir William Middleton, bart. and Charles Grey, esq. our worthy representatives for their conduct in parliament.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to sir Francis Blake, bart. and sir Charles Grey, K. B. for the trouble they have taken in explaining the true principles of the constitution, and declaring the real rights of the people.

That the thanks of this meeting be given to John Ord, of Weetwood, esq. and Jonathan Thompson, esq. for their great exertions at this meeting.

That (the chairman having quitted the chair) the thanks of this meeting be given to sir Henry George Liddell, bart. for his acceptance of, and impartial conduct in the chair; and that he be requested

requested to sign the above resolutions, and cause the same to be inserted in the London, Newcastle, and every other newspaper in this kingdom.

H. G. LIDDEL.

Account of the Meeting of the Freeholders of the County of Southampton, at Winchester, on Monday, Feb. 9.

The requisition for calling this meeting, was signed Portchester, William Jolliffe, Hans Sloane, G. Darby, Thomas Fitzherbert, Thomas Miller, Vernon Sadleir, Ben. Caldwell, J. Lockman, Master of St. Crofs, C. Powlette, R. J. Sayer, William Neville, C. K. Herbert, Bolton, Stawell, N. Ogle, dean of Winchester, John Ruffel, Chaloner Ogle, and Robert Kingmill.

In consequence of this requisition, Richard Brickendon, esq. the high sheriff, appointed the meeting at the county-hall, in Winchester, on Monday Feb. 9, and due notice was given by repeated advertisements in the public papers.

On the day appointed, at twelve o'clock, the sheriff, attended by a large party of noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, proceeded to the hall, and opened the business of the day by explaining the purport of the meeting.

Sir Thomas Miller then moved an address to the prince of Wales, to be presented on his royal highness's assumption of the regency. The motion was seconded by Mr. Sotheby. The following address was then read to the meeting by the high sheriff.

The Address of the Nobility, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Southampton, assembled by public Advertisement

from the High Sheriff, at the County Hall, in the City of Winchester, on Monday the 9th of February, 1789.

We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the nobility, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Southampton, humbly beg leave to approach your royal highness with our most sincere condolence on the heavy calamity with which it has pleased God to afflict our beloved sovereign, your royal father; and at the same time to express our warmest gratitude for the generous manner in which your royal highness has consented to undertake the arduous task of government, rendered more difficult by the deprivation of powers hitherto deemed essentially necessary to the good government and well-being of the state.

Whilst we view, with admiration, your royal highness's conduct on this awful event, we acknowledge with heartfelt satisfaction, the irresistible claim to our strongest attachment, which your avowed principles of government must implant in the breast of a generous, affectionate and free people.

We cannot but feel the most perfect security, and unbounded confidence, in the future government of a prince, by whom, "the prerogatives of the crown, are considered as a trust for the benefit of the people, and sacred only as experience has proved them necessary to secure their liberties." These, your royal highness's sentiments, so congenial to the spirit of our free constitution, are the welcome pledges of those patriotic virtues which open to us, amidst the present gloom, a pleasing prospect of national happiness and prosperity. The principles of civil liberty established at the Revolution, and

by the accession of the house of Brunswick, teach us that the firmness of our happy constitution, may be confirmed to us, by enlarging the arm of government, by maintaining the just distribution of political power, by the several orders of the crown, in the preservation of whose balance, and respective vigour and energy, the king and people are equally interested.

Deeply impressed with this opinion, we beg leave to declare our satisfaction we feel in seeing the executive power at length vested in our royal highness; trusting that as the restrictions and limitations which necessarily abate its duration, are avowedly calculated for its restoration to the full enjoyment of the constitution, to which we are justly attached; and we are content that we speak the language of a free and loyal people, when we declare our firm determination to maintain the just rights of the crown, as defined at the Revolution, and to transmit unimpaired to our posterity, the benefit of those laws, and of that constitution, which our ancestors have purchased with their blood.

The question for the address was put, and carried with only two dissenting voices.

As soon as the address had been agreed to be carried, Mr. Poulter rose, and proposed the following resolution to the house of commons, viz. That Mr. Pitt's regency bill.

By the honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the Nobility, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Southampton.

Humbly sheweth,

That they are perfectly sensi-

ble, that it is the right and duty of parliament to provide, during the continuance of his majesty's present unhappy malady, for securing to the subjects the full benefit of a government of energy and effect, in a manner consistent with the happy constitution of this kingdom, with the peace and unity of the whole British empire, and with the uninterrupted exercise of royal power in the house of Brunswick.

That they see in a bill, entitled, "A bill to provide for the care of his majesty's royal person, and for the administration of the royal authority, during the continuance of his majesty's illness," certain provisions and regulations which have created in them a sensible alarm, lest those parliamentary powers, rights, and duties, should not be exercised in a case of the highest importance to the public safety and welfare.

They therefore humbly pray, that in the provisions which shall be made for ascertaining the return of his majesty's capacity for the personal exercise of his government, and the provisions which shall be made for the resumption of the same, parliament shall not relinquish those powers which they hold in trust for the people, nor delegate into the hands of any individual or description of men those parliamentary functions, and those means of parliamentary enquiry, which have been justly deemed necessary, when the exercise of his majesty's personal authority was suspended; lest alterations in government made under doubtful and suspicious circumstances, should destroy all confidence in government, and abate its necessary force and vigour; and that in all provisions which shall be made in the intermediate time, care should be taken that nothing should be established which

which shall tend to weaken, distract, and divide the temporary government, or destroy the harmony that ought to prevail in the royal family.

The question being put was carried with only five dissenting voices.

The thanks of the meeting were then unanimously voted to the high sheriff for his conduct.

The Petition of certain Electors of the City of Westminster, signed by Five Thousand and Four Persons, and presented to the House of Lords, by Earl Spencer, on Tuesday Feb. 17.

To the right hon. the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the several persons whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants, house-keepers, and electors of the city of Westminster,

Sheweth,

That in the deplorable and melancholy exigency in which this country, by the visitation of Providence on the person of our beloved sovereign, is unhappily placed, we feel a firm and a confident persuasion, that no effectual relief can be obtained from the distressful circumstances under which we labour, but by the interposition of the wisdom, integrity, and authority of the two houses of parliament in this calamitous state of public affairs.

That the mode in which such wisdom, integrity, and authority, can be most constitutionally exercised, we do not deem it at all expedient for us now to point out, but earnestly deprecate that part of the proposed plan, which by excluding from her majesty's council, those branches of the royal family, which are most peculiarly interested in the prefer-

vation of the royal dignity and the rights of the crown, withdraws from our sovereign the endeared support of his natural connections, denies to her majesty the assistance of her most disinterested advisers, and deprives the people of their best security for the faithful discharge of the duties imposed by this important trust.

That the separation of the whole patronage and influence of the household, from the executive authority, under pretence of consulting the personal comfort of his majesty, founded on principles of intrigue and cabal, tending to undermine the government of the country, and conveys a direct insult on his majesty himself, by supposing it possible that his majesty should be more influenced by considerations affecting the pageantry of his court, than an attention to the political service of the state, and the true happiness of his people.

That we humbly conceive, that the provisions of the bill, which tend the care of her majesty beyond the circle of domestic duty, and personal attention to her royal comfort, threaten to involve her majesty in those intrigues and cabals, which the uniform tenor and habit of her life her majesty has hitherto avoided. That all the provisions of the bill, which give to any persons whatsoever any authority publicly to notify his majesty's happy recovery, before the same shall have been duly certified, and approved to the satisfaction of the two houses of parliament, are highly degrading to those respectable assemblies, calculated to impress the world with an opinion, that after the painful task in which the said houses have been engaged in ascertaining the unfortunate malady with which her majesty is afflicted, they are unwil-

to be intrusted with the more careful task of announcing to the world, in a manner free from all possibility of suspicion, the pleasing tidings of his majesty's restoration to health, agreeably to the ardent and united wishes of his loyal people.

That, observing the spirit in which these regulations have been framed, we cannot but entertain the most serious apprehensions, that, unless parliament itself is made the direct channel of notifying his majesty's recovery (whenever, by the blessing of providence, that wished-for moment shall arrive), and the most indisputable proofs are adduced of that happy event, some arrangements may be adopted which the future state of his majesty's health may make it equally difficult for parliament to change, or for the country to submit to without endangering the welfare and prosperity of the kingdom.

Under all these circumstances we earnestly pray, that this right honourable house, in the provisions which shall be made for ascertaining the return of his majesty's capacity for the personal exercise of his government, and for his re-assumption thereof, shall not make an unconstitutional surrender of their own situations, nor delegate into the hands of a partial description of private individuals, the great and high duties reposed in them for the general benefit of the subject, and, in particular, that they will not resign that most sacred and invaluable power, the right of parliamentary enquiry; without the full and free exercise of which, the people can have no security of obtaining certain and authentic information concerning the real situation of their sovereign, and the future and actual state of his happy malady.

1789.

That in all provisions which shall be made during the intermediate time, care shall be taken, that nothing may be established, which shall tend to weaken, distract, and divide the temporary government, or destroy the harmony that ought to prevail amongst the different branches of the royal family.

Address voted by the Heretors and Burgeses of the Burgh of Kinghorn, in Scotland, to be presented to the Prince of Wales, on the Event of his assuming the Regency.

To his royal highness the prince of Wales.

The humble address of the heretors and burgeses of the burgh of Kinghorn.

We, the heretors and burgeses of the burgh of Kinghorn, beg leave to approach your royal highness, and to sympathize with you, and the other branches of your illustrious family, upon the melancholy state of his majesty's health, which has rendered the elevation of your royal highness to your present situation necessary.

At the same time we congratulate ourselves, and the nation in general, that upon so unhappy a crisis we have an heir apparent to the throne, who is every way qualified to fill it with honour to himself, and for the happiness and prosperity of these kingdoms, while it shall please God to continue his afflicting hand upon our beloved sovereign.

The unequivocal demonstrations which your royal highness has already given of your firm attachment to the principles of the glorious revolution, afford us the most satisfactory proof that you not only understand our happy constitution, but will, to the best of your power,

(G)

with

with the aid of such persons as you shall call to the administration of public affairs, and the firm support of a loyal and affectionate people, maintain it pure and uncorrupted, during the period of your present high trust, and that you will not forsake those principles, nor forget that conduct, when it shall please the Almighty to place an unfettered diadem upon your brow.

Address voted by the Magistrates and Town Council of the Burgh of Burnt-Island, to be presented to the Prince of Wales, on the same Occasion.

We, the magistrates and council of the burgh of Burnt Island beg leave to approach your royal highness, on the present afflicting situation of these kingdoms, over which your royal highness was born to govern, and to mingle with our fellow-citizens our heartfelt lamentations for the dreadful calamity with which your royal father is afflicted. We trust that it will please Almighty God soon to restore our gracious sovereign to his wonted health, that he may resume and occupy the functions of his high and exalted station.

Under the pressure of this national calamity, we feel ourselves animated and supported in the fullest conviction of your royal highness possessing, in an eminent degree, those princely virtues, those matured and well cultivated talents, which render you able to preserve, to the subjects of these kingdoms, the invaluable blessings which they have enjoyed under the mild and constitutional government of your illustrious house. Anxious in our wishes and ardent in our prayers for that happy period which may restore the health of our sovereign,

we confide in the wisdom of your royal highness, to place, during the continuance of the king's illness, in the high and important offices of the state, men, in whom, from well-tried experience, your royal highness can repose trust; men, devoted by principle to the sacred constitution of their country, and attached by the purest motives of regard and affection to your royal person and dignity. With due humility we lay at your feet, sentiments of the deepest sorrow and concern for the distress of the royal family, permit us to assure your royal highness of our firm and unalterable attachment to your person, and the true government of the realm under your auspicious conduct; and that we shall be ready with our lives and fortunes to maintain the establishment in church and state, as recognized in the glorious æra of the Revolution, and supported and strengthened in the illustrious house of Hanover.

Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of the City of London, to his Majesty, on the happy Occasion of his Recovery, March 19. (See Public Occurrences page (11) and (12.)

May it please your majesty,

We, the lord mayor, aldermen and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave humbly to approach the throne with the most heartfelt emotions of joy and exultation.

We cannot sufficiently express our deep and awful sense of the signal instance of the goodness of Divine Providence to these highly favoured kingdoms, in restoring the health of our most gracious sovereign to the ardent prayers of his people.

Your majesty's faithful citizens London, at all times eager to testify their loyalty, are more particularly anxious to offer their renewed assurances of fidelity and attachment, in a moment which has rescued them from despondency, and blessed them with an opportunity to offer the tribute nearest their hearts.

And we earnestly supplicate the great Disposer of all events, that your majesty may long continue the happy instrument of preserving, the most exalted degree, the civil and religious liberties of a free, loyal, and grateful nation.

Signed by order of the court:

WILLIAM RIX.

His Majesty's Answer.

I thank you for this fresh mark of your loyalty and of your affection to my person. The expressions of fidelity and attachment, which I receive from my loving subjects, are most grateful to me.

The city of London may always depend upon my watchful attention to their liberties, commerce, and opulence.

which your majesty must enjoy so large a share.

That the king may long be preserved in his sacred and exalted station, not less revered for his domestic virtues than for the dominion he holds in the hearts of a loyal and happy people, is the sincere prayer of the citizens of London.

There never was a period when the citizens of London felt the value of their privilege to address the throne in so eminent a degree as the present, which has enabled them to dwell with such heartfelt emphasis on an event so propitious to their country, so peculiarly interesting and effectually consolatory to the best of queens.

Signed by order of the court;

WILLIAM RIX.

Her Majesty's Answer.

I thank you for this mark of duty to the king and attention to me. I receive your congratulations with a sincere and heartfelt pleasure on the present joyful occasion; and I can assure you that the city of London will ever have my best wishes for its prosperity and happiness.

Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, to her Majesty, on the same happy Occasion.

May it please your majesty to admit us, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, to offer our most sincere congratulations to your majesty on the auspicious recovery of our most gracious sovereign.

Impressed with the most sympathetic affections, we have not the power to convey how much we participate in the general felicity, of

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, in Common Council assembled, on the same Occasion.

May it please your majesty,

We, your dutiful and ever loyal subjects, the lord mayor, sheriffs commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, humbly offer our congratulations on your majesty's recovery from your late severe indisposition, and beg leave to express how deeply sensible we are of the inestimable value of your majesty's life and health to your faithful people.

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The earnestness and fervor with which we looked for the happy times that have now returned, are only to be equalled by the sincerity with which we pray Almighty God, that your majesty may long flourish a revered, beloved, patriot king.

The worth of a sovereign so mild, a parent so provident, and a friend so true, was never before so fully understood, until he was lost for ever; but it is the peculiar blessing of your faithful subjects, that they are awakened to a due sense of your majesty's great and endearing qualities, ere it is too late, and whilst our country continues to prosper under their benign influence.

The afflictions of your loyal citizens of Dublin grew the more poignant during your majesty's late illness, as we reflected, that nothing but a care for the public weal, too active and incessant, had borne down your strength, and caused you to faint in the service of your people.

Return then, sire, with renovated vigour of mind and body, to attain the glorious ends to which your auspicious reign has been directed; live long the supporter of the law, the approved patron and defender of civil and religious liberty.

Never before did your people experience anguish occasioned by your majesty: may this we have tasted be accounted our share of the bitter cup; and let the transit of our good and gracious king from his throne of Ireland to a throne eternal, in the ripeness of time, and in the fulness of his fame, be reserved for the portion of a future generation.

In testimony whereof we have caused the common seal of the said city to be hereunto affixed, this 23d day of March, 1789.

Address of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Inhabitants of Waterford to the King, on the same Occasion.

May it please your majesty,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the freemen, freeholders, Protestant and Roman Catholic inhabitants of the county of the city of Waterford in the kingdom of Ireland, beg leave to present our humble congratulations on the happy restoration of your majesty's health.

We are awfully impressed with the inestimable goodness of Divine Providence, who, indulgent to the ardent prayers of your loyal and affectionate subjects, has restored you to your majesty to a free and happy people.

In common with all your majesty's subjects throughout your extended dominions, we participate the joy that at present universally prevails, and with which we are still the more sensibly affected when we contemplate the solid system of constitutional and commercial rights that has been established for the kingdom during your majesty's auspicious reign.

Since the accession of your majesty to the government of these realms, the constant operation of those principles of liberty, which have ever characterized the house of Brunswick, and a succession of happy events, conducted under your councils, have improved the constitution, and extended the commerce of this country to such a degree of excellence and importance, as to enable it now to constitute one of the most valuable portions of your majesty's empire.

When we look back to the former situation of this country, and when we reflect on the many blessings revived under your majesty's mild and happy government,

bound to pray to Divine Providence that your reign may be long, prosperous, and happy.

Signed, by order,

WILLIAM ROACH, } Sheriffs.
JOHN DENIS, }

Address of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff to the King, on the same Occasion.

Most gracious sovereign,

We, the bishop, archdeacon and chapter, and clergy of the diocese of Llandaff, your majesty's most faithful subjects, humbly, and with hearty thanksgivings to Almighty God, beg leave to congratulate your majesty on the recovery which in his mercy hath vouchsafed you, from a long and singularly distressing indisposition.

We are persuaded that no congratulations on any occasion were ever offered to any of your majesty's predecessors with more cordial sincerity, and more perfect unanimity, than those will be, which a true, a loyal, and an affectionate people will present to your majesty on this event: it is an event highly interesting to every branch of your majesty's family, and to every friend of the house of Brunswick.

The happiness of men, who have the misfortune to live under despotic governments, depends more on the good disposition of their ruler, than on the nature of their civil constitution, whilst that of men, who live under free governments, is more dependent on the principles of their constitution than on the virtues of their prince. How happy then may our situation justly be deemed! We certainly live under the best form of civil government that ever was established in the world; and we have the comfort

of knowing that it is administered by a king, whose virtues, public and private, would render even despotism itself not destructive of the happiness of the human kind.

May God, in his good providence, long continue to us the blessing of your majesty's life and health, and preserve to our latest posterity the blessing of the British constitution.

Address of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff to the Queen, on the same Occasion.

Most gracious queen,

We, the bishop, archdeacon and chapter, and clergy of the diocese of Llandaff, entreat your majesty graciously to accept our congratulations on the king's recovery from his late indisposition. They are tendered to your majesty with the utmost truth.

The comforts of domestic life are natural and sincere; all persons, in all ranks, equally feel the importance of possessing them, are equally afflicted by their interruption or loss: we firmly believe that every family in the kingdom sympathised with your majesty in your late distress; and that they all participate in your present felicity.

Sensible of the influence of royal example, we always thought that your majesty was entitled to the thanks of this kingdom for the proofs you have uniformly given, during a long residence amongst us, of the sincerity of your piety, of the amiableness and purity of your manners, as a queen, as a wife, and as a mother: but if your majesty could have claimed our regard on no other account, the tenderness and concern you have shown for a beloved monarch, during his late unhappy

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situation, would have secured to you the grateful attachment of a loyal people.

We observed in the deliberations of parliament a great diversity of opinion, as to the most constitutional mode of protecting the rights of the sovereign during the continuance of his indisposition; but we observed none whatever as to the necessity of doing it in the most effectual manner. This circumstance cannot fail of giving solid satisfaction to your majesty; for, next to the consolation of believing that, in his recovery, he has been the especial object of God's mercy, must be that of knowing, that, during his illness, he was the peculiar object of his people's love; that he reigns over a free, a great, and an enlightened nation, not more by the laws of the land than by the wishes of all his subjects.

Address of the Nobility, Ladies, and Gentlewomen of the County and Town of Banff, to the Queen, on the same Occasion.

May it please your majesty,

We, the nobility, ladies, and gentlewomen of the county and town of Banff, dutiful, loyal, and affectionate subjects to our most gracious sovereign, beg leave humbly to approach your majesty with our warmest expressions of joy for the happy recovery of the best of kings; an event, under God, the greatest blessing to his attached and faithful people.

We congratulate your majesty on this joyful occasion, and pray to God that he may long preserve his majesty's life, and the life of his royal consort, whom we look up to as the parrons of piety, virtue, and exemplary religious duties.

We have long known, and shall always admire, your amiable character, and your eminent wisdom, as we wish to imitate your wife and unrivalled conduct.

We pray to God, that happiness may be continued to your majesty and the royal family; and that those virtues, which we revere with the utmost gratitude, may be remembered and imitated to the latest age.

This humble address, unanimously resolved on at a numerous and respectable assembly met in Banff, the 13th day of March, 1789, is appointed to be sent to the duchess of Gordon, that her grace may have the honour of signing it in our names, and presenting it to her majesty,

J. GORDON.

The Petition of the English Catholic Dissenters to the House of Commons, presented May 7.

Sheweth,

That sentiments unfavourable to your petitioners, as citizens and subjects, have been entertained by English protestants, and that your petitioners are subject to various penal laws, on account of principles which are asserted to be maintained by your petitioners, and other persons of their religion, and which principles are dangerous to society and totally repugnant to political and civil liberty.

That your petitioners think it a duty which they owe to their country, as well as to themselves, to protest in a formal and solemn manner against doctrines that they condemn, and that constitute no part whatever of their principles, religion, or belief.

That your petitioners are the

are anxious to free themselves from
the imputations, because divers
protestants, who profess themselves
to be real friends to liberty of con-
science, have nevertheless avowed
themselves hostile to your petition-
ers, on account of the opinions which
your petitioners are so supposed to
hold; and your petitioners do not
name those protestants for their ho-
stility, if it proceeds (as your peti-
tioners hope it does) not from an
intolerant spirit in matters of religi-
on, but from their being misinform-
ed as to matters of fact.

That your petitioners acknow-
ledge that they should merit the
reproach of being dangerous ene-
mies to the state, if it were true,
that they had adopted the maxims
which are erroneously imputed to
them; but your petitioners detest
those unchristianlike and execrable
maxims; and your petitioners fe-
liciously claim (in common with men
of all other religions) as a matter of
natural justice, that your petitioners
ought not to suffer for or on account
of any wicked erroneous doctrines
which may have been holden, or that
may be held by any foreign Roman
Catholics, which doctrines your pe-
tioners publicly disclaim; any
more than any of the British protes-
tants ought to be rendered responsi-
ble for any dangerous doctrines that
may be held by any foreign protes-
tants, which doctrines they, the
British protestants, disavow.

That your petitioners have
been accused of holding, as a princi-
ple of their religion, that princes
communicated by the pope and
council, or by authority of the see
of Rome, may be deposed or mur-
dered by their subjects, or other
persons. But, so far is the above
mentioned unchristianlike and abo-
minable position from being a prin-
ciple, that your petitioners hold, that

they reject, abhor, and detest it, and
every part thereof, as execrable
and impious; and your petitioners
do solemnly declare, that neither
the pope, either with or without a
general council, nor any prelate,
nor any priest, nor any assembly of
prelates or priests, nor any ecclesi-
astical power whatever, can absolve
the subjects of this realm, or any of
them, from their allegiance to his
majesty king George the Third, who
is, by authority of the legislature,
the lawful king of this realm, and
of all the dominions thereunto be-
longing.

II. That your petitioners have
also been accused of holding, as a
principle of their religion, that im-
plicit obedience is due from them
to the orders and decrees of popes
and general councils: and that,
therefore, if the pope, or any gene-
ral council, should, for the good of
the church, command your peti-
tioners to take up arms against go-
vernment, or by any means to sub-
vert the laws and liberties of this
country, or to exterminate persons
of a different religion from your
petitioners, the accusers of your pe-
tioners assert, that your petition-
ers hold themselves bound to obey
such orders or decrees on pain of
eternal fire. Whereas your peti-
tioners positively deny, that they
owe any such obedience to the pope
and general council, or to either of
them: and your petitioners believe
that no act that is in itself immoral
or dishonest can ever be justified by,
or under colour that it is done,
either for the good of the church, or
in obedience to any ecclesiastical
power whatever. Your petitioners
acknowledge no infallibility in the
pope; and they neither apprehend
nor believe, that their disobedience
to any such orders or decrees (should
any such be given or made) could

subject your petitioners to any punishment whatsoever. That your petitioners do solemnly declare, that no church, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, hath, have, or ought to have any jurisdiction or authority whatsoever within this realm, that can, directly or indirectly, affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government thereof, or the rights, liberties, persons, or properties, of the people of the said realm, or of any of them; save only and except by the authority of parliament; and that any such assumption of power would be an usurpation.

III. That your petitioners have likewise been accused of holding as a principle of their religion, that the pope, by virtue of his spiritual power, can dispense with the obligations of any compact or oath taken or entered into by any person of the religion of your petitioners; that therefore, no oath of allegiance, or other oath, can bind your petitioners, and consequently, that your petitioners can give no security for their allegiance to any government.—That your petitioners admit that this conclusion would be just, if the original proposition, upon which it is founded, were true: but your petitioners positively deny, that they held any such principle; and they do solemnly declare, that neither the pope, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve your petitioners, or any of them from, or can previously or subsequently dispense with the obligations of any compact or oath whatsoever.

IV. That your petitioners have

also been accused of holding, as a principle of their religion, that not only the pope, but even a priest, has power, at his will and pleasure, to pardon the sins of persons of the religion of your petitioners; and therefore, that no person of the religion of your petitioners can possibly give any security for his allegiance to any government; inasmuch as the pope, or a priest, can pardon perjury, rebellion, and high treason. That your petitioners acknowledge also, the justness of this conclusion, if the proposition upon which it is founded, were not totally false; but your petitioners do solemnly declare, that on the contrary, they believe that no sin whatever, can be forgiven at the will of any pope, or of any priest, or of any person whomsoever: but that a sincere sorrow for past sin, a firm resolution to avoid future guilt, and every possible atonement to God, and the injured neighbour, are the previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness.

V. That your petitioners have also been accused of holding, as a principle of their religion, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, so that no government, which does not profess the same religion as your petitioners, can have any security from your petitioners for their allegiance and peaceable behaviour. That your petitioners reject, repudiate, and abhor the doctrine, that faith is not to be kept with heretics as being contrary to religion, morality, and common honesty. And your petitioners do hold and solemnly declare, that no breach of faith, with, or injury to, or hostility against any person whomsoever, can be justified by reason of, or upon pretence, that such person is an heretic or an infidel.

That your petitioners further solemnly declare, that they do make declaration and protestation, every part thereof, in the plain ordinary sense of the words of same, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever. And that your petitioners humbly conceive, that your petitioners, who thus solemnly disclaim, and from their hearts abhor, the above mentioned abominable unchristianlike principles, ought to be put upon a level with any other men who may hold and promote those principles.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that this honourable house will be pleased to grant such relief to your petitioners, as this honourable house in its wisdom shall deem to be just.

Address of the Inhabitants of Alexandria, in Virginia, to General Washington, on leaving his House to accept of the Presidency of the United States of America, April 16, 1789.

To George Washington, esq.
President of the United States, &c.
Again your country demands your care. Obedient to its wishes, mindful of your own ease, we resign you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too, at a period of life when nature itself seems to authorize a preference of repose.

Not to extol your glory as a soldier—not to pour forth our gratitude for past services—not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honour which has been conferred upon you, by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the supreme magistracy—not to admire the patriotism that

directs your conduct—do your neighbours and friends, now address you.—Themes, less splendid but more endearing, impress our minds. The first and best of citizens must leave us! our aged must lose their ornament! our youth their model! our agriculture its improver! our commerce its friend! our infant academy its patron! our poor their benefactor! and the interior navigation of the Potomack (an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitting exertions, brought into partial use) its institutor and promoter!

Farewell!—Go; and make a grateful people happy; a people who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at His will, we commend you; and after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may He restore to us again the best of men, and the most beloved fellow-citizen.

In behalf of the people of Alexandria,

DENNIS RAMSAY, Mayor.
April 16, 1789.

The Answer.

To the mayor, corporation, and citizens of Alexandria.

Gentlemen,

Although I ought not to conceal, yet I cannot describe, the painful emotions which I felt, in being called upon to determine whether I would accept, or refuse, the presidency of the United States. The unanimity in the choice; the opinion of my friends, communicated from different parts of Europe as well as of America; the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the constitution in its present form; and an ardent desire on my

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own part, to be instrumental in conciliating the good will of my country toward each other—have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow-citizens, are, from your situation, in that number) know better than any other, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature. For at my age, and in my circumstances, what possible advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life? I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenour of my life has been open to your inspection; and my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge for my future conduct.

In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness, contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bidden adieu to my domestic connections, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still farther to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret, at parting from the enjoyments of private life. All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you to the protection of that beneficent Being, who, on a former occasion, hath happily brought us together, after a long and distressing separation.—Perhaps the same gracious Providence will again indulge us with the same heartfelt felicity. But words, my fellow-citizens, fail me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more ex-

pressive silence; while from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate friends, and kind neighbours, farewell!

G. WASHINGTON

Speech of George Washington, Esq. President of the United States, to both Houses of Congress, April 30, 1789.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate, and of the house of representatives,

Among the vicissitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification was transmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the present month: on the one hand, I was summoned by my country, whose voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retirement which I had chosen with the fondest predilection, and, in my flattering hopes, with an immutable decision, as the asylum of my declining years—a retreat, which was rendered every day more necessary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waste committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the trust to which the voice of my country called me, being sufficient to awaken in the wisest and most experienced of her citizens a distrustful scrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with despondence one who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unprepared in the duties of civil administration, ought to be peculiarly conscious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I can aver, is, that it hath been my faithful study to collect my duties

just appreciation of every assistance by which it might be rendered. All I dare hope is, that in executing this task, I have not been so much swayed by a grateful remembrance of former inducements, or by an affectionate sensibility to this transcendent proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens; nor have I thence too little consulted my own capacity as well as disinclination to the weighty and untried task before me; my error will be excused by the motives which mislead me, and its consequences befall my country, with some atonement for the partiality in which they are stated.

In being the impressions under which I have, in obedience to the summons, repaired to the station, it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first address my fervent supplications to the Almighty Being who rules the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose essential aids can supply every defect, that his benediction may be conferred to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these essential ends, and may enable every man employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In rendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private blessing, I assure myself that it expresses our sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large, less than either. No man can be bound to acknowledge the dominion of the Invisible Hand which directs the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Events by which they have advanced the character of an independent nation, seems to have been distin-

guished by some token of providential agency. And in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to preface. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.

By the article establishing the executive department, it is made the duty of the president to recommend to your consideration, such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. The circumstances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that subject farther than to refer to the great constitutional charter under which you are assembled; and which, in defining your powers, designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotism which adorn the characters selected to devise and adopt them.

In these honourable qualifications, I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side, no local prejudices or attachments, no separate views,

views, nor party animosities, will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests; so, on another, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the respect of the world.

I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire; since there is no truth more thoroughly established, than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation, that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

Beside the ordinary objects submitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide how far an exercise of the occasional power, delegated by the fifth article of the constitution, is rendered expedient at the present juncture, by the nature of objections which have been urged against the system, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

Instead of undertaking particular recommendations on this subject, which I could be guided by lights derived from official opportunities, I shall again give way to my entire confidence in your discernment and pursuit of the public good; for I assure myself, that while you carefully avoid every intemperance which might endanger the benefits of an united and efficient government, or which ought to await the future lessons of experience, a reverence for the characteristic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will sufficiently influence your deliberations on the question, how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be safely and advantageously promoted.

To the preceding observations I have one to add, which will be properly addressed to the house of representatives. It concerns myself, and will therefore be as brief as possible. When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberties, light in which I contemplated duty required that I should renounce every pecuniary compensation. From this resolution I have in no instance departed. And being still under the impressions which produced it, I must decline as inapplicable to myself, any share of the personal emoluments which may be indispensably included in a permanent provision for the executive department; and must accordingly pray that the pecuniary estimation for the station in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to such actual disbursements as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my sentiments, as they have been



ened by the occasion which
 us together, I shall take my
 leave; but not without re-
 once more to the Benign
 of the human race, in hum-
 supplication that, since he has
 pleased to favour the Ameri-
 people with opportunities for
 operating with perfect tranquilli-
 and dispositions for deciding
 unparalleled unanimity, on a
 of government for the securi-
 of their union, and the advance-
 of their happiness; so his di-
 blessing may be equally con-
 in the enlarged views, the
 operate consultations, and the
 measures, on which the success
 this government must depend.

G. WASHINGTON.

Message from the President of the United States to the House of Representatives, Aug. 7, 1789.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives.

The business which has hitherto been under the consideration of congress has been of so much importance, that I was unwilling to draw your attention from it to any other subject. But the disputes which exist between some of the United States and several powerful tribes of Indians within the limits of the Union, and the hostilities which have in several instances been committed on the frontiers, seem to require the immediate interposition of the general government.

I have therefore directed the several statements and papers, which have been submitted to me on this subject by general Knox, to be laid before you for your information.

While the measures of government ought to be calculated to protect its citizens from all injury and

violence, a due regard should be extended to those Indian tribes, whose happiness, in the course of events, so materially depends on the national justice and humanity of the United States.

If it should be the judgment of congress, that it would be most expedient to terminate all differences in the southern district, and to lay the foundation for future confidence, by an amicable treaty with the Indian tribes in that quarter, I think proper to suggest the consideration of the expediency of instituting a temporary commission for that purpose, to consist of three persons, whose authority should expire with the occasion.

How far such a measure, unassisted by posts, would be competent to the establishment and preservation of peace and tranquillity on the frontiers, is also a matter which merits your serious consideration.

Along with this object I am induced to suggest another, with the national importance and necessity of which I am deeply impressed; I mean some uniform and effective system for the militia of the United States. It is unnecessary to offer arguments in recommendation of a measure, in which the honour, safety, and well-being of our country so evidently and so essentially depend.

But it may not be amiss to observe, that I am particularly anxious it should receive as early attention as circumstances will admit; because it is now in our power to avail ourselves of the military knowledge disseminated throughout the several states by means of the many well-instructed officers and soldiers of the late army, a resource which is daily diminishing by death and other causes.

To suffer this peculiar advantage
 to

to pass away unimproved, would be to neglect an opportunity which will never again occur, unless unfortunately we should again be involved in a long and arduous war.

G. WASHINGTON.

Address of the Magistrates and Gentlemen of the County of Hants to the Right Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia. See Public Occurrences, Page (7).

Right Reverend Sir,

The magistrates and gentlemen who have the honour to attend you this day, in behalf of themselves and the inhabitants of Hants, beg leave to express their happiness on the occasion, when the establishment of a public seminary for learning, under your guidance and government, affords them the comfort and hope, that their children as well as the youth of this province in general will have the inestimable advantage of such education as forms the man of learning, with the sentiments that distinguish the gentleman, and the morality and piety of the true Christian.

Happy as the occasion is, it is rendered infinitely more so to us, as well as to every parent, and every person in the district we represent, by the particular satisfaction arising from the influence your presence and encouragement has had with all classes of people; and, we trust, will yield every blessing to be expected from piety, morality, and learning, while the charge allotted to you in this province is supported with such eminent abilities and zeal for the public good.

We humbly offer our grateful thanks to our benign sovereign, for the gracious and distinguished mark

of his regard for this province, the appointment of a divine, possessed of every virtue and qualification to inspire universal reverence, devotion, and love of religion, as well as of this province, to superintend this establishment, and to cast the light of the Gospel among faithful subjects: and to Him we offer our fervent prayer, that you may live happy to complete the work you have begun, as long to witness the comfort and happiness of all who benefit those instances of royal favour, the Saviour, whose Gospel you teach, shall reward your merits with everlasting bliss.

The Answer.

Gentlemen,

I feel myself exceedingly obliged by this affectionate and polite address, for which be pleased to accept of my sincerest thanks.

Permit me at the same time to congratulate you on an event so interesting, as the founding and opening a public seminary of learning at Windsor, which promises many advantages to the province.

This institution, and its concomitant benefits, originated from our most gracious and beloved sovereign, who, among other instances of his royal attention to the welfare of his faithful subjects, strongly recommended the measure; and the legislature of this province, with promptness and zeal which reflect honour on all its members, instantly adopted, and took the proper steps to carry into effect the royal institution. Happy in promoting the beneficent views of his majesty, and co-operating with my worthy fellow subjects in so useful a design, I have deavoured, with all good faith and sincerity, to execute the trust reposed in me; and that the business

happily brought to its present
is greatly owing to the ready
assistance and aid which I received
from his excellency the lieutenant-
governor, and the other gentlemen,
with me, were appointed by
the act of the province to un-
der the general government of
the academy. The approbation
which you are pleased to bestow on
my conduct is very flattering, and
will serve to stimulate my future ex-
ertions in the same good cause:

To you, gentlemen, it would be
pleasing to enlarge on the advan-
tages of literature and a virtuous edu-
cation, as you appear to be totally
devoid of them. I shall only ob-
serve, that from science the enlight-
ened philosopher derives his superi-
ority over the untutored savage,
that to the discipline and in-
fluences received in early youth,
the devout Christian is indebted,
to God, for those enlarged and
noble sentiments, that integrity of
conduct, and glowing ardour for the
good of others, which place him so
far above the ignorant, vicious,
selfish part of mankind.

In this academy is fixed in your
city, I earnestly recommend it
to your patronage and assistance in
all difficulties that may occasionally
arise. In particular, I request the
honourable magistrates rigorously to en-
force the laws against drunkenness,
and swearing, profanation of
the Lord's-day, and other vices,
in order to his majesty's late pro-
clamation, that the students may
not be injured by bad examples.

It is unnecessary to assure you,
that I feel the utmost anxiety for
the success of this academy. May
the Almighty bless and prosper it!
May it flourish, and become, as it
is intended, a public blessing; and
may the useful learning, pure religion,
order, and loyalty flow from

hence, as from a common source,
and extensively diffuse their salutary
effects through every part of the
province.

*The King of France's Circular Letter
for the Convocation of the States
General at Versailles.*

Our beloved and loyal,

We stand in need of the concurrence
of our faithful subjects to enable us
to surmount all the difficulties we
are involved in, respecting the con-
dition of our finances; and to estab-
lish according to our wishes a stea-
dy, constant, and invariable order
in every part of government, that
interests the happiness of our people,
and the prosperity of our kingdom.
These great motives have determin-
ed us to convene the assembly of the
states in all the provinces under our
obedience, in order that they may
not only advise and assist us in all
those objects that shall be laid before
them, but lay open likewise the
wishes and grievances of our sub-
jects; so that, by a mutual confi-
dence, and a reciprocal love be-
tween the sovereign and the nation,
an efficacious remedy may be applied
as soon as possible to the disorders
of the state, and abuses of every
kind be reformed and prevented,
by good and solid means proper to
insure a permanency of the public
happiness, and to restore particu-
larly that calm and tranquillity we have
so long been deprived of. We pro-
claim, therefore, that it is our in-
tention to begin the meeting of the
free and general states of our king-
dom on Monday the 27th of April
next, in our town of Versailles,
where we mean and desire that some
of the most respectable persons of
each province, bailiwick, and senes-
challship shall attend. We order and

expressly enjoin you, therefore, soon after the receipt of the present letter, to convene and assemble in the town of —, in the speediest manner you can, the most proper of the three classes (trois etats) of the bailiwick or seneschalship, of —, that they may confer and communicate together on subjects of complaints, grievances, and remonstrances, and the means and advice they may have to propose to the general assembly of the said states; and after having done thus much, they are to chuse and name such and such persons, &c. and so many and no more of every class—all of them worthy of this distinguished mark of trust, on account of their integrity, and the superior abilities they are endowed with. The above convocations and elections shall be made throughout the kingdom in the form prescribed by the regulation annexed to the present letter. The deputies or representatives of the provinces, bailiwicks, and seneschalships shall be furnished with proper instructions, and sufficient power to propose, remonstrate, advise, and consent to every thing that may concern the present or future wants of the state, the reform of abuses, the establishment of steady and permanent order in every branch of the administration, the general prosperity of our kingdom, and the welfare of all and each of our subjects; assuring them, that on our side they shall find our best good will and affection for maintaining and executing whatever shall have been concerted between us and the said states, whether respecting the imposts they shall agree upon, or for the establishment of a constant rule in all parts of the administration, or on the public order; promising moreover to ask and to listen favourably to, their advice on what-

ever may interest the good of the nation to redress their grievances and to attend to the proposals that shall be advanced; so that the kingdom, and all our subjects in particular may feel the salutary effects of so noble and so grand an assembly for ever.

Given at Versailles, the 14th

Jan. 1789.

Signed,

LAW, DE VILLEMORE

The King of France's Speech on the Opening of the States General, 9, 1789.

Gentlemen,

The day is at length arrived which my heart has so long pined to see, and I find myself surrounded by the representatives of a nation it is my glory to command.

A long interval has elapsed since the last convocation of the states general; but although these assemblies have not for some time been held, have not been swayed by the wishes of my late predecessors, to re-establish a custom from which the nation may earnestly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional source of happiness.

The public debt was already immense at my coming to the throne and has increased under my reign; an expensive but honourable war has been the cause, and the augmentation of taxes the consequence of it; but an unequal levy has caused them to be more severely felt.

A very general discontent, a great desire for innovation, has taken hold of the people's mind and will end in misleading judgment, if they do not hastily fix them by wise and moderate councils.

is with this confidence, gentlemen, that I now assemble you, and rejoice to see that it has been justified by those dispositions which the first orders of the state have given, to renounce their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have cherished, to see all the orders unite and concur with me in wishes for the public good, will, I am certain, not be deceived.

I have already ordered very considerable retrenchments of expence; and will moreover furnish me with my sentiments on the subject, which I shall receive most gladly; and in spite of the resources which the strictest œconomy can suggest, I fear, gentlemen, that I shall not be able to relieve my subjects so soon as I could wish. I shall order to be laid before you the exact state of the finances; and when you have examined them, I am assured you will propose to me the most effectual means to establish them on a permanent footing, and strengthen the public credit. This great and salutary work will claim your most earnest attention; it is that which will secure the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and maintain its influence among foreign powers.

The public spirit is in a ferment, and an assembly of the representatives of the nation will certainly listen to no other counsels but those founded on wisdom and prudence. You yourselves, gentlemen, have been able to judge on many recent occasions, that the people have been misguided; but the spirit which will rule over your deliberations will answer for the true sentiments of a generous nation, whose distinguished character has ever been the love of their king. I shall banish from me every other sentiment.

I know the authority and power

1789.

of a just king, surrounded by a faithful people, at all times attached to the principles of monarchy; these have caused the glory and splendour of France; I ought and I ever shall be the support of them.

But whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the public good, whatever can be asked from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me.

May a happy union reign in this assembly! And may this epocha become ever memorable for the happiness and prosperity of the country. It is the wish of my heart; it is the most ardent desire of my prayers; it is, in short, the price which I expect for the sincerity of my intentions, and my love for my people.

The keeper of the seals will explain my intentions more fully, and I have ordered the director-general of the finances to lay before you the state of the kingdom.

Letter from the King of France to the President of the National Assembly, May 28, 1789.

Being informed, that the difficulties which have been made relative to ascertaining the powers vested in the members of the states general still subsist, notwithstanding the care taken by the commissioners chosen by the three estates to find out the means of settling this point; I cannot see without pain, and indeed much uneasiness, the national assembly, which I have called together to be concerned with me in the new regulation of the kingdom, sunk into inaction, which, if continued, would cause all the hopes which I have formed for the happiness of my people, and the benefit of the state, to prove abortive. Under

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der these circumstances, I desire that the conciliatory commissioners, already chosen by the three orders, resume their conferences to-morrow at six in the evening, in the presence of my keeper of the seals and commissioners, whom I shall appoint, in order that I may be more particularly informed of the proposals for agreement which shall be made, and directly contribute to so desirable and pressing a state of harmony. I charge the person who shall exercise the office of president to make known these my intentions to the assembly.

LOUIS.

Verfailles, May 28.

Address of M. Bailly, one of the Deputies of the Tiers Etât of France, to his Majesty, June 6, 1789.

Sire,

The deputies of your faithful commons would long since have solemnly presented to your majesty the respectful testimony of their gratitude for the convocation of the states general, had their powers been verified, which would have been the case but for the obstacles thrown in the way by the nobles. They wait with the most anxious impatience for the moment of that verification, to enable them to offer you a more striking homage and token of their love for your sacred person, for your august family, and their devotion to the interests of the monarch, which are always inseparable from those of the nation.

The solicitude your majesty experiences at the inaction of the states general, affords a fresh proof of the desire which animates your breast to produce the happiness of France.

Afflicted at this fatal inaction,

the deputies of the commons have left no means untried to determine those of the clergy and the nobles to unite with them for the purpose of constituting the national assembly; but the nobles having again manifested their resolution of maintaining the verification of their powers separately transacted, the conciliatory conferences opened on this important question were necessarily at an end.

Your majesty, desiring that they should be resumed, in presence of the keeper of the seals, and commissioners you have named, the deputies of the commons, certain that under a prince, who wishes to be the restorer of France, the liberty of the national assembly can be in no danger, have cheerfully concurred in your desire as signified to them. They are thoroughly convinced, that in the exact journal of these conferences laid before your majesty, you will discover nothing in the motives by which we are directed, but the principles of justice and of reason.

Sire, your faithful commons will never forget what they owe to their king; never will they lose sight of the natural alliance between the throne and the people, against aristocracies, under whatever form whose power can be established only on the ruins of the regal authority, and the public happiness. The French people, whose glory it has been at all times to love their king, will always be ready to spill their blood and lavish their property in support of the genuine principles of the monarchy. From the very first moment that the instructions received by their deputies will permit them to express a national wish you will judge, Sire, whether the representatives of your commons do not prove themselves the most anxious of your subjects to maintain

the rights, the honours, the dignities of the throne, to consolidate the public engagements, to restore the credit of the nation; you will acknowledge likewise, that they are not less just towards their fellow-citizens, of every class, than devoted to your majesty.

Your faithful commons are most deeply affected at the circumstance under which your majesty has the goodness to receive their deputation; and they take the liberty to address to your majesty the universal expression of their regret, and of their respectful sensibility.

His Majesty's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I receive with satisfaction the testimonials of devotion and attachment to the monarchy, of the representatives of the third estate of my kingdom. All the orders of the state have an equal claim to my favour, and you may rely on my kindness and protection. Above all I recommend to you speedily to concord, and that with a spirit of prudence and of peace, the accomplishment of the benefits I am impatient to confer on my people, and which they confidently expect from my sentiments in their favour.

Speech of the King of France to the States General, June 23.

Gentlemen,

At the time I took the resolution of assembling you; when I had surmounted all the difficulties which threatened a convocation of my states; when I had, to use the expression, even preconceived the desires of the nation, in manifesting beforehand my wishes for its welfare; I thought to have done every thing which depended on myself for the good of my people.

It seemed to me, that you had only to finish the work I had begun; and the nation expected impatiently the moment, when, in conjunction with the beneficent views of its sovereign, and the enlightened zeal of its representatives, it was about to enjoy that prosperous and happy state which such an union ought to afford.

The states general have now been opened more than two months, and have not yet even agreed on the preliminaries of its operations. Instead of that source of harmony which should spring from a love of the country, a most fatal division spreads an alarm over every mind. I am willing to believe, and I shall be happy to find, that the disposition of Frenchmen is not changed; but, to avoid reproaching either of you, I shall consider, that the renewal of the states general after so long a period, the turbulence which preceded it, the object of this assembly, so different from that of your ancestors, and many other objects, have led you to an opposition, and to prefer pretensions to which you are not entitled.

I owe it to the welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myself, to dissipate these fatal divisions. It is with this resolution, Gentlemen, that I convene you once more around me—I do it as the common father of all my people—I do it as the defender of my kingdom's laws, that I may recal to your memory the true spirit of your constitution, and resist those attempts which have been aimed against it.

But, Gentlemen, after having clearly established the respective rights of the different orders, I expect from the zeal of the two principal classes—I expect from their attachment to my person—I expect from the knowledge they have of

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the pressing urgencies of the state, that in those matters which concern the general good, they should be the first to propose a re-union of consultation and opinion, which I consider as necessary in the present crisis, and which ought to take place for the general good of the kingdom.

Address, presented to the King by a Deputation of the National Assembly of France, on the Approach of numerous Bodies of Troops to the Capital, July 10.

Sire,

You have invited the national assembly to evince its confidence in you: by this you have anticipated its most ardent wishes.

We come to repose the most serious apprehensions in the bosom of your majesty. If we were the object of those apprehensions, if we had the weakness to be alarmed for ourselves, you would have the goodness and condescension to allay our fears; and, even in blaming us for having doubted your intentions, you would treat our anxiety with tenderness; you would remove the cause of it; you would leave not the least uncertainty with respect to the situation of the national assembly.

But, sire, we do not implore your protection; that would be to wound your justice. We have conceived apprehensions; apprehensions which, we presume to say, are excited by the purest patriotism; by a regard to the interest of our constituents, to the tranquillity of the public, and to the happiness of a beloved monarch, who, having paved the way to the felicity of the nation, ought certainly himself to walk unobstructed in it.

In the dictates of your heart, sire, consists the true security of Frenchmen. When troops are advancing from every quarter; when camps are formed around us; when the metropolis is invested; we enquire, with astonishment, does the king distrust the fidelity of his people? If he could have doubted it, would he not have poured his paternal anxieties into our bosoms? What can these menacing preparations mean? Where are the enemies of the state and of the king, whom it is necessary to subdue? Where are the rebels, where the leaguers, to be reduced?—With one voice the capital, and the whole kingdom, answer, We love our king; and we adore the supreme Being, for having presented us, in his goodness, with such a sovereign.

Sire, nothing but the pretext of the public good can render your majesty's conscience subservient to deception.

If the persons who have given these counsels to your majesty, had sufficient confidence in their principles to lay them before us, that moment would be productive of the noblest triumph of truth.

The state has nothing to dread but the wicked principles, which dare to besiege even the throne itself, and which respect not the conscience of the most upright, the most virtuous of princes. And from what circumstance of your reign, sire, do they infer, that you have renounced the affection and attachment of your subjects? Are you lavish of their blood? Are you cruel and implacable? Have you violated justice? Do the people impute their calamities to you? Is your name ever mentioned in their complaints? Can these evil counsellers assert, that the people are impatient of your yoke; that they are tired

sceptre of the Bourbons? No, no: calumny, at least, is not pard: the endeavours to give to aspersions some appearance of probability.

Your majesty has lately seen your influence over the people: subordination has been re-established in our distracted capital; the prisoners, liberated by the multitude, have resumed their fetters, of their own accord; and a single word from your mouth has restored that public order, which might have cost torrents of blood, had force been employed. But that word was the word of peace: it was the expression of your heart, and your subjects obey in never resisting it. What a public empire is this! It is that of Lewis IX. of Lewis XII. of Henry IV. It is the only empire that can be worthy of you.

We should deceive you, sire, if, impelled by the exigency of affairs, we did not add, that this is the only empire, which it is now possible to exercise in France.—France will never suffer the best of things to be deceived, nor to be diverted, by sinister views, from the noble plan which he himself has formed. You have convoked us, in order to settle, in concert with you, the constitution, and thus to effect the regeneration of the kingdom. The national assembly appears before you, with the most solemn declaration, that your wishes shall be accomplished; that your promises shall not be ineffectual; that neither cares, nor difficulties, nor terrors, shall retard its progress, nor intimidate its courage.

Where then is the danger of the troops? our enemies will affect to say: what mean these complaints, since they are inaccessible to discouragement?

The danger, sire, is pressing; it

is universal, it is beyond all the calculations of human prudence.

The danger is great with respect to the people in the country. Once alarmed for our liberty, and it is impossible to say what can restrain them. Distance magnifies and exaggerates every thing, doubles the anxiety of all, and tends still more to exasperate and inflame.

The danger is great with respect to the capital.—How will the people, sunk in wretchedness, and labouring under the most cruel sufferings, behold the remnant of their subsistence disputed by a multitude of threatening soldiers? The presence of the troops will exasperate; it will excite insurrection; it will produce an universal fermentation; and the first act of violence, exercised under the pretext of police, may be the commencement of a dreadful succession of calamities.

The danger is great with respect to the army. French soldiers drawn hither to the centre of discussion, participating in the passions as well as in the interests of the people, may forget the engagement that made them soldiers, in order to remember that nature had formed them men.

The danger, sire, threatens the deliberations which are our first duty, and which will not be crowned with success, nor acquire the certainty of duration, but in proportion as the people regard them as entirely free. There is, moreover, a contagion in the sallies of passion. We are but men: distrust of ourselves, the fear of appearing weak, may hurry us beyond the mark. We shall be besieged, moreover, by violent and intemperate counsels; and calm reason, and tranquil wisdom, deliver not their oracles in the midst of tumultuous and factious scenes.

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The danger, sire, is more dreadful still; and judge of its extent by the apprehensions that bring us before you. Great revolutions have had less conspicuous causes: more than one enterprize, fatal to nations, has been announced in a less inauspicious and less formidable manner.

Believe not those who speak lightly of the nation, and who represent it to you, according to their views; sometimes insolent, rebellious, seditious; sometimes submissive, obedient to the yoke, and ready to bend the neck to receive it. These two pictures are equally unfaithful.

Ever ready to obey you, sire, because you govern in the name of the laws, our fidelity is boundless as well as irreproachable.

Ready to resist all the arbitrary mandates of those who abuse your name, because they are enemies of the laws, our very fidelity commands this resistance, and we shall be ever proud to merit the reproaches which our firmness may excite.

Sire, we conjure you in the name of our country, of our happiness, and of your glory, to send back your soldiers to the posts whence your counsellors have drawn them. Send back that artillery destined to cover your frontiers; send back, particularly, those foreign troops, those allies of the nation, whom we pay to defend, not to disturb our dwellings. Your majesty has no occasion for them. Why should a king, adored by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen, crowd about his throne, at a great expense, some thousands of foreigners? Sire, in the midst of your children, be guarded by their love: the deputies of the nation are convoked, to consecrate with you the eminent prerogatives of royalty on the immutable foundation of the liberty of the people. But when

they fulfil their duty, when they obey the dictates of their reason, the impulse of their feelings, would you expose them to the suspicion of having acted under the influence of terror only? The only pure authority, that authority alone which can never be shaken, is what our hearts universally tender to you. It is the just return for the blessings you bestow, and the immortal inheritance of those princes, of whom you, sire, will be the model.

His Majesty's Answer.

No person is ignorant of the disorderly and scandalous scenes that have been repeatedly exhibited at Paris and Versailles, under my eyes, and those of the states-general. It is necessary that I should have recourse to the means in my power, to restore and maintain order in the capital and its environs. One of my principal duties is to watch over the public safety. These are the motives which have induced me to order troops to assemble in the vicinity of Paris. You may assure the assembly of the states-general, that they are destined only to repress, or rather to prevent, new disturbances; to preserve good order and the exercise of the laws; to secure and to protect that very liberty which should reign in your deliberations. Every kind of restraint should be banished from them, as well as every apprehension of tumult and violence. None but ill-intentioned persons could utilize my people with respect to the real motives of the preventive measures I have taken. I have constantly endeavoured to do every thing that could tend to their felicity; and have ever had reason to be certain of their affection and their fidelity.

If, however, the necessary presence of the troops should still give umbrage, I shall consent, at the

quest of the assembly, to remove the states general to Noyon, or to Amiens; and then I shall repair to Compiègne, to preserve the necessary communication between the assembly and me.

Answer of the King of France to a second Deputation on the same Subject, July 13.

I have already declared my intentions respecting the measures which the disturbances at Paris have compelled me to take. It belongs to me alone to judge of their necessity, and I cannot recede from the resolution I have taken. Some towns may guard themselves; but the exert of my capital will not admit a protection of that kind. I doubt not the purity of the motives which have induced you to offer me your assistance in this distressing exigency; but your presence at Paris can be of no service: it is necessary here, in order to accelerate the important affairs which I do not cease to recommend to your immediate consideration.

Speech of the King of France to the National Assembly, July 15.

I have assembled you together, in order to consult on the most important affairs of the state; it is a matter that affects me more sensibly than the tumult which afflicts the capital. The chief of the nation comes with confidence among its representatives to testify his distress, and invite them to assist in finding the means of restoring public order and tranquillity. I am not ignorant that there are men who have combated the most unjust prejudices, and who have dared to assert that you had reason to be apprehen-

sive for your own personal safety. Will it, therefore, be necessary to reassure you on the subject of reports so reprehensible, that they are totally unfounded, and falsify their known character? Indeed, I feel my interest to be the interest of the nation; I call upon you to aid me at this crisis, for the purpose of preserving the safety of the state. I depend on the national assembly; and the zeal of the representatives of my people, here convened for the common safety, will be my sure pledge that I trust not in vain. Relying on the affection and fidelity of my subjects, I have ordered the troops to be removed from Paris and Versailles; and I authorize and even request you to make known this my disposition to the capital.

Speech of M. Bailly, the new Prevôt des Marchands, at Paris, to the King of France, on the Entrance of his Majesty into the Hotel de Ville, July 17.

I bring your majesty the keys of the good city of Paris; they are the same that were presented to Henry IV. He had regained his people; here the people have regained their king.

Your majesty comes to rejoice in the peace that you have re-established in your capital; to rejoice in the love of your faithful subjects. It is for their happiness that your majesty has re-assembled the representatives of the nation, and that you are engaged with them in laying the foundations of liberty and public prosperity. What a memorable day is this, in which your majesty has come to sit as a father in the midst of his re-united family, in which you have been conducted back to your palace by the

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whole national assembly, guarded by the representatives of the kingdom, surrounded by an immense concourse of people. You carried in your august countenance the expressions of sensibility and happiness, while around you heard nothing but exclamations of joy, saw nothing but tears of tenderness and love. Sire! neither your people nor your majesty will ever forget this great day: it is the happiest of the monarchy, it is the epoch of an august and eternal alliance between the monarch and the people. This circumstance, peculiar to your reign, immortalizes your majesty. I have seen this happy day; and, as if all good fortune were reserved for me, the first function of the office to which the suffrages of my fellow-citizens have raised me, is to communicate to your majesty the expressions of their respect and of their love.

His majesty being seated on the throne, M. Bailly presented him a blue and red cockade, the cockade of the militia, which his majesty graciously received, and placed in his hat. When calm was re-established, after the joy occasioned by the king's appearance, Mr. Moreau de St. Merry, president of the assembly of the electors of Paris, addressed his majesty; and after observing how little the people merited the calumnies raised against them, said, sire, you have nothing more to do than to remember this great and powerful truth, that the thrones of kings are never more firmly fixed than when they have for a basis the love and fidelity of the people: with these titles they are impregnable.

*Letter from the Count de Montmorin,
Secretary of State, to the Duke de*

Liancourt, President of the National Assembly, inclosing a Letter from the Duke of Dorset, Ambassador from Great Britain.

Versailles, 27th of July, 1789.
Mr. President,

The ambassador of England has intreated to have the honour, without loss of time, to communicate the following letter to you. I have thought it so much less in my power to resist his application, as it is certain that he apprized me, verbally, in the beginning of June last, of a plot against the port of Brest. Those who meditated this scheme desired certain succours for the expedition, and to have an asylum in England. The ambassador did not give me any indication relative to the authors of this project, and he assured me that they were absolutely unknown to him. The enquiries that I have been able to make, after machinations so uncertain, have been fruitless as expected to be; and I have been obliged to confine myself to engage the count de Luzerne to give the commandant of Brest precautions to double his vigilance and activity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

DE MONTMORIN

To the duke of LIANCOURT.

Paris, the 26th of July, 1789

Sir,

It has been communicated to me from divers quarters, that endeavours have been made to insinuate that my court had fomented in part the troubles that have afflicted the capital for some time past; that I had taken advantage of the present opportunity to take up arms against France; and that even a fleet was upon the coast to co-operate with the discontented party. Totally destitute of truth as these rumours are, they appear to me to have

shed the national assembly: and the *Courier National*, which gives an account of the sittings of the 23d and 24th of this month, leaves suspicions which give me so much more pain, you know, sir, how far my court is from deserving them.

Your excellency will call to mind several conversations which I had with you in the beginning of June, concerning the horrid plot that had been proposed relative to the city of Breff, the anxiety that I felt to put the king and his ministers on their guard, the answer of my court which corresponds so strongly with my sentiments, and which results with horror from the proposition that was made.—In fine, the assurances of attachment which it repeated to the king and the nation, enabled you to make known to his excellency how much I participated in the emotion which the treachery must give him.

As my court has infinitely at heart to preserve the good harmony which subsists between the two nations, and to remove all contrary suspicions, I entreat you, sir, to submit this letter, without delay, to the president of the national assembly. You are aware how essential it is to me to justify my own conduct, and that of my court, and to do my utmost to destroy the effect of the insidious insinuations which have been so industriously propagated.

It is of infinite importance to me that the national assembly should know my sentiments, that they should do justice to those of my nation, and the open conduct which we have constantly held toward France, since I had the honour to be your organ.

I have it so much more at heart, that you should not lose a moment in making this known, as I owe not

only to my personal character, but to my country, and to the English that are here, to protect them from all the reflections that may arise from the misrepresentation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

DORSET.

To the count de MONTMORIN.

Verfailles, the 27th of July.

I have received the letter your excellency has done me the honour of writing to me, as likewise that of the ambassador of England, which was annexed to it, and immediately communicated both one and the other to the national assembly.

The assembly order me to have the honour of informing you, that they heard them read with the greatest satisfaction, to thank you for having transmitted them, and to request you to be so good as to express to his excellency the duke of Dorset their thanks for the anxiety he expresses in quality of ambassador, to have his sentiments, and those of his nation, declared to the national assembly.

The assembly have resolved, that this letter shall be sent instantly to Paris, and made public throughout the kingdom, by impression.

I have the honour to be, &c.

LIANCOURT.

To the count de MONTMORIN.

Letter from the Count de Montmorin to M. le Chapelier, President of the National Assembly, inclosing a second Letter from the Duke of Dorset.

Verfailles, 4th August.

Sir,

The English ambassador intreats me again to make known to the national assembly a letter which he has written to me. As this letter is the sequel of that which I had the honour

honour to communicate to the assembly last week by the organ of their president, I took the orders of his majesty, who authorised me to follow the same course with this.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MONTMORIN.

To M. le CHAPELIERE.

Paris, August 3, 1789.

Sir,

My court, to which I gave an account of the letter that I had the honour to write to your excellency on the 26th of July, and which you had the goodness to communicate to the national assembly, has, by a dispatch of the 31st ult. which I have received this instant, not only approved of my conduct, but specially authorised me to express again to you, in the most positive terms, the ardent desire of his Britannic majesty and his ministers, to cultivate and encourage the friendship and harmony which subsists so happily between the two nations.

It is so much the more pleasant to me to announce to you these renewed assurances of harmony and good understanding, as it cannot fail but that the greatest good must result from a permanent friendship between the two nations. And that is to be desired still the more, as nothing can contribute so much to the tranquillity of Europe, as the co-operation of these two powers.

I shall be obliged to you to communicate to the president of the national assembly, this confirmation of the sentiments of the king and his ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

DORSET.

To the count de MONTMORIN.

Address of the National Assembly of France to the King, Aug. 11.

Sire,

The national assembly bring to your majesty an offering truly worthy of your heart. It is a monument raised by the patriotism and generosity of all your people. The privileges, the particular rights, the distinctions injurious to the public good, have disappeared. Provinces, cities, ecclesiastics, nobles, commons, all have, in noble emulation, made the most noble sacrifices. All have abandoned their ancient usages, even with more joy than vanity itself ever ardently claimed them. You see none now before you, sire, but Frenchmen obedient to the same laws, governed by the same principles, penetrated by the same sentiments, and all equally ready to give up life for the interests of the nation, and of their king. Shall not this spirit, so noble and pure, be yet more animated by the expressions of your confidence, by the affecting promise of that constant and amicable harmony, which till now but few of our kings have ascertained to their subjects, but which your majesty feels that Frenchmen so truly deserve.

Your choice, sire, offers to the nation ministers that they themselves presented to you. It is from among the depositories of the public interests that you have chosen the depositories of your authority. You are desirous that the national assembly should unite itself with your majesty for the re-establishment of public order and general tranquillity. You sacrifice to the good of the people your personal pleasures. Accept then, sire, our respectful acknowledgment, the homage of our love, and bear in ages, the only title that can add to the dignity of royal majesty, the title that our unanimous acclamation

have decreed you." The Re-
of French liberty."

His Majesty's Answer.

accept with gratitude, the title
confer. It corresponds with
motives by which I was directed,
I assembled the representa-
s of my nation. It is my wish,
the mean time, to secure, with
assistance, the public liberty,
the restoration of order and
quillity, so necessary at present.
my knowledge and inten-
s, I look forward with confi-
ce to the result of your delibe-
ons.

Let us go and address our pray-
to Almighty God to grant us
assistance, and to return thanks
the generous sentiments that
in our assembly.

*Speech of Monsieur Rabaud de
saint Etienne, a Protestant Mi-
nister, and one of the Deputies in
the National Assembly of France,
on Thursday, the 27th of August,
1789, on the Question, "Whether
any Person ought either to be molest-
ed on Account of his Religious Op-
inions, or debarred from his Adhe-
rence to that Form of Worship of
which he most approves?"*

rise, as the delegate of a numer-
and respectable body of consti-
tutes. The bailiwick which I
the honour to represent con-
s five hundred thousand inhabi-
ts, amongst whom one hundred
twenty thousand are Protef-
ts; and, in this multitude I
the pleasure to be included.
I have instructed me to ask for
impartial code; and, upon this
sion, I am confident that I can
answerably establish the justice
the propriety of their request.
rights which I claim, and in
support of which I am, now,

ready to contend, belong equally to
you and to ourselves. They are
not merely the rights of the French;
they are the rights of all mankind!
He who attacks the freedom of his
fellow-creatures is only fit to live
in slavery! Freedom is a privilege
at once sacred and inviolable, which
men bring with them into the
world, and which is designed to
influence the whole of their opi-
nions. The freedom of thought is
paramount to all power whatsoever;
and its sanctuary is the heart! —
To fetter the conscience is injustice!
to ensnare or to rebel against it, is
an act of sacrilege! but, to torture
it by the attempt to force its feel-
ings from their propriety, is hor-
rible intolerance; it is the most
abandoned violation of all the max-
ims of morality and religion! Error,
far from being guilt, is truth in
the idea of the person by whom it
has been embraced. Where is the man
who can either presume to assert
that his reasoning and consequent
procedures are unexceptionable, or
venture positively to decide against
the supposed mistaken sentiments
and conduct of his neighbour? A
form of worship is a tenet; a tenet
depends upon opinion; and opi-
nion and liberty are inseparable.
To endeavour to compel one person
to receive a tenet different from that
which may have been entertained
by another, is a direct attack against
liberty! it is intolerant; and, of
course, unjust: it is that kind of
persecution which, whilst it insults
a manly and independent style of
thinking, abets and cherishes hy-
pocrisy.

The last edict which professes to
be in favour of those who are not
within the pale of the catholic
church, grants to them only such
indulgences as it was impossible
to refuse. This is, word for
word,

word, the language of the king, who, in his edict, uses these terms: "I speak of the right of legalising their marriages and their baptisms, and of the permission to bury their dead." O humiliating concessions! O degraded Frenchmen! and is it in this enlightened country, and during the eighteenth century, that the nation remains divided into two classes, one of which has long groaned under prescriptions shocking in the extreme? I will speak out at once, and tell this assembly, that the pretended gift of the last year was received with shame and with concern. We scorn to prove guilty of hypocrisy: at least, we will not degrade ourselves into the objects of your disdain; but, if it be our hard fate still to experience your jealousy and your persecution, we will maintain unsullied the true principle of French honour, one great criterion of which is a contempt for that dissimulation which would debase the intention of the legislature. We do not solicit favours; we ask only for justice: and, doubtless, that impartial liberty which reigns in this assembly will never suffer justice to be dispensed by partial distributions. The protestants are, all, for their country; and, yet, this country has not granted to them any benefits: they have no motive to excite their emulation; nor are they permitted to enjoy the rewards of either their civil or their military virtues. It is not for toleration that I plead; (as to intolerance, that savage word, I hope that it is expunged, for ever, from our annals). Toleration suggests the idea of pity, which degrades the dignity of man; but liberty ought to be the same in favour of all the world. I demand liberty for those proscribed people; for those wretched wanderers, from

place to place, over the whole face of the globe; for these numerous victims to humiliation: I demand the persecuted Jews.

It may, perhaps, be answered that the states which surround you have an exception to those who do not profess the religion of the majority. Natives of France! you were made, not to receive, but to afford examples. And, yet, if you delight in imitation, copy the Americans!—They have excepted no person whatsoever. The followers of that kind of religion which inculcates the true principles of liberty is entitled to enjoy all the same privileges which are attached to human nature.

But, I return to my principle or, rather, to your own, when I declare that all men are born and remain free. Is not this the proper consecration of the liberty of the human race? Every exclusive privilege in matters of religion destroys your principles. Your law marks only the law which the strongest arm maintains: and, could I not for the purposes of justifying an act of disobedience, avail myself, against your own authority, of those very principles which have so strongly marked the recent regulation of your conduct?

A long and bloody epoch has made us learn experience. Is it not, therefore, full time totally to demolish those abominable barriers which separate man from man, which disunite the French from the French?

My country is free! let her discover that she merits this felicity equally dividing her privileges amongst all her children! Until the constitution shall have established that equality which I demand, I vote entirely in favour of the proposition of Monsieur de Castellane.

no person should be either
 affected on account of his religious
 opinions, or debarred from an ad-
 vance to that form of worship of
 which he most approves!

*Declaration of Rights, which has
 been agreed to by the National As-
 sembly of France, and sanctioned by
 the King, and which forms the Basis
 of the new Constitution of France.*

The representatives of the peo-
 ple of France, formed into a national
 assembly, considering that ignorance,
 neglect, or contempt of human
 rights, are the sole causes of public
 misfortunes and corruptions of go-
 vernment, have resolved to set
 forth in a solemn declaration, these
 natural, imprescriptible, and unali-
 able rights: that this declaration
 being constantly present to the
 minds of the members of the body
 national, they may be ever kept atten-
 tive to their rights and their duties:
 that the acts of the legislative and
 executive powers of government be-
 ing capable of being every moment
 compared with the end of political
 institutions, may be more respected;
 and also, that the future claims of
 the citizens, being directed by sim-
 ple and incontestible principles, may
 always tend to the maintenance of
 the constitution, and the general
 happiness.

For these reasons the national as-
 sembly doth recognize and declare,
 in the presence of the supreme Being
 and with the hope of his blessing and
 favour, the following sacred rights
 of men and of citizens.

I. Men were born and always
 continue free, and equal in respect
 to their rights. Civil distinctions,
 therefore, can be founded only on
 public utility.

II. The end of all political asso-

ciations is the preservation of the
 natural and imprescriptible rights
 of man; and these rights are liberty,
 property, security, and resistance
 of oppression.

III. The nation is essentially the
 source of all sovereignty; nor can
 any individual, or any body of men,
 be entitled to any authority which
 is not expressly derived from it.

IV. Political liberty consists in
 the power of doing whatever does
 not injure another. The exercise of
 the natural rights of every man,
 has no other limits than those which
 are necessary to secure to every other
 man the free exercise of the same
 rights; and these limits are deter-
 minable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit
 only actions hurtful to society.
 What is not prohibited by the law
 should not be hindered; nor should
 any one be compelled to that which
 the law does not require.

VI. The law is an expression of
 the will of the community. All ci-
 tizens have a right to concur, either
 personally or by their representa-
 tives, in its formation. It should
 be the same to all, whether it pro-
 tects or punishes; and all being
 equal in its sight, are equally eligi-
 ble to all honours, places, and em-
 ployments, according to their dif-
 ferent abilities, without any other
 distinction than that created by their
 virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused,
 arrested, or held in confinement, ex-
 cept in cases determined by the law,
 and according to the forms which it
 has prescribed. All who promote,
 solicit, execute, or cause to be exe-
 cuted, arbitrary orders, ought to be
 punished: and every citizen called
 upon or apprehended by virtue of
 the law, ought immediately to obey,
 and renders himself culpable by re-
 sistance.

VIII. The

VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the persons to whom it is entrusted.

XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. Every community has a

right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a constitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

Proceedings of the Revolution Society of London, Nov. 4.

At the anniversary meeting of the Society for commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain, held at the London Tavern, Nov. 4. Dr Price moved, and it was unanimously resolved, that the following congratulatory address to the National Assembly of France, be transmitted to them, signed by the chairman:

The society for commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain disclaiming national partialities, and rejoicing in every triumph of liberty and justice over arbitrary power, offer to the national assembly of France their congratulations on the revolution in that country, and the prospect it gives to the two kingdoms in the world, of a common participation in the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

They cannot help adding the ardent wishes of a happy settlement of so important a revolution, and at the same time expressing the particular satisfaction, with which they reflect on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other nations to assert their unalienable rights of mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe.

hope, and to make the world free
happy.

STANHOPE.

In pursuance of the resolution of
society, this congratulatory ad-
dress was conveyed to the duke of
Rochefoucauld at Paris, with a let-
ter requesting him to present it to
the national assembly, and at the
same time intimating, that the so-
ciety considered the national assem-
bly as acting for the world as well
as for the great kingdom it repre-
sented, and therefore hoped that
the address was not an improper
union; or, if it were, that it
should be excused as an effusion of
the cause of general liberty
and human happiness, which no con-
siderations of impropriety had been
to suppress.

*Extract from a Letter of the Duke
of Rochefoucauld to Dr. Price.—
Paris, December 2d, 1789.*

belonged to —Dr. Price to
propose a motion tending to pay to
you the fairest homage, that of
removing all personal prejudices.—The address
of congratulation which earl Stan-
hope has done the duke de Roche-
foucauld the honour to transmit to
me, has been received by the na-
tional assembly with lively applause.
We have seen in that address the
image of a glorious day, in which
nations who have always esteem-
ed one another notwithstanding
political divisions, and the dif-
ference of their governments, shall
contract an intimate union, found-
ed on the similarity of their opi-
nions and their common enthusiasm
for liberty.—They have directed
the president to write to earl Stan-
hope; but the multiplicity of the
business of the presidency not having
permitted the expediting of that
letter, the duke de Rochefoucauld

has not delayed to do himself the
honour of writing to Dr. Price.
Happy in having been chosen for
such an honourable commission, he
has rendered an account of it to the
national assembly; and, in present-
ing to them the address of a society
whose object is so noble and patri-
otic, he has acquainted them with
the claim which it has to their
esteem, and to the esteem of the
whole French nation, &c. &c.

*Extract from the Votes of the Nation-
al Assembly of France, of Wednes-
day the 25th of Nov. 1789, trans-
mitted by the Archbishop of Aix,
President of the National Assembly,
to Earl Stanhope, Chairman of
the Revolution Society in London.*

A member having read a congr-
atulatory address of the English so-
ciety called the Revolution Society;
the assembly, deeply affected with
this extraordinary proof of esteem,
expressed its satisfaction by loud ap-
plause, and resolved that the presi-
dent be directed to write a letter to
lord Stanhope, chairman of the so-
ciety, expressing the lively and deep
sensitivity with which the national
assembly of France received the ad-
dress of the Revolution society in
England, which breathes those sen-
timents of humanity and universal
benevolence, that ought to unite
together, in all countries of the
world, the true friends of liberty
and the happiness of mankind.

(Signed)

THE ARCHBISHOP OF AIX,
President of the national assembly.

Sealed with the arms
of the national as-
sembly of France.

(Counter-signed)

The Viscount de MIRABEAU,
Secretary.

SALOMON DE LA SAUGERIE,
Secretary.

Letter

*Letter from the Archbishop of Aix,
President of the National Assembly,
to Earl Stanhope, Chairman of the
Revolution Society.*

Paris, 5th Decemb. 1789.

It is worthy, my lord, of a celebrated society, and of a happy and free people, to interest themselves in the progress of public liberty and happiness.

The French nation has long been improving in knowledge and arts; and its government was directed by opinions derived from them even before the country governed itself by the laws which they dictated.

The nation pursued with ardour useful truths, and daily diffusing light over every branch of the administration, it appeared to be carried as by an universal impulse, to those changes which now give it strength and stability.

A king whom we may call the best of men, and the first of citizens, encouraged by his virtues the hopes of the nation, and now, by universal concurrence, a durable constitution is established, founded on the unalienable rights of men and citizens.

It undoubtedly belongs to our age, in which reason and liberty are extending themselves together, to extinguish for ever national hatred and rivalry.

We must not allow the prejudices which disgrace nations to produce wars, those errors of governments. But the two most enlightened people of Europe ought to shew, by their example, that the love of their country is perfectly compatible with every sentiment of humanity.

The national assembly discovers in the address of the Revolution society of England, those principles of universal benevolence which ought to bind together, in all coun-

tries of the world, the true friends to the happiness and liberty of mankind.

The national assembly has given the most undeniable testimony of its strong and deep sense of the truth, by the solemn vote which has directed me to communicate to you.

Accept the assurance of the sentiments with which I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your most humble,

And most obedient servant

THE ARCHBISHOP OF AIX,
President of the national assembly
To Lord Stanhope, Chairman
of the Revolution Society.

Note in answer to the preceding Letter.

The members of the Revolution society in London request the archbishop of Aix's acceptance of the best thanks for the letter which has directed to earl Stanhope the chairman, and for conveying them the vote of the national assembly of France. They could scarcely have received a higher satisfaction than has been given them by the archbishop's letter, and the descending notice with which the national assembly has been pleased to honour their congratulatory address. They feel particularly the justice which this august assembly has done them, by imputing their address to the influence of those principles of universal benevolence which ought in all countries to bind together friends of human liberty and happiness. Their hearts are warmed with these principles; and they fire nothing so earnestly as that time may soon come when they so possess every human heart as to put an end to all jealousies between nations, exterminate oppression, slavery, and cause wars, those dan-

errors of governments, to cease all the earth. They exult in prospect of such a time, which is to be opening, and with which proceedings of the national assembly of France promise to bless mankind.

The Revolution society cannot but taking this occasion to add, among the important benefits the revolution in France, they see its tendency to afford a salutary instruction to kings. They are with pleasure that the people of France are happy in a king who encouraged them by his virtues in recovering their rights, and been on this account justly crowned with the title of the restorer of French liberty. This elevates him to the highest pinnacle of glory. The eyes of the world must now see no folly. This example must show them that they can never be great or happy, or truly powerful, as by renouncing despotic power, and being placed (like the kings of France and England) at the head of an enlightened people and free constitutions of government?

Signed by Earl STANHOPE, in the name of the Society.

Fifteenth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and settle the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.

In our last Report we examined into the charges sustained by the public for the management of the custom revenue in the year 1784, as far as those charges arose from the payments made by the merchants and the subject to the officers employed in the customhouse and the port of London.

“ We submitted to the wisdom of the legislature the observations which occurred to our judgment in the course of that inquiry; and suggested various regulations, with a view to order and oeconomy, which to us seemed fitting and expedient to be adopted.

“ Having finished that examination, we proceeded to a similar one respecting the out-ports of the customs; and as there remained other and material sources of diminution of the produce of this revenue, distinct from, and no way comprehended in, that great head of expenditure consisting of the payments by the crown to the officers, these remaining charges became in like manner the objects of our investigation.

“ We experienced great delay in procuring the accounts necessary to enable us to ascertain and state that specific portion of the total expence of management which had, in the year under our consideration, been applied to the support of the officers concerned in conducting this wide and extensive department.

“ Apprehending that these accounts might, from their nature and extent, demand a considerable time in forming, we did not omit to make our requisition for them at an early period, and while engaged in objects not soon to be exhausted; thereby guarding against the evil of interruption, in the progress of our labours from the want of the returns and materials which were to become the ground-work of our proceedings.—Accordingly, on the 17th day of December, 1784, we issued two precepts to the commissioners of his majesty's customs; the one, for that account which formed the subject matter of our last Report—the other, for “ An

(I) account

account of the gross salaries, fees, allowances, and gratuities, received by the officers of the customs in the out-ports; distinguishing by what authority they are severally appointed, with the payments for taxes, deputies, clerks and other contingent expences, under their several heads, and the net produce received by each officer for the year 1784:” An account to which, in the order of this Report, our attention is first directed.

“ The account for the port of London was not delivered to us until the April following. To our requisition for the out-port account we had no return before the month of November; and then we received lists for only four of the ports, and those incomplete. We did not suffer this interval of time to elapse without making frequent and repeated applications to the office of the customs, to the intent that we might be informed of the causes which impeded the return, the means used to obtain, and the progress and state of the account required. We were made acquainted with these particulars, and with other matters necessary to explain and elucidate this part of the subject, by the examination of William Stiles, esquire, secretary to the commissioners of the customs, and by that of Mr. John Dalley, deputy supervisor of the receiver general’s receipts and payments, who also made known to us the method in which the accounts were raised, and the materials of which the one for the out-ports is composed.

“ The board of customs, on the 18th of December 1784, the day subsequent to the date of our precepts, gave by their minute the instructions and orders necessary to procure from all the officers of the

customs, whether belonging to the port of London or to the out-ports, the accounts that were called for.— That no errors might be occasioned by ignorance or misapprehension on the part of the officers, and the exact and complete returns might be obtained, the board ordered copies of our precepts to be printed, and specimens, describing the form in which the account was to be made out, to be subjoined.

“ These printed instruments were delivered to the London officers with an order of the board, dated January the 1st, 1785; requiring them to make the returns into the office of the secretary on or before the 18th of that month; which injunction was so far effectual, that the accounts were received by the board of customs, and committed to the officer appointed to reduce them into form by the month of February. The like instruments were transmitted to the collectors and controller at every out-port with an order of the same date, and those officers, thus furnished with a rule to govern the returns both as to form and matter, were directed to call upon the pattern officers, their deputies, and the rest of the officers under their survey to prepare the accounts with all possible speed, and to send them to the board of customs.

“ Soon after the transmission of these orders, returns were received from some of the out-ports: but the collectors and controllers at several of them, instead of sending the returns, stated to the board many difficulties they met with in obeying and carrying into effect their orders.—The principal impediments so alleged were the non-residence or absence of the pattern officers, whereby it became impracticable

able to perfect the account, there being no means of supplying the part of it which had reference to those officers. From the port of London the account came up in blank, as it regarded the patent officers; and the reason assigned for its being transmitted in such a state, was that one of them was in London, another in Dorchester, and a third deputy to the third in Scotland. At several other ports the collectors and controllers were obliged, from the same cause to return the accounts in like manner unfinished and defective.—To remove this obstacle, which prevailed at many of the ports, the board of customs, in the time in May, issued their orders to such of the patent officers as themselves, whose places of residence they could discover, to prepare the accounts required, and to transmit them directly to the board. They had it not in their power to communicate these orders to the whole class of patent officers, the greater part not possessing a knowledge of the residence of them all; because, though it is the usual practice, upon the registering of a patent in the secretary's department, to enquire the place of abode of the officer appointed by that instrument, yet no notification of any subsequent change in his residence is transmitted to the office.

These orders of the board produced returns from some of the patent officers, but many of them imperfect. All the returns, whether from the London or the out-ports, whether coming through the intervention of the collectors and controllers, or made directly by the patentees, were committed to the charge of Mr. John Dalley, in order that he might digest and insert them into the accounts required by our precepts.

“ The execution of this work, as confined to the port of London, proved to be a service of difficulty and labour. Among returns so numerous, and to a requisition at the same time so extensive and so definite, many were found to be wanting in the fullness and precision not to be dispensed with: but having the advantage of the presence of the London officers, and thereby an opportunity of personal intercourse and explanation, he was enabled, either to obtain new returns or corrections of the original ones; so as that, by devoting many of his official and all his leisure hours to the business, he had nearly completed the account by April. He then received from the office of the secretary, the returns made by the officers of the out-ports, for the same purpose of framing the account.

“ If the London returns were replete with error, far more erroneous and defective were those transmitted from the out-ports. Upon inspecting and comparing those returns with books and accounts in the office of the customs, he discovered that few were regular, consistent, or correct. Various and numerous were their defects. Officers were omitted, salaries paid by the crown not inserted, allowances from the crown blended with fees taking from the subject, and, in some instances, no receipt of fees stated. The sums returned by principal officers as paid to their deputies, did not accord with the sums admitted to have been received by them; a disagreement which proved, upon inquiry, frequently to have arisen from this circumstance, that the deputy had not distinguished fees received on his own account from those which he had taken on that of his patentee.

No uniformity prevailed in the system of payment, between the patent officers and their deputies; the mode adopted at some of the ports being, pursuant to the orders of the treasury, that of allowing the deputy a salary of twenty pounds a year, or the whole of the fees, if they fell short of that sum; at others no payment by salary being in use, but an allowance of the whole or a share of the patent fees, the method by which the deputy was paid, and these portions different at different ports, according to the particular term of the agreement.—To reconcile the inconsistencies, to supply the defects, and correct the errors, which were thus generally prevalent among the returns, and sometimes many of them conjoined in the same return, he was obliged to maintain a continued correspondence with the collectors and controllers at the various out-ports; and, in order, that every means of acceleration might be had recourse to, wherever he could discover their residence, he made immediate application to the patent officers, and did not wait for the interference of the collector and controller of the port.

“Notwithstanding the exertions made by the board of customs to procure and expedite the returns from which this account could alone be formed, the impediments to the accomplishment of the work were so great, and so hardly to be surmounted, that a complete return to our requisition was not delivered to us until the 22d day of February 1786—a period of time so remote from the date of our precept, that we judged the foregoing narration, explanatory of the delay, and tending also to throw a light upon parts of the official system at the out-ports, to be neither immaterial nor unnecessary.

“In order that the arrangements of the account, and much of the subsequent matter contained in this report, may be rendered intelligible, a knowledge of the following particulars is requisite.

“The out-ports of the customs, though passing under one general denomination, are subject to a distinction. They are either head ports or members, and are so distinguished and constituted by commissions issued at different times from the court of exchequer, appointing commissioners to assign ports, and settle their respective limits and boundaries. These commissions are founded upon the authority of acts of parliament, of which the original are those of the 1st of queen Elizabeth, and the 14th of Charles the Second.

“Beside the out-ports thus comprehended under two divisions, there is a third class or description belonging to the customs, known by the appellation of creeks.

“The circumstance which characterises a head port, is, that the three patent officers, the custom-r, controller, and searcher, are each, by their patents, specially appointed to it; and in virtue of that appointment, these officers, as far as regards their respective offices, exercise a jurisdiction and authority over all the members appertaining to the head port, and over all the creeks appertaining either to the head or member ports.

“The member is distinguished by a subordination to, and dependence upon, the head port, in respect to the three patent officers above mentioned; but, except in this subjection, it is wholly independent of, and no way different from, the head port.

“A creek, in the language of the customs, is a place included within the limits either of a head or member

port, as set out by the commiss-
s of the court of exchequer, and
which officers competent to trans-
the coast business are stationed
order of the board of customs.
creek is, in like manner with
member port, subject to the au-
thority of the patent officers.

Between the member port and
creek there is this essential dif-
ference: at the member port all
transactions relative to foreign com-
merce, and every other branch of
business of the customs, may be
transacted equally as at the head
port; and at both of them there are
wards, which have been set out and
described in the exchequer commis-
sions, where the merchant has a
right, at legal hours, to land or ship
goods. At the creek no foreign
commerce can be transacted unless
special sufferance, obtained, in
any particular instance, from the
head or member port within the
boundaries of which such creek is
situated; and in those cases, the du-
ties, if any, must, previous to the
obtaining the sufferance, be paid or
secured at the head or member port:
all coast business, of every de-
scription, may be transacted at the
creek equally as at the head or
member port.

A jurisdiction vested in the pa-
tent officers, of this diffused and ex-
tended nature, must of necessity be
attended with the following effect,
that they cannot be resident and at-
tending upon all their offices; and
that, in every case where they have
members and creeks in dependence,
the business belonging to their respec-
tive departments must be execut-
ed by persons appointed to act for
them: and hence the practice of ex-
ercising their office by deputy ap-
pears to have originated. The
members being, like the head ports,
places where all foreign as well as

coast business may be transacted,
the three patent officers are bound
to have their respective deputies at
such ports, that the course of com-
merce may not be impeded or delay-
ed from the want of officers to con-
duct the business, which the mer-
chant is entitled to have done. Re-
gularly, the customers and control-
lers should have deputies at creeks,
in order that the coast business may
be carried on. The searcher is an
officer peculiarly and solely employ-
ed in transactions respecting foreign
trade; and thence there is no abso-
lute occasion for his having a deputy
at the creek, which is never, but
under special authority, competent
thereto. On this account, at many
of the creeks, there are not deputy
searchers stationed: at some of them
there are, for the purpose of attend-
ing goods shipped for foreign parts
by virtue of special sufferance;
which business must otherwise be
performed by the officer who exe-
cutes that duty at the port where
the sufferance was granted.

"No duties on imports and ex-
ports being collected at creeks, there
are no collectors for duties of that de-
scription appointed to them; but
at several of the creeks the coal,
which are coast duties, are received,
in consequence of the proper of-
ficers for carrying on that collection
being stationed at them by order of
the board of customs. The coal
duties collected at these creeks are,
pursuant to the order of that board,
paid to the collector of the head or
member port of which such creek
is a part, and by him remitted to
the receiver general, and accounted
for with the controller general.
To this general rule, however, there
is one exception, that of Leigh;
where, though it is a creek, and as
such incompetent to the receipt of
duties on imports or exports, the
collector

collector remits the duties received on coals to the receiver general, and passes his account of them with the controller general, in like manner as if they were duties arising from foreign commerce: and Leigh is accordingly included in the list of the out ports.

“From the foregoing distinctions the true and specific definition of an out-port appears to be this—A port where there is a collector stationed to receive the duties due and payable upon foreign commerce; where all the transactions relative thereto, as well as the other business of the customs, may regularly and of course be carried on; and where the duties collected are remitted to the receiver general, and accounted for with the controller general:—And hence these ports are also called the accountant ports.

“In order to have before us one general and distinct view of the out-port department, previous to our entering upon the account of the officers, we issued a precept for a list of the out-ports in the office of the customs, with the denomination by which they are distinguished respectively.

“It appears from the return, that, exclusive of London, which is a head port, the number of head ports in the customs is twenty; that of these, four have no dependent members, and that the dependence of the member ports is distributed among the remaining sixteen head ports; that there are fifty-one member ports, and that these all taken together, making seventy-one in number, constitute the out-ports of the customs; to which if Leigh, standing as has been described in a peculiar situation, be added, the number of the out-port will then be, what it is usually deemed, seventy-two. The creeks belonging to the

customs, Leigh not included, are thirty-two.

“This return contains the list of the exchequer commissioners, which the head and member ports were severally appointed, except six instances, were no entries of the commissions can be found in the books of the customhouse.

“In the list of the creeks, the ports to which they respectively appear are distinguished; the dates of the board's orders, whereby the creeks were made, do not appear.

“That we might collect such materials and information as was judged necessary to afford us sufficient knowledge upon the subject under our immediate investigation, we made two farther requisitions to the commissioners of the customs, the one, for a list of the officers of customs at the out-ports holden letters patent, with the names of the officers in possession of the said offices, and their respective interests therein; the other for an account of the patent and other officers at the several out-ports who execute their offices by deputy, with the names of the officers, offices, and their deputies, respectively.

“By the return to the first of these precepts, we are made acquainted with the number and description of the patent offices belonging to the out-ports, by that to the last discover in what instances the patent officers themselves discharge the duties annexed to their employments; and to what extent, and what out-ports or creeks, that any other class of officers in customs, did not in person, but deputy, execute the business of their respective offices.

“At the port of Bristol, besides three patent officers appointed every head port, there are the king's waiters included in the

of offices holden by letters patent ; and at that, and two other head ports, the office of customer is divided into two branches.

" The number of the patent offices of the customs at the out-ports is sixty-seven : therein however are comprehended some, which, though anciently patent offices, and still considered as such, and returned in the above list, are at present holden by constitution. The number of patent officers who acted themselves, in the year 1784, was ten ; of those who acted by deputy, fifty-seven ; and of deputies, two hundred and ninety-nine. Only one other office, in addition to these patent ones, was, in the same year, executed at the out-ports by deputy, namely that of coast waiter for Sandwich ; to which the appointment is in virtue of a treasury warrant, and whose deputy is included in the above number.

" The account we now enter upon, and to which we judged this previous explanation necessary, comprehends all the officers of the customs employed in the out-ports, in the year 1784, classed under the ports to which they respectively belonged. This account is distinguished into the seventy-two out ports. They are ranged in the following manner : — the head ports are inserted in alphabetical order ; and where there are member ports dependent upon the head, they are placed in immediate succession after it, and disposed likewise alphabetically. It appeared eligible to adopt this method of arrangement, in preference to a general alphabetical one, notwithstanding the account of the controller general, and the other accounts of the customs, relative to the out-ports, are so disposed ; because, as this account has strict and sole relation to the emoluments and pay-

ments of the officers, and as those of the patent officers result from all the ports under their jurisdiction, whether principal or dependent, and constitute a material part of the account, the various sources of their receipts and disbursements are, by this mode of distribution, brought into one close connected view, instead of standing, as they otherwise would, dispersed and apart.

" Though the seventy-two out ports alone are kept separate in this account, yet the creeks, where officers of the customs are also stationed, are included in it. To these creeks no particular division is allotted, but they are entered under the title of the port, either head or member, of which they are a part ; and the articles in the returns for them are carried to their proper columns, and blended with the totals of those respective ports.

" In this account, the employment, the authority whence the appointment is derived, the instrument by which it is held, the different sources of emolument, the gross amount, the deductions from that gross amount, the sum returned to the public by the payment of taxes, and the net income of each officer, are exhibited under their distinct heads. These several distinctions and circumstances are not partial, but general ; they pervade and operate upon the whole department of the customs, and, as such, the system, in regard to them, at the out-ports, is, for the most part, analogous to that which prevails in the port of London ; consequently, their origin and ground have been developed, and, with their explanation, are to be found in our last Report.

" To avoid useless repetition, and the incumbrance of superfluous matter, we forbear from resuming a minute inquiry into those subjects, and

and deem it sufficient to refer to that report, and the papers thereto annexed (whence our knowledge was drawn), for particular information; contenting ourselves here with stating generally what was there detailed, and discriminating and explaining only those articles in the account which are new or specially connected with the out-ports.

"The officers of the customs in the out-ports hold their employments either from the crown, by letters patent—from the board of treasury, by constitution, or by treasury warrant, and the commission of the board of customs pursuant to that warrant—from the board of customs by commission, and in some instances by minute—and, where they are deputies to patent officers, by deputation from the patentee; which deputation is subject to the approval of the treasury, in those cases where it is so expressed in the patent. Extra officers, that is, such as are not constantly, but occasionally, employed in the service, act in general under the appointment of the collector and contrroller of the port.

"There are persons employed by some of the officers at the out-ports as clerks, who, from the circumstance of their not being paid by the crown, nor appointed by any regular formality, are not usually considered as officers of the customs, and have not been included in returns to requisitions of a similar nature with this. These clerks, though deriving no emolument from, and creating no diminution in, the produce of the custom duties, do sometimes receive fees and gratuities in the execution of their business. Such payments, which are in fact a charge upon the public, and a charge directly connected with the subject on which our attention is fix-

ed, would have been lost in the inquiry, and the result thereof rendered so far imperfect, if persons of the above description had been excluded from the account. We therefore required that they should be comprehended in it, wherever any part of their official income appeared to have arisen from the acceptance of fees or gratuities.

"We found only one specific difference between the authorities and instruments by which the officers in the port of London, and those belonging to the out-ports hold their employments, and that takes place in an appointment peculiar to the port of London, and there confined to two officers, both in the same department, the appraisers in the king's warehouse, who are appointed to their offices by the chancellor of the exchequer, and hold them under his warrant.

"The duration of the interests in office affords likewise a matter of peculiarity and exception.

"In the port of London, some of the patent offices are held for life, and some granted in reversion: at the out-ports, none of the patent officers have a life interest in their employments; but they are all subject to that general law, which (except in the above instances) governs the whole department of the customs, a tenure during pleasure only.

"There are other modes of payment by the crown, to the officers of the customs, than the one of salary, and that species of allowance which so nearly resembles a salary that it cannot without difficulty be distinguished from it: they consist, as we have stated in our last Report, of one allowance and four poundages. Of the poundages, that to the inspector of prosecutions, arising from the produce of seizures paid into the exchequer, is a species of reward

restricted

stricted to London, and to a single officer. The quarantine allowance, and two of the remaining poundages, the one upon the coin duties, the other upon the gross produce of the sale of the enumerated goods (called the enumerated poundage), are sources of profit common to certain officers, both in London and the out-ports, according to the proportions and distributions settled by the instruments which created and authorised those modes of payment for particular services. The poundage on the coal duties has sole reference to the out-ports (the payments by the crown to the officers employed in that collection for the port of London consisting of salaries), and as such it is entitled to further explanation.

"There are three descriptions of officers who conduct the collection of the duties on coals; the collectors—the controllers—and the meters. The appointment of all officers concerned in this service is, by the acts of the 9th and 10th of William the Third, chapter the 13th, and 10th and 11th of William the Third, chapter the 21st, specially vested in the commissioners of the customs.

"In the port of London the collection of the coal duties is carried on by a set of officers distinct from those who collect and control the other duties of the customs. At an out-port, the collector and controller of the rest of the custom duties do in general manage and transact also this branch of business; but where they do not, their authority is derived, not from their other official capacity, but from the warrant of the treasury, which nominates, and the commission of the board of customs, which follows that nomination, and thereby communicates the right to the employment, but from a commission

originating in nomination, as well as in the delegation of authority, solely with the board of customs, and appointing these officers, each pursuant to that instrument, to be collector and controller of the duties on coals. At creeks where there are no collectors, the board generally appoint the deputy customer to be collector of the coal duties.—In this account, where the board of customs have, as is usual, appointed to the coal department the officers who collect and control the custom duties in general at the port, the authority, though specially flowing from them, is not inserted, and it is only stated where they have made other and distinct persons the collectors and controllers.

"The meters are persons appointed by commission of the board to execute and carry on the weighing and admeasurement of coals; and if not officers of the customs before, they are by that appointment rendered so.

"The commission of the board of customs, appointing officers to the conduct of the coal service, is of a limited effect. It does not, like other commissions from that board, impart a general power of seizing all prohibited or uncustomed goods; but it restricts and binds the exercise of that right by such officers wholly to the article of coals, and the ship or vehicle concerned in the carriage thereof.

"The coal poundage, and the metage, entered in the column of salaries and allowances from the crown, are the compensations received by officers for these services, according to the rates established by the treasury warrant of the 10th of September 1699, annexed to our last report, and subjoined here as having immediate connection with the subject. Sometimes the collectors, controllers, and meters, have salaries, by

by order of the board, in addition to these allowances of poundage and metage.

"The salaries which the patent officers receive by virtue of their patents, though inserted in the account as being part of their emoluments, are not paid at the out-ports, but by the receiver general, and taken credit for by him in his payments, under their proper head. Sometimes the patent officers have also salaries upon the establishment; and those, as well as all the other salaries, allowances, and emoluments of every kind, proceeding from the crown to the officers at the out-ports, are paid by the collector at the port. These payments are made out of any duties collected on account of the customs, excluding the five excepted branches, unless it be the enumerated poundage and commission, for which the gross produce of seizures and fines is the fund of payment.

"The species of recompence called commission is peculiar to the out-ports. It is an allowance of thirteen shillings and four pence each, to two officers appointed commissioners for calling in proper persons to appraise goods seized, and for superintending the execution of the writ of appraisement issued from the court of exchequer. This writ is directed to the collector, controller, and searcher, at the port; and in virtue of that authority two of these officers become the commissioners, and are entitled to the reward above mentioned.

"The authority to the collector, for paying the officers their salaries and allowances, is transmitted from the board of customs. If the officers are on the establishment, this authority is grounded upon a quarterly warrant of the treasury; if they are on the incidental list, it originates with the board.

"The quarantine allowance paid pursuant to an annual order of the board, made in virtue of a treasury warrant authorizing in order.

"The coinage, poundage, the coal poundage and metage, paid, the former under the warrant of the treasury of the year 1714, the latter under that of the year 1744, both of course, and without any intervention of the board of customs. The original minute of the board of the 9th of May 1728, is the authority for the payment of the enumerated poundage.

"In the column of fees, allowances, and gratuities, is entered total sum received by each officer through those several sources of profit. The particulars composing those totals, or the authorities, whether law or usage, under which they are taken, were in very few instances stated in the returns.

"The land tax, the shilling and sixpenny duties, and the contributions by certain officers to the superannuation fund, comprehend all the payments to which the emolument of the officer is liable for taxes, which are included under that head. Where the salary of the officers does not exceed sixty pounds a year, the land tax paid upon it is returned by virtue of an annual warrant of the treasury directing the repayment. The officers under this description did not in general, in the returns, insert the payment to the land tax, and it is wholly excluded from the account: they appear to have omitted the insertion of the article, because their net income was no way effected by the disbursement, the same sum being taken from and restored to them; and the entry is unnecessary, as the sums refunded are taken credit for by the collector of each port, in his account of incidents, under the title of land

tax on officers' salaries repaid, and thereby become a charge upon the custom duties.

"The several items forming the totals entered in the column of contingent expences, were rarely distinguished by the officers: where they were, the principal article was the expence of keeping horses for the purpose of executing the duties of their employments.

"The salary of the patent officer, and his other emoluments, as well as his payments of every kind, though appertaining to, and occasioned by, all the ports under his jurisdiction, are collected together, and placed in their respective columns in the account for the head port; and those columns, as far as concerns the patent officers, are left blank in the accounts for the member ports. It would not have been practicable to have decompounded these totals, and apportioned to each port the precise share thereof which belonged to it; such distinctions not being observed in the returns of the patentees themselves, and those of their deputies not supplying that information.

"The account delivered to us from the customs, thus composed, we have modified and altered, as to the disposition of its contents, in the following instances.

"We have extracted from the column of payments by the crown, and have carried into a separate column, the sums paid by the principal or other officers to their deputies and clerks, in order that where these sums had been derived from the crown, and included in the payments to the principal, the effect of a double charge upon this revenue might be avoided; and that, where they were paid, not out of salaries or allowances flowing from the crown, but out of fees and gratui-

ties received from individuals, a charge might not be brought upon this revenue, which it had not in reality sustained. We required by our precept, that the diminution of income to the officer, by his payment for taxes, should be distinguished from his other deductions; because the sums so paid have a peculiar destination and effect. They re-become a part of the national income, and diminish the public expence, by the payment back of a certain portion of the sum issued. The contributions to the superannuation fund are different in their nature and direction. That fund is an institution established within, and confined in application to, the department of the customs. Those contributions, therefore, though considered by the officer as a species of tax, and inserted in the column under that title, yet, as not being levied on public account, and applied to public use, we have separated, and kept apart in the account.

"These distinctions and arrangements we have adhered to in forming the account of the officers of the customs at the out-ports, from the same motive and to the same end which led us to adopt them in the correspondent account for the port of London; that important end of communicating complete and accurate information to the legislature, of the total expence borne by government and the subject, in the support of the numerous officers to whom the conduct of this great office of receipt is committed.

"From this account it appears, that in the year 1784, two thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven officers and clerks, with many assistants acting upon extra or casual services, of whom no definite number is stated, were employed in executing the

the business of the customs at the out-ports and creeks of England and Wales;—that the salaries and allowances received by them from the public amounted to 96,996*l.* 12*s.* 5*d.* The fees and gratuities from individuals to 51,721*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* That the payment back to the public, by taxes, was 1,740*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* Which, deducted from the amount of the salaries and allowances, leaves a real charge upon the public of 95,256*l.* 3*s.* 6½*d.* And this last sum, added to the amount of fees and gratuities gives 146,977*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.* The total expence to the public and the subject, in that year, on account of the officers of the customs belonging to the out-ports.

“The share and proportion which the out-ports severally bore in producing this general result, may be seen by referring to the abstract at the end of the account; where, among the respective totals of the receipts and payments of the officers at each port, will be found, in their proper columns, those separate sums, from a combination of which the above aggregate total is raised.

“One very material part of the inquiry we directed to the port of London, consisted in an examination into the duty and employment of the officers principally concerned in superintending or executing the various branches and divisions of business into which the office of the customs is distributed. That investigation, though laborious, and of slow progress, as it tended to bring into immediate comparison the service performed with the recompence received, we thought it right to institute, avoiding therein minute disquisition, and fixing our views on general objects.

“We did not judge the same line of conduct to be either expedient or

necessary respecting the out-ports various impediments, and many objections to that mode of proceeding presented themselves. To the execution of it the personal attendance of officers would have been essential; the absence, from an out-port, of the leading and most intelligent one (and none others would have suited our purpose) must have occasioned material inconvenience and interruption, both to the official business and the trade of the port. Their coming to appear before us from places so numerous, and some of them so distant, as are comprehended within the out-port department of the customs, could not have been effected without inducing expence upon the public; and the advancement of our work, of necessity tedious, would have been greatly retarded by opening this extensive field of examination. These suggestions, in themselves of much moment, were enforced by the following consideration, not less weighty and conclusive.

“In the port of London we have taken up the custom duty at its origin, and pursued it to its end and application. The leading circumstances which intervene in that official course, we have endeavoured to trace and state. The precautions for guarding the article of commerce, from its arrival in port to the payment of duty; the rule for ascertaining the quantum of duty; the mode of collection, control, account, and payment into the treasury of the duties collected; the payment out of them by bounty, or re-payment by drawback; the guard placed upon the article exported, to secure the revenue from fraud; with the general regulations and formalities attendant upon these respective stages, are there described.

“That detail includes the great outline

line of the system, whence the revenue is created, and the business of the officer constituted.

The transactions at the out-ports, operating upon the same subjects, and governed by the same principles, must pass through and undergo a similar order and process. We apprehend, therefore, that the result of our enquiries for the port of London, and the information therein contained, may without difficulty, and to sufficient effect, be applied to the out-ports. To regulate that application nothing will be wanting, but a due regard to the peculiarities arising from a difference in the quantity or nature of the business transacted, the number or arrangement of the officers employed, and those various other circumstances, whether commercial or official, which eminently distinguish the port of London from all the out-ports, and diversify the several out-ports from each other.

However, that we might not neglect any means of knowledge which could be obtained without detriment to the public, at the time when occupied in collecting our materials, we required of the office of the customs to direct such out-port officers as were accidentally in London to appear before us. Those whom we had an opportunity of examining were, Mr. Anthony Palmer Collings, deputy customs out-port officers at the port of Bristol; Thomas Craufurd, esq. patent searcher at the same port; Thomas Barker, esq. at present one of the four general surveyors resident in London, but who had been in various successive offices at the port of Portsmouth, of which the collector was the last; Mr. John Phillips Adams, collector at Milford; and Mr. Richard Butler, deputy controller at the port of Rye. The information derived from the above

officers will be made use of, as occasion may arise, in the progress of this report.

“ Having attained the first of the two leading objects of our research, that is the charge upon the crown and the subject in the year 1784, arising from the payments to the officers employed in the several out ports of England and Wales, we proceeded to the remaining one, an examination into those other branches of expenditure, whereby the produce of the customs for the same year was reduced.

“ That we might procure a general statement of the total receipt and payments of that year, and be enabled to ascertain what portions of those totals referred to each particular port, we issued a precept for an account of the gross receipt of the customs, in London and the out-ports, with the several payments at each port, distinguished under the proper heads, and with the net produce of each for the year 1784. From the examinations of Mr. Joshua Powell, first clerk to the controller general of the accounts of the customs, of Mr. John Mills, assistant to the receiver general, and Mr. James Powell, chief clerk to the inspector of the out-port collectors accounts and vouchers, we received the necessary information relative to this subject, and the returns transmitted to us from the respective departments to which these officers belong.

“ The account required by the foregoing precept is a general one, and, it is of such magnitude, and comprehends so great a variety and multiplicity of articles and accounts, collected from different sources, that it is nearly impracticable for it to undergo the proper examination and correction, so as to be rendered sufficiently accurate, in a shorter space of time than a year.

As soon as the account for the year 1784 could be made out, we received it from the office of the customs. The total receipt, in money and bonds, therein stated, is 6,960,642*l.* 7*s.* 2½*d.*; and the net produce, 5,352,032*l.* 6*s.* 1½*d.*

"There are in this account certain ports where the amount of the duties collected did not equal the sum of the expence incurred: these are called negative ports. The deficiency of the receipt to answer the charges at these ports is supplied out of the collection at productive ports: this is done by order of the board; and the mode in use of transmitting the supply, is by a draft on the collector inwards of the port of London, payable to the collector of the deficient port. These imposts not being included in the payments for salaries and incidents for the port of London, the amount of them must, in order to give the real net produce, be deducted from the total sum entered in the column under that title.

"The number of ports, where the payments exceeded the receipt, in the year 1784, was nine; the amount of those payments, 4,050*l.* 6*s.* 9¾*d.* which, deducted from 5,352,032*l.* 6*s.* 1½*d.* leaves 5,347,981*l.* 19*s.* 3¾*d.* the exact net produce of the year.

"Intent upon one enquiry, namely into the expenditure for managing the custom revenue, we are at present led to the column of salaries and incidents in this account, and our attention confined to the articles comprehended therein. That column includes, without distinction, all charges of management paid out of the custom duties, at each port, within the year. The sum set opposite to the port of London contains the salaries to the patent officers at the out-ports paid by

dormant warrants, and those to the officers in the plantations paid by the receiver general. These payments at every out-port, are for services arising at the port, except in the case of Whitehaven, where a list of officers of the customs belonging to the Isle of Man, (which is not within the department placed under the commissioners of the customs), are regularly paid their salaries, pursuant to a treasury warrant, out of the produce of the duties collected at that port. The total amount of these charges is 230,610*l.* 7*s.* 4½*d.*

"The article of salaries and incidents thus blended in one sum, is somewhat complicate, and needs to be explained. The term of salaries, in the official language of the customs, is restricted to such as are paid upon the establishment, or by dormant warrant; and those to the incidental officers, though regular and uniform like the former, are classed under the denomination of incidents; consequently, the incidents are compounded of two general items—first, the salaries to the incidental officers—second, all the other disbursements made out of this revenue.

"We have analyzed and stated the particulars, and the totals, of every species of payment to officers in the port of London, and at the out-ports. It remained to obtain and investigate the other component part of which the incidental expences in this account are formed. To that end we required "An account of the incidental expences, exclusive of the incidental salaries, paid out of the duties of the customs, by the receiver general, in the port of London for the year 1784;" and "An account of the incidental expences, exclusive of the incidental salaries, paid out of the duties of the customs, at the respective out-ports,

for the year 1784." The amount of these incidental expences, by the receiver general, appears by the return to be 9,757*l*. 3*s*.

This account is distributed under certain general heads, whereof the various articles, making up the above sum of expenditure, are ordered according to their specific natures, and the expences severally incurred for them, distinguished. These heads consist of fees and allowances for making up and passing accounts—rent—rates and tax-pensions, and a variety of other incidental expences, brought into the column.

The authorities and vouchers, in virtue of which all the payments of this revenue are made and admitted, were the subject of examination in our 13th Report, which is peculiarly directed to the mode of passing and auditing the accounts of the customs, in the office of the auditors of the imprest. A judgment upon the propriety or necessity of the payments incident to the management of the customs, and the function thereof, must be conducted to and rest with that board, to whom the important charge of conducting this department is intrusted; and reliance must be had upon their wisdom and integrity for the discharge of that trust in a manner the most conducive to the public good—subject however, in common with all offices, whether receipt or expenditure, to the constant superintending and controlling power with which the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury are invested, and to the ultimate and supreme interposition of parliament.

"We did not apprehend it to be within the object of our institution, to enter upon any minute in-

quiry into the particular items of which these and other similar accounts of the customs are composed. Where certain articles, either from the magnitude of the sum, or the title or nature of the service, excited our attention, and appeared to require explanation, to them we deemed it right to have a special regard.

"Observing the entry of a quarterly payment of 608*l*. 16*s*. 6*d*. to William Speer, and others, for making up accounts relating to the customs, we inquired into the ground and cause of that charge; and from Mr. Speer we had the following information. That sum consists of various payments, liable to the shilling and civil list duties, made to several persons; seven of whom are clerks in the revenue office in the treasury. These payments are the annual salaries of those clerks, and were settled by a minute of the treasury in the year 1776, which directed them to be charged upon the duties of the customs, though the business for which they are a recompence is not confined to that office, but extends over the other revenue departments, relative to all which these clerks are employed in making up accounts for the use of the board of treasury, and some of them to be presented to parliament. The single article entered under the head of pension, is an annual allowance of sixty pounds, by special order of the board of customs, for long and faithful service, to an officer who had the misfortune to become insane. The quarterly payments to the principal coal meters, arise from an allowance of one halfpenny per chaldron on all coals imported into the port of London, and are grounded upon the certificate of the

the collector of the coal duties, and paid pursuant to the order of the board of customs.

"At the end of this account there is an entry, consisting of two items, together 726*l.* which requires to be particularly explained. That sum is the amount of the fees which used to be paid for the audit of the cash account of the customs. The accounts of the customs are made up annually to the 5th of January inclusive. It has been the practice of office for the receiver general to take credit, on that day, for the fees which would become due to the auditors of the imprest, upon auditing the cash account of the customs, and to retain that sum in his hands until the account was finally audited. According to the usual course this article was entered as a payment, by the receiver general, on the 5th of January 1785. Before the cash account could be got ready, and delivered into the office of the auditors of the imprest, a change had taken place in the system of passing the public accounts of the kingdom; in consequence whereof, among other regulations, it was enacted by the legislature, that all receipt of fees, gratuities, or perquisites, in the office where the public accounts are audited, should forthwith be abolished. This sum, therefore, of 726*l.* reserved in the receiver general's hands for the purpose of answering a charge thus put an end to, will be carried back to the respective branches from which it was taken, and the expenditure of the year 1784 will in fact be diminished, and the produce increased, to that amount; though, according to the mode of adjusting the accounts in such cases, the repayment will go in augmentation of the produce of

that year when it is ordered to be made.

"The amount of the incidental expences, exclusive of the incidental salaries, paid out of the customs duties, at the respective ports of England and Wales, in the year 1784, was 17,496*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* Each port is kept distinct in the account, and the total expence at each, digested under a few general heads; of which, rent—tradesmen's bills—land tax repaid—petties, a term including many trifling charges not reducible to any particular class of service, are the principal.

"The payments out of the customs, in the year 1784, for the management of that revenue, hitherto stated, are included in the account of the controller general, and they are all which that account though a general one, comprehends. Much is still wanting to render the state, not merely of the expenditure, but also of the receipt, of the year complete. The controller general has not a knowledge of the produce of seizures, and from hence nor of the charges defrayed out of that fund: he takes official notice of neither. The duties arising in the plantations are within his cognizance and control; but no part of the receipts contained in this account, and only so much of the expenditure relative thereto as is paid by the receiver general in England.

"The management of the customs in Scotland being conducted by a distinct board, the commissioners for England are wholly ignorant of the charges attending that collection, and know no more of the duties received than what appears upon the weekly certificate of the receiver general to have been remitted from thence. Such part of

produce of the customs in Scotland, as passes into the exchequer, remitted by the receiver general of that country to the receiver general in England, and by him paid; and of this remittance the controller general has official information from the controller general for Ireland: but the duties so transmitted are not inserted in this account, which is confined to those collected at the ports of England and Wales. The controller general's account does not exhibit the sum yielded through this revenue to the state, of which the public did in fact actually profit; that is the amount of the customs paid into the exchequer.

"To supply these deficiencies, and form as perfect a statement for the year as it was in our power to procure, we issued precepts for the following returns:—"An account of the gross sums arising from the produce of seizures, and from fines, together with the amount of the charges of condemnation and sale, and of the shares of the crown, and of the officers, and of the payments out of the shares of the crown for charges of management, and to the receipt of his majesty's exchequer for the year 1784; distinguishing what part of the said sums have been received and paid by the receivers of fines and forfeitures for London and the out-ports and by the solicitors, respectively."

"An account of the gross annual salaries and allowances of the officers of the customs in the plantations, for the year 1784; distinguishing the ports, and by what authority the officers are severally appointed."

"An account of the gross amount of the duties arising in the plantations, and of the charges of management, and of the net produce thereof, 1789."

of, for the year 1784; distinguishing the several ports, and the charges paid by the receiver general, from the other charges."

"An account of the total sum paid by the receiver general of the customs into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, for the year 1784."

"The produce of seizures, and from fines, does not arise, and is not conducted, in the same manner with the other branches of the custom revenue. It is the result, not of duties collected upon articles of commerce, but of certain provisions instituted by law as a punishment for having evaded the payment of the legal duties, or offended against, or neglected to comply with, some of the other requisites enjoined by the legislature. These provisions are directed either against the offender, or the subject matter of the offence; and where terminating in the payment of a sum as a penalty, fine, or composition, or in the forfeiture of the goods seized to be disposed of according to law, thence is derived a fund, which is the subject of the account we proceed to explain. We were made acquainted therewith by the examination of Mr. John Baskin, annexed to our last Report, and subjoined again to this, for the sake of more easy reference."

"Where goods which have been seized, and prosecuted to condemnation, are sold, the produce thereof submits to this uniform course:—From the gross produce of the sale, certain charges, entitled those of condemnation and sale, are first deducted. These charges consist of the payments to all the officers employed in the condemnation and sale, and of the poundages out of the gross produce of particular species of seizures to which certain officers of the customs are entitled."

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" The poundages due to the officers in London, on goods sold at an out-port, are remitted to the receiver for the out-ports, taken credit for by the collector, and included in the charges paid at the port.

" The above deductions having been made, the residue of the gross amount of the sale is divided between the king and seizing officer, according to the proportion directed by the acts which regulate the seizure. The portion of this division accruing to the crown is called the king's net share.

" The king's net share, arising in London, is paid by the warehouse-keeper into the hands of the receiver of fines and forfeitures for London. That which arises at the out-ports, is liable, in the hands of the collector at each port, to the charges of maintaining the custom-house cruizers, and to such other incidental expences as the commissioners of the customs may think proper to order; and those charges being satisfied, or such sums retained as may be wanted to defray them, the remainder of the king's net share is remitted by the several collectors to the receiver of fines and forfeitures for the out-ports. The sums thus remitted become a fund in the hands of this receiver, applicable, in like manner with that created in London, and in the hands of the other receiver, to various charges of management incurred on account of the customs in the port of London. Most of these charges are, by the orders of the board, directed for payment upon the receiver for the out-ports; and if that officer has not a sufficiency to answer the demands, a supply to him is ordered to be made by the receiver for London; and in case his fund should prove also insuffi-

cient, the receiver general is, by like order, directed to implead such sums as are wanted by the receiver for the out-ports.

" In the year 1785, apparently from the effect of the act which directed condemned spirits to be sold, and of other acts whereby smuggling received a check, the funds in the hands of the two receivers proved very deficient, and sums to a considerable amount were imprest by the receiver general, to the receiver for the out-ports. The sums paid by the collectors at the out-ports, out of the king's net share of seizures, are principally for the maintenance of cruizers and boats, and the expences connected therewith.

" That we might be made acquainted with the services to which the payments by the receivers in London and the out-ports were generally applied, and with the charges attendant upon those services respectively, we required that the total sums paid by each receiver should in the account be decomposed, and brought under general heads. Thence it appears, that in the port of London, though the maintaining the cruising vessels is one, yet it is by no means the principal article of expence with which these funds are charged, and that they are not limited to any one service, but liable indiscriminately to different charges of management. Such part of the king's net share of seizures, as remains unexhausted by these charges, is paid into the chequer by the two receivers in London and the out-ports.

" The produce of fines, or compositions upon seizures, is rarely subject to any charges of condemnation. The share thereof resulting to the crown is charged with some regular annual allowances to officers

the customs, and some other trifling expenses; after satisfying which, the residue is paid into the exchequer by the respective solicitors of the customs, in whose department it is to receive and account for this produce.

"The account we have thus examined, presents a complete view of the rise and ultimate disposal of that branch of the custom revenue, both in London and at the several out-ports, which is derived from seizures and fines. In so doing, it involves two subjects, each distinct in itself and kept apart in the statement, but both closely connected, inasmuch as out of the determination of the one the other arises. The first consists of the gross produce of condemned seized goods, and from fines; the charges paid out of that produce; his majesty's net share; and the seizing officer's part. The second comprehends the king's net share produced by the above division; the expenses defrayed therefrom at each out-port; the balance reserved by the collector; and the part remitted to the receiver for the out-ports; the payments made by the two receivers of fines and forfeitures, and the solicitors, for charges of management; and the sums paid by them into the exchequer, respectively. Thence it appears, that the gross produce of seizures in London, for the year 1784, was 62,042*l.* 2*s.* 11½*d.* His majesty's net share, 31,598*l.* 17*s.* 6¾*d.* The charges of condemnation and sale, 7,449*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.* The seizing officer's part, 22,993*l.* 5*s.* 7¼*d.*

"The gross produce of seizures at the out-ports, was 136,322*l.* 16*s.* 2¼*d.* His majesty's net share, 69,955*l.* 18*s.* 10¾*d.* The charges of condemnation and sale, 16,651*l.* 8*s.* 5¼*d.* The seizing officer's part, 49,715*l.* 1*s.* 10¾*d.* The gross produce of

fines, in the same year, was 6,093*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.* His majesty's net share, 4,184*l.* 12*s.* 7½*d.* The charges of condemnation, 33*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* The seizing officers part, 1,875*l.* 6*s.* 9½*d.*

"The gross produce of seizures in London, and at the out-ports, together with that from fines, was 204,458*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.* His majesty's net share thereof, was 105,739*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* and, consequently, the total charge incurred, was 98,718*l.* 17*s.* of which sum, 24,134*l.* 15*s.* 8½*d.* was paid for the charges of condemnation and sale, 74,584*l.* 1*s.* 3½*d.* to the officers who made the seizures.

The payments for charges of management, made out of the king's net share of seizures arising in the port of London, amounted to 11,692*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* and the sum paid into the exchequer to 19,906*l.* —*s.* 1¾*d.*

"Of the king's net share produced at the out-ports, 34,432*l.* 18*s.* 10½*d.* was expended in charges of management at the several ports; 23,257*l.* 14*s.* 4½*d.* in charges of management for the port of London; and 2,500*l.* was paid into the exchequer.

"The sum paid out of the king's net share of fines, for charges, was 275*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and into the exchequer, 3,555*l.* 16*s.* 5*d.*

"The amount of these payments into the exchequer, by the receivers and solicitors of the customs was 25,961*l.* 16*s.* 6¾*d.* of the balances remaining in the hands of the collectors at the out-ports, 9,765*l.* 5*s.* 7¾*d.* of that in the hands of the solicitor for London and the western ports, 353*l.* 2*s.* 10¾*d.* which three sums brought together, and making 36,080*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* being subtracted from 105,739*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* the total of the king's net share of seizures and fines in London and at the out-ports, give 69,659*l.* 4*s.* the whole
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whole charges for management defrayed out of that share: and if thereto be added 93,718*l.* 17*s.*— the diminution to which the gross produce of seizures and fines was subject, it will be shewn that 168,378*l.* 1*s.*— was the exact sum paid by the public, in the year 1784, for the various services stated in the above account.

“ The maintenance of the vessels and boats employed in the customs, forms nearly the sole head of expenditure at the out-ports, and a considerable one among those in the port of London, to which the king’s net share of seizures is applied.

“ As the cruizers constitute a peculiar and extensive branch of service, and as many persons are concerned in the conduct thereof, who are officers of the customs, and were none of them included in the lists of officers returned to us, either for London or the out-ports, we deemed it proper to bring the cruizing vessels, and the expences attending them, into one collective view. We accordingly procured an account of the number of cruizers employed in the service of the customs, for the year 1784, with the complement of men belonging to each cruizer, at what port stationed, the amount of the expence of each, and at what port paid. From that account, and the examination of Mr. Samuel Brown, surveyor for sloops, and of Mr. John Bastin, we obtained a knowledge of the most material circumstances relating to this subject.

“ The cruizers belonging to the customs are maintained in two different modes; one upon the establishment, the other by contract. When upon the establishment, the vessel herself is the property of the crown, and all the expences of every kind, incurred by her, are paid quarterly out of the custom revenue, and by the col-

lector of the port where she is stationed, except in a single instance of a vessel stationed at Faversham, and paid in London.

“ There are two species of contracts; in one of them the vessel is furnished by the crown, and no charge made for her hire; but the outfit, future repairs, wages, victualling, and all other expences, are paid out of the produce of her seizures; and, after those deductions, the remainder, if any, is divided between the crown and the contractor. If, however, the amount of her seizures should prove insufficient to defray those expences, the deficiency is supplied by the crown and contractor, in equal proportions. In the other kind of contract the contractor provides the vessel, at the rate of four shillings and six pence per ton, per lunar month, for which allowance he is bound to find the outfit, and all repairs. This payment for hire, and all the remaining charges incurred by the vessel, are, in this as in the former contract, borne out of the produce of her seizures; and the surplus divided, or the failure made good, equally between the contracting parties. These contracts are formed by a minute of the board of customs, and, when entered into, a letter is sent from the board to the collector and controller at the port where the vessel is to be stationed, specifying the name of the contractor, and the terms of the contract, that is, the hire (in case the vessel is upon hire), the number of men, and the allowance for wages, victualling, and other charges. It is the duty of those two officers to see that the vessel is constantly cruizing, that she is kept in complete repair, and in every respect fit for the service; that she has her full complement of men on board, which they are on

ered to certify upon the back of the journals of the mates and the commanders of vessels; and if the masters be short of the number allowed by the crown, they are to certify that deductions for the wages and victualling have been made accordingly.

“ At many of the out-ports, the collectors and controllers at the port where the vessel is stationed, are themselves either jointly or separately, the contractors. In the year under our enquiry twenty-four cruizers were employed by contract, and of them sixteen were contracted for with those two officers together, or with one of them.

“ From the account we learn that forty-four cruizers were employed in the year 1784, and the number of men belonging to them, one thousand and forty-one. Of the persons who serve on board, the commander, the chief and second mates, and, in some of the larger vessels, one mariner called a deputy-mariner, are officers of the customs, by virtue of a commission from the board. The officers of the cruizers upon the establishment are generally appointed by the board, pursuant to warrants from the treasury. The officers of those upon contract, are recommended by the contractor, and appointed by the board. The pay of the master is twenty pounds a year; of the chief mate either thirty-five or thirty; of each of the rest of the crew, seven pounds. The allowance for victualling is nine pence a day to each man on board, and for fire and candle one shilling each by the lunar month.

“ The total expence for the maintenance of these forty-four cruizers is stated at 44,355*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.* This sum, however, does not agree with the amount of the several

payments inserted in the account of seizures, and fines, as having been made out of the king's net share of seizures, for this service, in the port of London, and at the different out-ports. The reason of the difference is, that the surveyor for sloops, in his account, states the full charge that each vessel will stand at for the year, every circumstance and article of cost included; and this he is enabled to do, either from the bills already delivered into his office (through which all expenditure relative to the cruizers passes), or, where the bills are not yet received, from computations grounded upon his knowledge of the particulars by which the expence can be ascertained. The accountant of petty receipts states only the sums actually paid out of the king's net share, on this head of service, at each port, within the year. The whole charge incurred could not be brought into his account. The established cruizers create a regular annual expence, and the accounts respecting them are transmitted to his office quarterly from the ports. The accounts for those upon contract are not received at fixed periods; and, by the terms of the contract, where the share of the seizing officer would legally only amount to a third, the difference between that and a moiety is made good to the contractor (who appears to be considered as the same person with the seizing officer) in order that his share may be rendered equal with the share of the crown. As the division of the produce of all seizures is fixed by law, a general account must be made out conformably to that rule; but for each of these contract cruizers there is a necessity of forming a second and distinct account, in which the contractor having credit for the differ-

ences between the thirds and moieties above stated, and the charges of the cruizer being brought against her produce, it finally appears whether a balance is due from the crown to the contractors, or from the contractor to the crown: and this balance when settled, is either carried to or paid out of, the king's net share, at the port where the vessel is stationed, under a special order of the board. From these circumstances the accounts of the contract vessels are more dilatory, in their ultimate adjustment and liquidation, than those of the vessels upon the establishment.

"The custom duties collected in the plantations, and the charges attending the management of that collection, for the year 1784, form the next and last object to which we are led in the prosecution of this line of inquiry.

"From two accounts, returned pursuant to our precepts, and the examinations of Mr. John Timothy Swainson, plantation clerk in the office of the secretary of the customs, and of Mr. Joshua Powel, chief clerk to the controller general, in whose office the plantation accounts are passed, we were supplied with the information here requisite.

"The account of the gross annual salaries, and allowances of the officers, contains all the officers of the customs in the plantations, during the year 1784, whether belonging to the West India islands, or to the American ports. It must therefore include the officers who conducted the business of the customs at the islands subject to the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which are six; Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Christophers, Montserrat, Nevis, and Tortola. The salaries and allowances to the officers, as well all other expences of every kind, incurred on account of the customs, at those islands, are,

with one trifling regular exception at Montserrat (an accidental payment out of seizures at the port of St. John's, Antigua, occurring also in 1784), paid, not out of the receipt of that revenue, but either by the collectors at the several ports, or by the husband in England, out of the produce of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty. Hence it became necessary to distinguish and keep separate, in this account, the officers stationed at those six islands; because, not being a charge upon the custom duties, nor supported out of a public fund, they do not occasion that species of expenditure to which our investigations are specially directed; and, accordingly, our examinations and the consequent matter stated, are not to be understood as having had those officers in view, though in many respects applicable to them.

"The officers in the plantations are appointed by the commissions of the board of customs, pursuant to treasury warrants, except in a few instances, enumerated at the beginning of the account, where the appointment to the office is solely in the board of customs: they have salaries, and incidental allowances. In the year 1784, the salaries to the plantation officers upon the establishment were paid in England by the receiver general; but by a regulation of the subsequent year, the collectors and controllers only are to receive their salaries in that mode, and those to the inferior officers are to be paid at the port, unless the growing receipt of duties should be insufficient for that purpose; which case, upon a certificate thereof being transmitted by the collector and controller to the board, an order for the payment of them is to be made upon the receiver general. To prevent a dilatory and irregular transmission of the accounts, acco-

ing to a recent regulation, none of the collectors or controllers in the plantations are entitled to receive their salaries, which are paid half yearly, until the quarterly accounts of the receipts and disbursements for that half year, at their respective ports, have been sent over to the board. The incidental allowances, which are some of them made in sterling money, and some in the currency of the island, are annual, and fixed by the board, to enable the officers to provide themselves with certain articles necessary for the service, and set opposite to the sums entered in the column under that title. These allowances as regulated in the year 1785, are to be paid at the port, provided there be a sufficiency of receipt; and if not, the failure is, in like manner as in the case of the salaries, to be certified to the board, and payment by the receiver general to be ordered.

" The officers in the plantations take fees, under the authority of various acts of parliament

" Apprized of the difficulty, and nearly the impracticability, of obtaining within a period of time, and to a degree of completeness and accuracy suited to our end, the amount of the fees and gratuities received by those officers, many in number, residing at ports distant and dispersed, and precluded of necessity from every channel of speedy intercourse, information, or correction, relative to their returns, we omitted, as most advisable, to include that requisition in our precept respecting the plantation officers.

" The number of the officers employed in the plantations for the year 1784 (including those at the islands where the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty is collected) was one hundred and thirty-five. The total of the annual salaries due, out of the custom

revenue, to the officers for that year as stated in the above account, is 5,270*l.* of the incidental allowances, in sterling, 1,052*l.* 10*s.* —. and in currency, 593*l.* Some of the salaries were not paid in that year; the payment of them being stopped by order of the board, for nontransmission of accounts, or other causes, and the attorneys in England having in some instances neglected to apply for them.

" To get at the exact amount of the payments actually made to the officers, and on all other heads of service, as well as of the total produce of the duties for the year, recourse must be had to the other account returned to us. That account gives the gross receipt of the duties arising in the plantations (in which the king's net share of seizures is also comprehended); the charges of management for each port, distinguishing those paid at the port, from those paid by the receiver general in England; and the net produce for the year 1784. The incidental allowances, paid in currency at the ports, are here reduced into sterling money; and the means of doing it is the certificate of the governor of the island, on the accounts sent over by the collector, ascertaining the value of the currency for every quarter.

" The islands and provinces contained in this account are sixteen; the number of ports twenty-six. To these, in the year 1785, three more were added: New Brunswick, Port Roseway, and Cape Breton.

" At many of the plantation ports, the receipt is unequal to the expenditure; and in those cases, the collector of the port must either himself advance the money wanted to defray the charges, or he must transmit a certificate to the board of the deficiency, in order that the payment may be made in England:

if he advances the money, the balance due to him is paid by the receiver general, upon the production of proper vouchers and receipts for the sums charged in his account.

" From this account it appears, that the gross amount of the custom receipt in the plantations was 5,305*l.* 1*s.* — $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* the total of the payments for the several ports then belonging to the plantation department, 5,300*l.* 13*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* and the net produce, after deducting the charges at the deficient ports, which were sixteen in number, 4*l.* 7*s.* 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* There are, however, subjoined to the account, arrears paid in this year for services which had accrued at three ports, previous to their cession by the last treaty of peace; these added, make the total of the payments to be 6,106*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* and consequently it exceeded the receipt of the year by 8*l.* 1*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

" Though the duties received in the plantations, if compared with the total payment for management in the year 1784, appeared not only to have been exhausted, but deficient, yet, as will be seen by a subsequent account, the receiver general paid a sum the same year into the exchequer, on the head of the plantations, nearly equal to the gross receipt stated in this account—An apparent difference, requiring to be reconciled; and of which the explanation is as follows.

" The account, of which we have been treating is restricted to the actual receipt and payments of the year. The sum paid into the exchequer by the receiver general, arose from the collection of former years, either not remitted from the plantations, or, if remitted, not converted into cash till that year; and from duties collected and remitted that year, but when in the

hands of the receiver general, are applied to charges of management for the service of the plantations; it being the practice to defray most of those charges in England, not out of the produce of the plantation duties, but out of that of the customs collected in England.

" We have thus procured and investigated the different accounts essential to impart a complete knowledge of the charges incurred in the management of the custom duties for the year 1784.

" That we may bring the result of our inquiries into a combined view, and exhibit, in one sum, the whole cost of conducting this branch of the public revenue in that year, we proceed to recapitulate and blend the totals stated in those respective accounts.

" The real charge upon the public, for the payment of the officers employed in the office of the customs and port of London, as given in our last report, was 100,88*l.* 15*s.* 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* and upon individuals, 64,079*l.* 8*s.* — $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* together, 164,964*l.* 3*s.* 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* The real charge upon the public, for the payment of the officers belonging to the out-ports, we have found to be 95,256*l.* 3*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* and upon individuals, 51,721*l.* 10*s.* 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* together, 146,977*l.* 10*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* The incidental expences exclusive of the incidental salaries paid by the receiver general, amounted to 9,757*l.* 3*s.* 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* those paid by the collectors at the out-ports, to 17,456*l.* 11*s.* 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The total diminution of the produce of seizures and fines, by payments for services, either out of the gross amount or out of the king's net share, was 168,378*l.* 1*s.* — The sum paid in charges of management, on account of the custom duties collected in the plantations, was 6,106*l.* 9*s.* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*

These

These several totals brought together give 513,684*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* The portion thereof paid out of the revenue of the customs amounts to 7,883*l.* 4*s.* 9*½d.* But from this must be deducted the amount of the poundages and allowances to officers out of the gross produce of seizures, and also the amount of salaries and allowances to officers out of the king's net share of produce of seizures; because the officers, in their return to us of their statements for the year, charged themselves with those sums; and in the account of the disbursements out of those two funds, these payments to officers are also taken credit for.

To avoid the error of double charge, and render the statement correct, we acquired the account annexed: thence it appears that there was paid, in allowances and poundages to officers, in London and at the out-ports, out of the gross produce of seizures, 10,189*l.* 1*½d.*; and in salaries and allowances to officers in London out of the king's net share of the produce of seizures, 4,399*l.* 5*s.* 6*¾d.* These sums together, 14,588*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* deducted from 397,883*l.* 4*s.* 9*½d.* are 383,294*l.* 7*s.* 2*¾d.* the exact total charge borne by the public: which 115,801*l.* 3*s.* 7*½d.* the total of the payments by individuals, being added, there will result 499,095*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* and in that total, the amount of the fees and gratuities received by the officers in the plantations is not included.— Such was the expence induced by the customs in the year 1784. What revenue contributed to the national income, in the same year, appears to be as follows.

The receiver general paid into the exchequer, on account of the customs, in the year 1784, 316,153*l.* 8*s.* 3*¼d.*

“ The payments into the exchequer, by the receivers of fines and forfeitures for London and the out-ports, and by the solicitors of the customs, were 25,961*l.* 16*s.* 6*¾d.*

“ There was also a sum paid into the exchequer that year, by Mr. George Litchfield, the solicitor for carrying on criminal prosecutions in the customs, and recovering debts due on bonds. This solicitor pays, by order of the board of customs, the penalties recovered, either into the exchequer, or into the hands of the receivers of fines and forfeitures; and the debts recovered by order of the court of exchequer, or of that board, into the exchequer, into the hands of the receiver general, or of the receivers of fines and forfeitures. The return to our requisition states the payment into the exchequer, made by this solicitor, in the year 1784, to be 155*l.*

“ These several sums brought together make 3,342,270*l.* 4*s.* 10*½d.* the total produce of the custom revenue, which passed into the public treasury, and was ultimately availed of, in the year 1784.

“ We are enjoined, by the acts which regulate our proceedings, to report an exact state of the fees or gratuities paid or given in collecting, issuing, expending, and accounting for, the public monies, and the authority under which such fees or gratuities are paid or received.

“ The account of the emoluments of the officers of the customs at the out-ports supplied us with a knowledge of the amount of the fees and gratuities taken, in the year 1784, by those officers respectively, and has enabled us to state the total sum received by them through those modes of payment.

“ That we might yield due obedience to the injunctions of the legislature, a farther inquiry became necessary;

cessary; namely, into the several fees and gratuities which the officers at the out-ports claim or receive, and into the authority under which such fees and gratuities are required or taken:—an information not to be procured from the account above referred to, nor from the materials out of which it was raised.

“The fee differing essentially from the gratuity, we shall make them each the object of a distinct examination.

“Of the rules subjoined to the book of rates, and annexed to the act of tonnage and poundage, the twenty-fourth ordains, That no officer, clerk, or other, belonging to any customhouse whatsoever, shall exact, require, or receive any other or greater fee, of any merchant or other whatsoever, than such as are or shall be established by the commons, in parliament assembled: if any officer or other shall offend contrary to this order, he shall forfeit his office and place, and be for ever after incapable of any office in the customhouse.

“Looking to this regulation as our guide, we deemed it, in the first place, requisite to ascertain what fees had been established by parliament; and accordingly, when engaged in an investigation of a similar kind, respecting the port of London, we issued a precept for an account of such fees as the officers of the customs are authorised to take, by virtue of any act of parliament, and for what business such fees are payable.

“To that requisition, which was general, there were transmitted to us, besides the returns for the port of London, four tables of fees referring solely to the out-ports.

These tables belong to the ports of Bristol, Great Yarmouth, Kingston upon Hull, and Chester; and

they were issued or confirmed by virtue of an order of the house of commons, of the 17th of May 1666 or the 11th of April 1670. We annexed these tables to our last Report concluding that they were the only existing authorities of such a description for fees taken by the out-port officers: but from the examination of Mr. John Philipps Adams, collector of Milford, we learned that there was at that port a table with words written at the bottom of it, importing the order of the house of commons.

“No table for the port of Milford having been returned pursuant to our precept, we directed a further research to be made in the office of the customs, to the end that if the table did exist, for that or any other port, tables of fees founded upon parliamentary authority, and not already delivered to us, they might be produced, and none standing under sanction be omitted.

“In consequence of this renewed inquiry, four tables, in addition to those inserted in the Appendix to our last Report, have been discovered. These tables are for the ports of Ipswich, Milford, Poole, and Southampton. Thus it appears that there are eight out-ports, for which tables of fees and allowances have been made, settled, or confirmed, under the authority of the house of commons: they are all headed by the name of the port. The tables, as the title prefixes to each indicates, were appointed to be also in force at the several members and creeks dependent upon these head ports respectively, though in the case of Great Yarmouth, notwithstanding that there is subjoined a separate table of fees and allowances due and payable in every of the out-ports, members of that port; and this latter table in some instances, differs materially

in the former, both as to the
 antum and the division of the

From the examination of Mr.
 George Litchfield we collect, that
 besides the fees thus authorized,
 there are also some fees allowed and
 paid by particular acts of parlia-
 ment; but these are very few in
 number, confined to certain officers,
 and peculiar ports, and to special ser-
 vices enumerated in those acts.

"The fees taken by the offi-
 cers of the customs at the out-ports
 and creeks, in virtue of the autho-
 rity, either of the tables above de-
 scribed, or of these specific acts,
 appear to comprehend all such as
 have been established by the com-
 mons in parliament assembled, and,
 consequently, all which come under
 the purview of the rule cited at the
 commencement of this inquiry.

"The fees taken by the officers,
 and not included in these tables or
 acts, seem to rest solely upon the
 ground of usage.

"By a clause in the act of ton-
 nage and poundage, where the goods
 exported or imported amount to the
 value of five pounds or more, the
 customs and collectors, and all
 other his majesty's officers in the se-
 veral ports, shall take and receive
 such fees, and no other, as were
 taken in the fourth year of the late
 king James, until such time as the
 said fees shall be otherwise settled by
 authority of parliament. We made
 application to the office of the cus-
 toms respecting the subject matter of
 this clause; but we could not find
 that there was any table or record
 in being of the fees taken at the pe-
 riod referred to.

"These parliamentary tables are
 of ancient date, assigned only to cer-
 tain ports; the fees contained in
 them few, and affecting only the
 patent officers (except in the case of

Kingston upon Hull, where a clerk
 is inserted): they were framed at
 a time when the business of the cus-
 toms, and the extent of that depart-
 ment, had little resemblance to their
 actual state at this day. It was
 therefore to be presumed, that the
 statement of fees hitherto obtained
 could not be complete. To possess
 ourselves of full knowledge upon the
 subject, we issued a precept for an
 account of all fees usually taken by
 the several officers of the customs,
 including patentees, deputies, and
 clerks, and all others, of every de-
 scription whatever, in the out-ports;
 distinguishing for what business or
 documents, and for the use of what
 officer, such fees are paid, exclusive
 of stamps.

"The returns to this last requisition
 proved to be numerous and ex-
 tensive.

"We had it originally in con-
 templation to annex to our report
 all the accounts of fees transmitted
 from the out-ports and creeks, of
 whatever description consisting, and
 upon whatever authority grounded:
 but, having examined and consider-
 ed the number, size, and contents
 of these accounts, we judged it ex-
 pedient, upon mature deliberation,
 to depart from that plan, and, in-
 stead thereof, to submit only a cer-
 tain number of them, selected as
 specimens. And whilst, by that
 means, we avoid encumbering our
 report with many voluminous and
 unwieldy papers, serving to swell
 and delay the execution of our
 work, we do not, in our apprehen-
 sion, relinquish the insertion of any
 materials essentially necessary to the
 conduct and effect of the inquiry.
 Whatever insight into the subject of
 fees, with a view to illustrate truth,
 and justify conclusion, could be
 given by the production of all the
 returns made for the out-ports and
 creeks

creeks (together one hundred and four), may, to very sufficient purpose, be communicated by those we have chosen.

" In making this selection we were governed by an obvious principle. The ports for which tables have been established, pursuant to the order of the house of commons, involve in themselves as head ports, or through their dependant members, the principal places of foreign commerce in the kingdom. Accordingly we found combined in them two requisites, which to us appeared decisive as to this matter of choice—one, that of their being the only ports which have a parliamentary sanction and rule for fees—the other, their possessing that degree of mercantile importance, and consequent extent of custom business, which must of necessity render them subject to the proportionally greater influence of the species of payment under discussion.

" We have adopted the following method in stating the returns respecting fees for these eight ports, and their dependencies. We have inserted—1st, the table of fees and allowances authorized and signed by virtue of the order of the house of commons—2d, The account of the fees usually taken at the head port—3d, The accounts of the fees usually taken at the several members and creeks (if any) dependant upon the head port, entering the members in alphabetical order, and the creeks immediately after the port of which they are respectively a part. These various accounts, as constituting together, in the present view, a distinct subject of inquiry holding to each head-port, we have included in one number under the head-port.

" The eight head ports (which we have likewise taken alphabeti-

cally), Bristol, Chester, Hull, Ipswich, Milford, Poole, Sandwich, Yarmouth, comprehend in the dependencies twenty two members and sixteen creeks.

" The officers, in their return having used indiscriminately the title of port, we have prefixed to each account the proper denomination, according to the list received from the office of the customs.

" From an examination and comparison of these documents, it may be seen how far the parliamentary tables do in fact operate as rules or standards for the fees received by the officers at the head port, and the dependant members and creeks for which such tables were severally appointed; and how far, from the description of the business and the officers contained therein, they are capable of application to the commercial and official transactions of this time. From the same examination it will also appear, in what degree the fee taken at the head-port on the ground of usage, corresponds with that taken at the dependencies thereupon; and, where there are different members and creeks dependant upon the same head port, what similitude, as to the payment by fee, obtains throughout their transactions.

" Though, from the motive above explained, we have bounded ourselves in annexing to our report the accounts of fees, we did not fail to investigate generally those returns. The opinion which we have formed in consequence of that investigation will hereafter be stated.

" The gratuity or recompence received by the officers of the customs, under the authority of parliament, is taken pursuant to the 6th and 7th of William the Third, chapter the 7th; which is regulated as the only legal sanction for that species

of emolument. It is there-
 fore, that, for the accommoda-
 tion of trade upon urgent occasions,
 an officer may be permitted to work
 at times and places not required by
 law; and that it may be lawful for
 an officer, duly employed in the
 execution of his office, on any ex-
 traordinary service not required by
 law, to receive such recompence
 from the merchants or other per-
 sons requiring his attendance, as
 the commissioners of the customs
 of the port of London, and the
 collector, customer, and controller
 of the out-ports, or any two of them
 respectively (by whom the suffi-
 ciency is thought requisite to be
 ascertained), shall determine.—The
 characteristic distinction between the
 fee and the gratuity, as authorized
 by the legislature, is hence apparent.
 “The fee is a payment to the
 officer for the execution of his em-
 ployment at legal times and places:
 the gratuity, a compensation for
 extra attendance; that is, for work
 done at times or places not legally
 required of him. In the case of
 the former, the business to be trans-
 acted, the sum to be paid, the offi-
 cer or officers to receive, and, in
 all cases, the division of that sum,
 are to be divided, are specified
 and fixed. In that of the latter,
 except in species of reward, for a
 particular description of duty, is
 not mentioned; but the service to be
 performed, the quantum of recom-
 pence to be made, and the officers
 entitled, are left indefi-
 nite, and not particularized. A
 general right to the officer of taking
 compensation for extraordinary duty
 is established, and that allowance
 is specified and guarded, by referring
 to the degree of the reward to the
 discretion of the official authority
 whence the permission to execute

the service was, according to the
 proper form, obtained.

“That the gratuity thus defined
 might be understood, it became
 necessary to know what are the
 times and places not required by
 law. This information we received
 from William Stiles, esq.

“The times not required by law,
 are either those out of the hours
 prescribed for official attendance by
 the rules annexed to the book of
 rates, or holidays.—The places not
 required by law, are all those not
 being legal quays.

The hours of business are settled
 thus by the 18th and 13th of those
 rules:—“The officers who sit
 above in the customhouse of the
 port of London, shall attend the
 service of their several places from
 nine to twelve of the clock in the fore-
 noon; and one officer, or one able
 clerk, shall attend with the book in
 the afternoon, during such time as the
 officers are appointed to wait at the
 water side, for the better deciding
 of all controversies that may hap-
 pen concerning merchants warrants:
 all other the officers of the out-ports
 shall attend every day in the custom
 house of every respective port, for
 dispatch of merchants and shippers,
 between the hours of nine of the
 clock and twelve in the morning,
 and two and four of the clock in
 the afternoon.

“The merchants trading into
 the port of London have free liber-
 ty to lade and unlade their goods at
 any of the lawful quays, and places
 of shipping and landing of goods,
 between the Tower of London and
 London-bridge; and between sun-
 rising and sun-setting, from the
 tenth day of September to the tenth
 day of March; and between the
 hours of six of the clock in the
 morning and six of the clock in the
 evening

evening, from the tenth day of March to the tenth day of September, giving notice thereof to the respective officers appointed to attend the lading and unlading of goods."

"This last rule is confined to the port of London; and we do not find in these rules any notice taken of the hours of attendance of the water side officers at the out-ports; but we learn, that, in practice, the attendance of those officers is similar to what prevails among the same description of officers in the port of London.

"The holidays annually kept in the customs are, as we learn from a list returned pursuant to our requisition, forty-five in number. Thirty one of them are established by the following acts; the 5th and 6th of Edward the Sixth, chapter the 3d; the 3d of James the First, chapter the 1st; the 12th of Charles the Second, chapters the 14th and 30th; and the 19th of Charles the Second, chapter the 3d. The remaining fourteen are customary; and the original authority for their observance could not be given us in the information we received. It was stated that they do not appear to be founded upon any specific acts of parliament. Thirty-eight of these holidays are regular, and fixed to certain days of the month; seven fluctuate, being determined by the days on which they respectively happen to fall in the course of the year. Most of the holidays, if occurring upon a Sunday, are not kept; some are.

"The legal quays are those which have been set out and appointed by commissions issued from the court of exchequer; and the business transacted off these quays, or, as it is termed, at illegal places, is done under the authority of a special suf-

ferance made out by the proper officers in the long room, and signed by one commissioner in the port of London; and granted and signed by the collector and controller, at an out-port. The execution of such service is committed to a class of officers called water side officers.

"The recompences made to the officers for their attendance at home upon days, and at places as above described, that is, such as do not come within the course of the duty regularly and legally exacted of them, constitute that species of payment denominated recompence of gratuity, and provided for by the act of William the Third.

"Having traced the fee and gratuity received by the officers of the customs through this detail of authority and practice, we directed attention to another circumstance connected with the subject, and of importance sufficient to claim our regard—We mean, the kind of notice or information held forth to a merchant, or other persons interested, of the exact and specific fee to be paid to the officer, for any service which they may have occasion to require of him, in the transactions they are obliged to carry on with the office of the customs.

"Upon consulting the journals of the house of commons, we find that on the 28th day of January 1715-16, it was resolved (*nemine contradicente*), "That an humble address be presented to his majesty that he will be graciously pleased to give the strictest orders to all persons, in all offices whatsoever, claiming or taking any fees upon account of their offices, to set up in some public place of the said office (to which every body may have access), an exact table of all fees due to them, or demanded or taken

em; and that no person what-
er shall take any more than their
ancient, just, and legal fees, upon
pain of being prosecuted with the ut-
most severity."

"The pleasure of the crown, upon
the above address, having been com-
municated by the lords commission-
ers of his majesty's treasury to the
commissioners of the customs, a
printed instrument, dated August
the 10th, 1716, was issued by the
commissioners of the customs,
wherein it is ordered, "That in
every office, where ancient, just,
and legal fees are due, demanded,
or taken, an exact table thereof be
forthwith written, in a fair legible
character, to be signed by the pro-
per officer or officers, and affixed in
the most convenient place in such
office, that merchants and others
concerned may easily inspect the
same." The order also prescribes a
title or explanation to be prefixed to
such table, declaring that the table
contains all fees demanded or taken
in the office; and that no fee, re-
ward, or gratuity, other than so
specified, can be legally taken or
demanded, except a moderate re-
compence for extraordinary service,
pursuant to the 6th and 7th of Wil-
liam the Third, chapter the 7th.
It is farther ordered, That in every
office where no fee is due, a paper
containing a declaration thereof, be,
in like manner, set up for public
view; and the form of that declara-
tion is specified.

"These general orders of Au-
gust the 10th, 1716, were enforced
by a resolution of the board of cus-
toms, dated April the 12th, 1776,
whereby they are to be reprinted, to
be set up publicly in the offices at
all the ports, and the officers are
commanded to act in strict conform-
ity thereto.

"That we might learn whether

observance was had of these orders,
and in a mode calculated to effect
the end proposed, we required "A
list of the out-ports and creeks, in
the office of the customs, where
tables of fees, taken by the officers
at such respective ports and creeks,
are hung up in any place or office
thereunto belonging; and distin-
guishing whether these tables consist
of the fees authorized by any act of
parliament, or of all fees usually ta-
ken." The return to our precept,
and the examination of Mr. John
Dalley, afforded that information.

"In this list all the out-ports be-
longing to the customs are enter-
ed, and those which have no tables
of fees affixed are distinguished; but
of the creeks those only are inserted
where tables are set up. It thence
appears, that the seventy-two head
or member ports (Leigh inclusive)
have all, three excepted, tables af-
fixed; and that of the creeks, thirty-
two in number, eleven have them
also affixed.

"In regard to the contents of
these tables, we collect the follow-
ing particulars.

"The fees, which the tables se-
verally affixed contain, are, with few
exceptions, confined to those taken
by the patent officers; but at no port,
except at the one of Bristol, do we
find that the whole of the fees taken
by that class of officers are included,
and rarely are the fees to their depu-
ties at all enumerated. At all the
ports for which tables were framed
or authorized by the order of the
house of commons, those tables are
affixed, and at some of them, tables
of fees of usage are so likewise; but
neither at the ports of that descrip-
tion, nor at the ports where the fees
taken by the officers stand wholly
upon the ground of usage, are all
the fees paid at the port to be found
in the table or tables hung up: in
general

general, a considerable portion of them is not set forth; and, in some instances, the fee stated is not the whole of the sum received for the instrument, document, or service specified.

“ Upon comparing the tables affixed at the head port, with those at the members and creeks dependant thereupon, the sum of fee entered as payable at the former, does not always correspond with that for a similar business, to the same species of officer, at the latter. The coast fees, inserted in these tables, differ very considerably at different ports.

“ At the out-ports, in like manner as in the port of London, the recompences made by the merchants to the officers, for extraordinary work, are frequently, by agreement or custom, brought to a kind of rate, fixing the sum for the service required; but the entry thereof in any of these tables is very rare.

“ As exemplification may render the inquiry we have been prosecuting, and the actual state of the subject, more intelligible, we have inserted in our Appendix, copies of the tables hung up at the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, Hull, and Yarmouth, singled out upon the same principle which we have before had occasion to adopt, the magnitude of the commerce of the port.

“ A comparison of these tables, with the tables of fees appointed for those ports by the house of commons, and with the list of fees returned as usually taken at them respectively, will at once connect and embrace the three objects which form the basis and substance of this investigation—that is, the parliamentary authority, the usage, and the public communication given to the person who is to pay, of the sum to be paid.

“ In the port of London, the

only tables of fees affixed, are in the offices of such patent officers as are included in the table established by the order of the house of commons of 1662, and in the office of the secretary. The former consist alone of the fees taken by those patent officers, and not of the fees to their deputies and clerks. The latter comprehends all fees taken in that office, but not the gratuities.

“ That clause of the general orders of August the 10th, 1766, which directs, that in every office, where no fee is due, a paper declaratory thereof shall be set up for public view, is not carried into execution in the port of London; nor, from the information we were able to collect, does it appear to be observed at the out-ports and creeks of the customs; though the course of our examination produced one instance of a compliance therewith, which takes place in the collector's office at the port of Liverpool.

“ The merchants, and other persons who carry on the commerce of the country, being materially affected by the fee and gratuity paid to the officers of the customs, and by the circumstances attending those payments, we regarded it as a measure, of propriety to consult their experience, before we formed any final opinion in respect to the subject.

“ Upon inquiry we learned, that it is common for merchants to employ agents or brokers to pass through the office of the customs their transactions with that revenue; and, therefore, as persons of that description, by acting occasionally for merchants of all denominations, are in situations to acquire a thorough practical knowledge of every branch of the business, we thought that in having recourse to them, we should use a compendious and effectual

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Equal method of obtaining the information wanted. With this view examined Mr. Thomas Hubbert, ship-broker, and owner of ships; Mr. William Walter Viney, an agent; and Mr. Thomas Coles, a broker for merchants. The substance of their several examinations brought together (which, it is to be remembered, had immediate reference to the port of London), is principally as follows.

"The fee paid to the officer, for business done at times or places required by law, is in some cases found to be a fixed customary sum; in others, it is not certain, but varying; and then it is a source of frequent dispute, and causes vexation and loss to the merchant. The fee for the same transaction, to the same officer, has, within memory, in various instances, been observed to increase.

"Persons conversant in the office of the customs, and knowing the exact fee for every species of service, are, by their experience, rewarded against the danger of overcharge; but strangers, or persons not much acquainted therewith (notables of fees, except in regard to certain officers, being affixed), do not appear to have the same security; and many cases, in which they have suffered thereby, are known to have occurred.

"In some particular parts of the business, much is left to the discretion of the officer: there the variation of the fee may be prejudicial to the revenue.—Dispatch, more than could be had in the ordinary course, is sometimes procured by this.—The fee is not proportional to the value of the respective subjects upon which it is paid; and that circumstance tends to the discouragement of commerce.—The recompence to the officer, for work

done at times and places not required by law, is, in practice, frequently reduced to a certain sum; where it is indeterminate, numerous inconveniences may arise.

"The hours for the attendance of the officers in the Long-room, as settled by the rules annexed to the Book of rates, that is, from nine o'clock to twelve, do not appear to suffice. That four hours would be sufficient for them to attend, is a matter in which opinions concur. From nine to one, or from ten to two o'clock, are suggested as the most convenient arrangement of the hours. The former disposition, it is stated, would be preferable in regard to the export trade, as allowing more time for shipping goods early, and being a means of preventing the confusion and bad consequences occasioned by late shipping.

"It is represented, that the punctual attendance of the Long-room officers, at the hour prescribed by law for the commencement of business (which is not the present usage, as they are not all constantly in their respective seats till near eleven o'clock), would be advantageous to trade; and that the absence of the searchers from their office, from one o'clock till half past three, during which interval the whole export business is at a stand, is productive of great inconvenience.

"The frequent occurrence of holidays, in the department of the customs, is considered as very detrimental to commerce.

"The business at the water-side, and on ship board, may, with an exception adduced respecting the searchers, proceed upon holidays, previous permission (which is confined mostly to perishable articles and special cases) being granted by the

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the commissioners, and a recompence being made to the officers appointed to attend: but the import and export business, as far as dependant upon the department of the Long-room, wholly stops upon a holiday.

" In the Long-room, the ship is reported, the entry of the goods inwards and outwards made, the duties computed and paid, the clearance of ships outwards perfected, and most of the formalities essential to the making out and passing debentures, so as to complete them for payment, conducted. These are some of the principal and most important transactions which concern the merchant in the office of the customs; and interruptions in the course of them are extremely injurious.

" The force of such evils is greatly augmented when holidays happen to fall upon succeeding days, or recur nearly to each other, especially if at periods when the bulk of the commerce, either in fleets or by single ships, is arriving or departing. The cargo of the ship, and the object of the voyage, may be very materially affected by the delay arising from holidays.

" There are different parts of the custom business where the excise office has an interference, and the presence of the excise officer is necessary. The holidays in this latter department occurring (as it is stated) oftener than those observed in the former, the transactions of the customs are in such cases impeded.

" The frequency of holidays may be very detrimental to the revenue, as well as the merchant, by extending the time limited by law for the ship to report, after she has passed Gravesend, and by occasioning delay in loading or unloading of ships:

whence greater opportunities for illicit practices are afforded.

" Having pursued these inquiries to the extent which we deem may suffice, we proceed to fulfil the remaining part of the duty enjoined us by the legislature—That of reporting such matter of observation and regulation as has arisen out of them, and may, in our judgment, be the most effectual means of rendering our labours beneficial to the public.

" From the nature, complexity and variety of the objects comprehended in, or connected with, the office which we have had under investigation, we found it necessary to conduct our researches upon views large and general.

" Had we not established the principle of guidance and boundary we might well have been led into a field of detail inconsistent with the term, and unsuitable to the purpose of our institution.

" Our aim has been to establish upon good foundation, the main and predominant parts of the system; trusting, that if they be well arranged, and soundly constituted it will not be a matter of difficulty or beyond the ordinary powers of the office itself, to regulate, conformably, those which stand in a subordinate place.

" In prosecuting our work thus directed, there are two ends which we regard as supreme, and to the accomplishment of which we have unremittingly bent our attention.

" 1st, The reduction of the expence to the public for the management of this revenue.

" 2d. The introduction of a more simple, regular, and accurate system into the internal frame of the office.

" Some of the suggestions we have

after are confined to the out-ports of the customs; the more immediate subject of this Report; others embrace, indiscriminately, the whole of the department.

" Duties or taxes levied upon the subject should vigilantly and religiously be guarded from all unnecessary diminution in passing to their final object, the service of the state. The public have a right to a full equivalent for every charge incurred, or payment made, upon public account; and, consequently, no officer or agent whatever ought to be tolerated, who does not earn, by an adequate return, the stipend he receives. These truths, in their nature sacred and incontrovertible, rendered here, if capable of being so, more forcible by the actual necessities of this country, apply in great strength to a considerable class of the officers of the customs belonging to the out-ports.—The patent officers are alluded to.

" It has been stated in the early part of this Report, that the distinguishing character of an out-port depends materially upon the jurisdiction of the three patent officers, the customer, the controller, and the searcher. How far those officers, sixty-three in number, did any way contribute to the conduct or advantage of this revenue in the year 1784, and therefore what benefit accrued back to the public for the emoluments conferred upon them, is apparent from the account returned pursuant to our requisition. Ten only of these officers discharged themselves the duties of their several employments in that year.

" So many offices converted into sinecures, and that in a department, from the extent of transaction and load of expence inseparable from it, little adapted to main-

tain idle and unprofitable members, appeared to us to be a burthen upon the revenue, and a loss to the public, demanding speedy and effectual remedy.

" That we might be able to judge whether there existed any ground of necessity or expedience for farther submission to this evil, or in what mode and degree relief might safely be applied, it became necessary for us to acquire some general knowledge of the origin and constituent qualities of these offices. William Stiles, esquire supplied us with that information.

" The customer, the controller, and the searcher, were the three officers of the crown by whom the business of the customs anciently, and from the rise thereof, was conducted.

" The customer (styled also in the old acts of parliament collector, and still so in his patent) was the principal officer for carrying on and superintending the transactions appertaining to this revenue. He collected the custom duties, paid them into the exchequer, accounted for them upon oath, and yielded accounts to the exchequer relative to all the foreign and coast commerce of the realm.

" The office of controller was coeval with the one of customer. His province was to attend, check, and control this last officer in the execution of every part of the service entrusted to his care.

" The searcher, who was the third ancient officer, had, at his institution, the duty assigned him of searching and examining all goods and merchandise, whether imported into, or exported from, the country.

" When the customs were put in farm, the farmers employed their

own officers in the collection of the duties. The customer, thus relieved of that branch of his former duty, remained, as is apprehended, for the purpose of yielding the accounts above mentioned into the exchequer, and likewise for that of conducting the coast business; in which the farmers, there being at that time no coast duties, had not any concern.

"In the year 1671, the customs underwent a material change, that of their being placed under the management and direction of commissioners; the form in which the office now subsists. At this period, the collector, originally the officer of the farmer, was adopted and constituted an officer of the crown; and, accordingly, collectors were, pursuant to treasury warrants, appointed by the board of customs at all the ports, as the terms for which the several farms had been granted respectively expired. To the collector, an office by this means gradually introduced and extended over the whole department, was committed the trust of receiving all the custom duties, of remitting them to the receiver general, and accounting for them with the controller general; and likewise, in conjunction with his controller, the general conduct and superintendence of the whole business of this revenue at his respective port.

"The office of customer was, however, preserved, and has been suffered to continue to this day. The principal duty left to that officer at present, regards the coast business; the documents and instruments relative to which he generally makes out, and always signs. The return of quarter books to the office of the customs, and the transmission of port books and of the coast bonds to the exchequer, are

also branches of his employment still remaining.

"In respect to the coast transactions at an out-port, however in form they may originate with the customer, and be carried on by him jointly with the controller, yet the collector, by examination, signature, or whatever may be the official act or formality, bears his share also in the conduct of the business, and is held, equally with those two officers, to partake in all responsibility annexed.

"What returns were made to the customs from the offices of customer at the out-ports, in the year 1784, we were made acquainted with by two accounts transmitted pursuant to our precepts—the one, "An account of the names of the patent customers and patent controllers at the several out-ports, who made returns to the surveyor of the out-ports in the year 1784; and of those out-ports from whence no such returns were made either by the patent or deputy customer"—the other, "A list of the deputy customers at the several out-ports, who made returns to the surveyor of the out-ports in the year 1784; distinguishing those who are collectors." The use of those returns when made, we learned from the examination of Mr. Edward Dewar, the deputy surveyor of the out-ports.

"Two patent customers alone returned quarter books into the office in the year 1784. From thirty-five ports no returns were made, either by the patent or deputy customer. At many ports the collectors are the deputy customers; and if quarter books are transmitted by them in both capacities, they are but duplicates or transcripts of the same account. Thirty-five deputy customers made returns in this year, and

of that number twenty-eight were
to collectors at their respective
ports.

"The material fact, the efficacy
of application of those accounts, if
received, proved to be thus:—The
quarter books sent up, either by
the patent or deputy customers,
claim no kind of attention. The
surveyor of the out-ports, relying
upon those of the patent or deputy
controllers, which are returned
quarterly from every port by the
officer who acts in that office, sends
not the quarter books sent up from
the office of the customer. These
being, deemed of no import or utility,
without regard, without examina-
tion, are tied up, laid aside, and
deposited in the office.

"The observance yielded by the
patent officers at the out-ports to
the orders of the 7th of queen Eli-
zabeth, for the return of the port
books into the exchequer, we found
in our last Report, by the examina-
tion of Mr. Edward Taylor, and
the account we required of the
king's remembrancer, to be equally
defective, irregular, and uncertain;
and the returns alike disregarded,
and unproductive of benefit. The
above books and accounts, there-
fore, when returned by the custom-
er, and whether into the office of
the customs, or into the court of
exchequer, seem to us to answer no
other end than that of inconve-
niently augmenting the number of
useless and neglected records, to the
evident waste of official time, labour,
and pay.

"The coast bonds must, at the
time of their being taken by the
customer, be approved of by the
collector and controller; and the
approbation of that officer, and of
the controller, is to be signified by
their being both witnesses thereto.
These bonds, either certified or un-

certified, are to be returned into
the exchequer at certain periods;
and a list of them is at the same
time to be sent up, which it is the
duty of the collector to examine and
sign, as well as the patent officers;
and similar lists, in like manner ex-
amined and signed, are to be trans-
mitted, one to the board of customs
the other to the solicitor for coast
bonds. The whole of this service
may, it is plain, rest with the col-
lector and controller, and the inter-
ference of the customer therein be
relinquished.

"The examination of Mr. An-
thony Palmer Collings, deputy cus-
tomer outwards at the port of Bris-
tol, afforded us the means of ob-
serving the utility of the office of
customer, at a port where that of-
ficer takes as material a concern in
the conduct of this revenue as is
likely in any instance to occur. But
in that detail we find no solid and
weighty reason for the preservation,
or impediment to the discontinu-
ance, of the office of customer.
Some few parts of the coast trans-
actions excepted, the collector par-
ticipates essentially in all the busi-
ness executed by the customer at
that port. The branches now pe-
culiarly allotted to this last officer,
in exclusion of the former, may
with facility, and ought in propri-
ety, to be translated to the depart-
ment of the collector: his execution
or superintendence of the custom
business at the out-ports should be
rendered universal, and not be thus
broken in upon by the interference
of the customer, in useless repeti-
tion, of a duty performed by, or to
a deprivation of that business
which ought to belong to the col-
lector.

"If at the port of Bristol, or
any other port, from the extraor-
dinary quantity of coast business,
this

this transfer may throw too great a load upon the collector, assistance in those instances, which, if occurring must be rare, may be provided, for the purpose of conducting, in his office, that branch of duty.

"From this inquiry we think ourselves warranted in an opinion, that, however in very remote and early times the officer of customs might have been necessary or beneficial to the revenue of the customs, no such plea for the continuance of that office can be adduced at this day. It is wholly useless—ought, in consistency, to have been suppressed upon the change introduced into the customs, by the appointment of collectors, subsequent to the year 1671—and has been permitted to exist too long by above a century.

"The office of controller does not stand in a predicament any way analogous. The original duty of the controller was, to be a constant check and control upon the customer; and, as far as any service remains to this officer, he is so still: but the collector having been constituted, at every out-port, the principal officer, and invested with the trust of executing the most essential branches, and superintending the whole of the custom business, it became necessary to extend the duty of the controller, so as to render the really active officer the object of it. Accordingly, to the controller, upon his appointment, if he acts, if not, to his deputy, there is, by order of the board of customs, transmitted a copy of the collector's instructions; and that is the method used of making known to this officer his official duty.

"The controller, the second officer in rank at the port, is to have knowledge of, concern in, and joint responsibility for the execution of every part and branch of the duty commit-

ted to the collector, consequently the the office of controller is essential; but it no way conduces to the good of this revenue, and is utterly repugnant to the maxims we have adopted as just and wholesome by the public, that this office should, in most instances, consist of two component parts, the one a sinecure, unacquainted with, interfering not in, having no solicitude about, the duty, but relying by far the greater portion of the emolument; the other a subaltern, deputed by the principal to sustain the labour and conduct, and to produce all the effects of the office, upon an allotment of provision comparatively bare and scanty. While, therefore, we see the necessity of preserving the office of controller, we judge the abolition of the fruitless part thereof to be a regulation expedient and indispensable.—The office of patent controller in the out-ports should, in our opinion, be suppressed.

"The office of searcher is, like that of controller, important and necessary. The duty annexed to this office has undergone a material change since its first institution. By the appointment of separate and distinct classes of officers to conduct the inward service, the searcher, has been relieved of one division of the business which anciently appertained to him, and exports alone form the object of his present duty.

"The great outline of that duty is, to search and examine all goods and merchandize exported; to compare the description and particulars of the articles with the endorsements made by the exporter on his tickets to see that they are exact and correspondent, and that the quantity, quality, number, weight, or whatever may be the material requisites, are truly and accurately expressed. Where goods so exported are of a

species entitled to bounty or drawback, it is upon the certificate of this officer, testifying those specific circumstances of the article which give the rule for ascertaining the quantum of payment due to the exporter, that the bounty or drawback is by law payable.—A trust visibly pregnant with the most important consequences to the country, when the heavy annual sum paid or drawback out of this revenue, and the frauds and evil practices to which these species of emoluments are subject, are duly reflected upon. The office of searcher, therefore, it is requisite should remain; but, labouring, for the most part, under a similar defect with that which obtains in the office of controller, namely, a principal who does not act, and serves but to burthen the revenue, it demands a similar remedy, the discontinuance of that useless and expensive member, and the translation of the appointment and trust to an efficient officer, conducting the whole of the business, receiving all the emolument derived from the employment.—The office of patent searcher in the out-ports, would likewise, in our opinion, be discontinued.

“That it may appear what charge is entailed upon the public for maintaining officers, whom we have upon that we deem solid and indisputable ground, judged unnecessary, and that saving will accrue from their abolition, we have extracted from the account of the emoluments of the out-port officers, the sums which the patent customers, controllers, and searchers, received of the crown and subject in the year 1784; and also the payments back to the public in that year: but the regulation proposed in respect to these three offices, being of two kinds, distinct in tendency and degree, we have arranged

the officers in two classes, conformable to that distinction.

“The first comprehends the office of customer, where it is expedient the whole office should be suppressed; and, therefore, in that statement we have also included, as a charge which will term date with the office, the emoluments received by the several deputies of the customers, wherever consisting of salaries from the crown, or of payments by the subject.

“The second class contains the patent controllers and patent searchers; and the emoluments to their deputies are omitted, because the regulation reaches no farther than the sinecure branch of each office; the useful part thereof must be preserved, and the expence of a proper support for the execution of these offices, however modelled, will remain upon the public. In this class are also inserted the four patent king’s waiters at the port of Bristol, as being officers who do not act, but execute their offices by deputy.

“We have not been inattentive to this circumstance, that in the return there are ten patent officers who did not employ deputies, but discharged themselves solely the duties of their offices at their respective head ports. Two of them being customers, are entered in the first class, because every charge occasioned by that office must end with it. The remaining eight, either controllers or searchers, are not placed in the second class, for this reason, that in any mode of arrangement, provision for the discharge of that duty must be made.

“The office of customer at the out-ports, in the year 1784, cost the crown, in salaries and allowances to principals and deputies, 1,351*l.* 3*s.* 10*d.*; the subject, in the payment of of fees and gratuities, 13,236*l.* 17*s.*

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7*d.*;

7*d.*; together, 14,588*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.* The sum paid by these officers in taxes was 351*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* The net charge upon the public was 14,236*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*

“ The salaries to the patent controllers and searchers, who did not act, and to the four patent king’s waiters at the port of Bristol, amounted to 655*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* the fees and gratuities received by them, to 8,434*l.* 5*s.* 2*d.* together, 999*l.*—4*d.* They paid back in taxes 210*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.* The net charge they occasioned to the public was 8,879*l.* 12*s.* 4½*d.*

“ The total payment by the crown to these several officers, in the year 1784, was 2,006*l.* 1*s.*— by the subject, 21,671*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* together 23,678*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* the amount of taxes, 561*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.* which, deducted from 23,678*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* leaves 23,116*l.* 8*s.* 1½*d.* the real charge induced by them upon the public.

“ The light in which we have hitherto considered the existence and state of the patent offices of the customs at the out-ports, and in subservience to which we have recommended their abolition, has been one purely æconomical: but impressed as we are with a sense of the cogent necessity of introducing all practicable frugality into the administration of the finances of this kingdom, there is still another species of benefit connected with the above reform; not less entitled, in our judgment, to estimation.

“ An appointment to a patent office at an out-port, it has been shewn, conveys an official jurisdiction to that officer in respect of his office, over all the members and creeks dependant upon the head port, as well as over the head port itself.

“ By the ancient acts of parliament the customers, controllers, and searchers were to be continually resident and abiding upon their offices. In those days the ports might be few in

number, and confined to head ports; and thence an obedience to these injunctions, in their fullest sense, might have been practicable. At present the head ports are twenty; and the member ports and creeks, together, eighty-four. Should there be a disposition on the part of the patent officers to act themselves (which did not appear to be the fact in the year 1784), their execution of their duty must bear a very limited proportion to the extent of their offices.

“ As the system now stands, these officers appoint their deputies at all the ports and creeks under their respective jurisdiction; and it is in virtue of such appointment that the several offices are holden, and the business transacted. Upon the death, resignation, or removal of a patent officer, none of his deputies appear to be regularly and legally authorized to act, until a successor be appointed, and unless re-appointed by him. Upon the death, resignation, or removal of a deputy, no appointment of a successor can, according to the regular and legal form, take place but by a deputation from the patentee.

“ A dominion of this kind, vested in any officer belonging to an office such as the customs, and in an office seldom bearing any share in, ignorant of, and unconcerned about, the duties of his office; generally residing at a distance from it; possibly absent from the kingdom; seemed to us to offend against all good order and sound principle; to make the office subordinate to the officer; and to lead to consequences mischievous to the revenue and dangerous for the public. Upon inquiry, it proved that these evils did not rest in possibility or apprehension: very recent and striking instances of their existence were produced to us.

“ In the year 1784, the deputy controller at the port of Liverpool died. The patent controller

Chief

Chesler, the head port, of which Liverpool is a member, was then in the East Indies, and, consequently, an appointment by him of a deputy must have been a work of considerable time. This was represented, by the board of customs, in a memorial to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury; who, to prevent this important office from remaining vacant, did, by their warrant to the commissioners of the customs, dated the 5th day of January 1785, authorize and require them to depute a person, therein, named, to be deputy controller at the port of Liverpool, upon his giving security to the crown in the like sum as was given by his predecessor in office: but the bond of the late deputy to his principal was not to be found; no entry of such bonds being made in the office, the penalty could not be ascertained; the appointment was delayed; and at length the board of customs were obliged to settle the quantum of penalty, upon the information of an officer at the port, of what was the security given by the late deputy. Another inconvenience attended this transaction: the patentee has always been considered as responsible for his deputy; but in this instance the deputy was not appointed by him, nor with his knowledge or intervention. A similar transaction has since happened in consequence of the death of the deputy controller of the port of Lancaster, which is another member of the head port of Chesler.

"The office of searcher at the port of Shoreham we found had been vacant for near three years; owing as was apprehended, to the allowance made by the patentee to his deputy being so small, that no person proper for the office thought it worth acceptance. The signature of the searcher is essential to various documents and instruments in the course of the

custom business; and that formality is by law requisite to authorize the payment of debentures: from the want thereof, several debentures, transmitted to be paid in London, because the collector at the port had not sufficient money in his hands, were stopped in the office of the secretary for some months; and the exporter had not, while we were engaged in that part of our inquiry, been yet able to procure them to be paid, owing the above circumstance.

"Occurrences like these, in a department upon the transactions of which the concerns both of revenue and commerce materially depend, are serious mischiefs, and radically to be provided against. The system of business in this office ought not to be within the reach of such evils: it should proceed in a fixed and regular course, secured from interruption. The accidental presence or absence, the private arrangement, or economical convenience of an officer should have no power to suspend or disturb the movements of such an office.

"The detriment arising from this right of appointment in the patent officers does not stop here. It is of infinite moment to this revenue that none but persons well and duly qualified should be entrusted with the execution of duties as important as those of the controller and searcher. A matter of this consequence does not seem sufficiently guarded, while the power of appointing to these offices vests with the patent officers: it is not to be presumed that the welfare of the revenue will operate with them as a chief motive in that act. The emoluments they allow their deputies are in general very small. Many of their deputies are engaged in other official situations. Instances are not wanting of the same person, at the same port, being a deputy to two, or even to three

three patent officers; and thus holding offices in their natures opposed to, and incomparable with, each other. The board of customs have no interference, discretion, or authority, in these appointments. The board of treasury have only, in certain instances, a reservation of approval. There is not, we think, in this system of appointment, precaution provided equal to the trust reposed, and the consequences involved.

From the combined considerations of economy, order, and expedience, we are clearly and firmly of opinion, that the constitution of the out-ports of the customs, as far as regards the three patent officers, the customer, controller, and searcher, ought to submit to a complete change. The office of customer should be wholly at an end. The offices of controller, and searcher as patent ones, should be so likewise.

"The controllers and searchers should be officers holding their employments exactly by the same authority that the collector does his office at present; the warrant of the treasury and commission of the board of customs. The department will, by these regulations, be relieved of offices not merely superfluous and expensive, but inconvenient and adverse to the good arrangement and orderly conduct of this revenue.

Whilst we state who has appeared to us defective upon the subject of these patent offices of the customs in the out-ports, and capable of remedy, we are not unmindful of the authority by which they are holden, nor of the interests vested in them. In the discharge of our duty, we propose an official reform, as we judge, very important.—Our province goes no farther. How that reform may, most consistently with wisdom and justice, be carried into effect, is a matter for the determination of the legislature,

Should these offices be abolished, the distinction of the out-ports into head and member, as far as it depends upon the patent officers, will of consequence cease; and at once, where their deputies are now stationed, a new provision of officers, or substitutes for them, must be made. It is necessary that there should be officers at these creeks, both for the purpose of conducting the coast business, and establishing a proper preventive against illicit practices. This end may, we should think, be fully accomplished by the appointment of two officers to every such creek, holding their offices by the ordinary form of the commission of the board of customs, and invested with authority to carry on the business at present executed by the deputies to the patent officers.

"A reduction not inconsiderable, of the offices of the customs, will follow from this plan. In the year 1784, the patent officers at the out-ports, and their deputies (and some offices were then vacant), amounted together to three hundred and sixty-five.

"The office of customer suppressed, and those of controller and searcher vested only in acting officers, the number necessary to execute these two last offices, at the seventy-two ports, will be one hundred and forty-four; and of those required at the thirty-two creeks, in lieu of the deputies to the patentees, sixty-four; together, two hundred and eight. The diminution of officers, therefore, as compared with those employed in fulfilling these duties in the year 1784, will be one hundred and fifty-seven.

"What we have hitherto suggested will, we trust, tend to perfect the method of conducting this revenue at the out-port: but there is a farther regulation, in our opinion, indispensably essential to the attainment

ent of that object.—It regards the collector, the supreme officer at every out-port. Enough has been stated to demonstrate the importance of his duty: in order to give at once a full impression thereof, we shew a copy of his instructions. It would seem that great caution ought to precede the delegation of this duty; and yet, as we learn from the examinations of William Stiles esq. scarcely any is interposed. No official knowledge or experience is required. Persons utter strangers to the office, and the business of the customs, have been frequently appointed to this employment.

“The searcher, and many other officers, are, upon being nominated, put under instructions for a certain time, and after the expiration of that period, not admitted to discharge the duties of their stations, until they produce a certificate from the proper officers, of their being duly qualified. The collector enters upon his office without any such preparation. There is, that we cannot but, but one disqualification for this appointment, the having been in the service and dismissed; and but one requisite, that of giving security, by bond, to a certain amount. Where there seems to be urgent need of some reform; and that reform ought, upon precisely the same ground, to be extended to the controller, the officer next in rank and consequence.

“We think that a course of gradual rise to the office of controller at an out-port, and from that to the office of collector, to be forfeited alone by misconduct or incapacity on the part of the officer who, upon a vacancy, should stand entitled in the order of succession; commencing at, and passing through such intermediate official stations as might best suit the practical economy of the depart-

ment, is the obvious remedy for the defect adverted to, and would be a regulation highly beneficial. Such a system would secure to these two important offices, proved ability and fidelity: the revenue would be fitly managed; and the subordinate officer, having before his view a reward certain, if merited, would have the strongest motives to make himself master of his duty, and to execute it with zeal for the service.

We have, in the preceding part of this Report, stated the material facts relative to the fees taken by the officers of the customs at the out-ports. That species of payment appears, in very ancient times, to have been subject to abuse, and to have required the interposition of high authority. The fourth of Henry the Fourth, chapter the 21st, enacts, “That from henceforth they [the searchers] take of no masters of ships for their office of searching, any silver, or money, for their welcome and farewell, nor any other thing for the same, as it hath been taken and received before this time, otherwise than shall be ordained to them for their office by our lord the king.”

“Upon consulting the journals of the house of commons, we find, that at many intervals between the years, 1557 and 1626, bills were introduced into, or revived in the two houses of parliament, for the express object of avoiding the extortions and exactions of customers, controllers, searchers, and other officers or persons employed in the customs. These several bills none of them arrived at completion, but were repeatedly lost in some stage of their progress towards being perfected into a law.

“At the æra of the Restoration, the house of commons seem to have judged it requisite to institute a thorough

rough inquiry into the fees received or demanded by the officers of the customs, and to have had it in contemplation to correct or remove the defects which then subsisted, and to provide against the like evils in future, by establishing, upon definite footing, the fees to be taken at the different ports. This apparent design of parliament, commenced in execution at that period, and prosecuted at different times, during some subsequent years, was no farther matured than has been shewn; and the state in which the subject remains, evinces that the work has not since been resumed to effect.

"The system of fees now existent is, in our judgment, fundamentally imperfect.—Such a system, if rightly constituted, should have three properties:

"1st, It should conduce to the ease and accommodation of commerce.

"2d, It should offer a safe and equal source of reward to the officer.

"3d, It should be pure of all tendency injurious to the revenue.

"The observations which follow are intended to demonstrate, that the payment to the officer by fee does not accord with these principles.

"The lists of fees usually taken, returned to us by the officers of the out-ports, and of which we have annexed a portion as specimens, exhibit strongly the defects under which the subject labours in regard to the merchant. Upon a general examination of these returns, we found them full of perplexity, disagreement, and confusion. The expressions used to describe the business for which the fee is payable to the officer, are frequently so dissimilar and irreconcilable at different ports,

as to render it a matter of difficulty and in some cases of impossibility to obtain a ground for clear and certain comparison. Where such means were attainable, great variety appeared both as to the terms of the description, the amount of the sum to be paid, and the division thereof among the officers entitled; and that for the same specific service.

"This incongruity we did not find to be limited to one class of officers, to particular ports, to local circumstances and transactions rarely occurring; nor did the frequency and degree of it seem to be regulated by the proximity or distance of the ports. The dissimilarity was general; as prevalent between the head ports and the respective members and creeks dependent thereupon, as between ports separate and no way connected; among ports for which tables had been appointed by the authority of parliament, as at those having no such standard. It obtained not merely in the transactions of foreign commerce, but extended also to the coasting trade.

"The most exact inspection and comparison of the fees taken at the different out-ports, which we were able to make, furnished numerous examples of discordance and variation, few of conformity or agreement; and of this irregular system, how imperfect is the information given to the merchant, by any notice publicly affixed in the offices at the different ports, has been detailed. An acquaintance with the charge or fees at one port cannot impart a knowledge, can scarcely warrant a calculation, of the expence which may be induced by them at another port. Amidst these circumstances, the merchant, in respect of the payment by fee at

out-ports, does not, in the
 of his transactions, appear
 be guarded as he ought, against
 certainty, trouble, and imposi-

The force of this truth, as ap-
 to the port of London, is evi-
 from the examinations of Mr.
 Thomas Hubbert, Mr. William
 alter Viney, and Mr. Thomas
 ples. We also learn from the ex-
 mination of Arthur Hammond, esq.
 of the general surveyors resi-
 dent in London, and who, in exe-
 cuting the duties of his office, has
 been sent upon inspections to the
 out-ports, that frequent references,
 by order of the board of customs,
 are made to the general surveyors,
 upon complaints of the merchants
 in regard to fees, as either being ex-
 cessive, or not warranted by law;
 and that he has known the fees to
 be represented in some instances as
 uncertain and increasing in the sum:
 and complaints of a similar kind
 have been made to him when upon
 the inspecting service at the out-
 ports.

"By the examination of Mr.
 John Timothy Swainson, it ap-
 pears, that the same evils are felt
 and complained of in the planta-
 tions. In the year 1785, a memo-
 rial presented to the treasury by the
 West India merchants, and referred
 to the board of customs, states,
 among other matters, "That re-
 dress is necessary respecting the
 island custom-house officers, who
 should exact more than the esta-
 blished fees, for dispatch money, or
 on other pretences; and that such
 as shall by any means require, take,
 or receive more than the established
 fees, or cause any unnecessary delay
 to shipping, should be immediately
 proceeded against." Nor does the
 officer of the customs stand safely
 and well circumstanced touching his

emolument as derived from fees—
 His situation is perilous. We have
 shewn how far the parliamentary
 authority for that species of pay-
 ment extends.—The larger propor-
 tion of the out-ports have it not;
 and in the port of London, and at
 those ports where there are tables
 so sanctioned, the contents of them
 are very limited, and totally inap-
 plicable to the business and officers
 of this time.

"All fees are prohibited, except
 such as have been established by par-
 liament. Some of the officers have
 no salaries: many have salaries too
 small as not to afford common sup-
 port. Thus placed they must, by
 taking fees forbidden by law, offend
 against their duty, and risque the
 consequences; or endure an official
 situation whence the means of liveli-
 hood cannot be derived. Those
 consequences are heavy: they go to
 loss of employment, incapacity of
 being readmitted into the service,
 and other penalties. Here the of-
 ficer seems to be placed in a hard
 and improper alternative:—and the
 danger is not the only evil. The
 fee, in various other particulars,
 operates inexpediently by him. The
 mode itself of receiving a stipend
 by very small sums is troublesome,
 and not always convenient for busi-
 ness. Where one officer (as often
 happens) collects the fees due to an-
 other, that transaction may beget
 distrust; and, accordingly, com-
 plaints are sometimes made by of-
 ficer against officer, for fees taken
 and withheld.

"The income dependant upon
 fees is precarious and unequal: it
 may be greatly injured, and nearly
 lost, by the diminution of parti-
 cular business, by new regulations,
 or other causes: a material diversity
 in the emoluments of officers in the
 same station and trust may thereby
 be

be created. The inconvenience we advert to extends farther. A payment by fee not only occasions (except where all the fees received are carried to a common stock, and equally divided) disparity of profit among the same class of officers, but it serves to break down the uniformity of emolument between officers acting in branches of the department distinct from each other, yet equal in official rank, and those other circumstances which form the title to, and ought to fix the standard of reward. Instances are not wanting, where, by means of the same operation, the income of the subordinate officer is carried greatly beyond that of the superior. These effects are, we think, subversive of a just equality in the distribution of recompence, and unfavourable to the proper gradation of office.

"The objections which we have in this general way stated, are not built upon hypothesis: they are founded upon fact, and illustrations of them contained in the accounts of the emoluments of the officers of the customs, annexed the one to our last, the other to this Report.

"We have hitherto, in considering the subject of fees, fixed our attention upon the merchant and the officer; and it seems obvious that for the advantage of both some material change therein is requisite.

"If the view extended no farther, it might become a matter of deliberation, whether a revision and amendment of the system might not be feasible and sufficient: but a third consideration, which must outweigh all others, does, in our opinion, demand the total abolition of this mode of payment to the officers—we mean, the good of the revenue.

"The office of the customs exists for the purpose of a great and

important collection from the subject.—The officer holds his employment by the immediate appointment of, or through the intervention of some authority originally flowing from the crown.—The main scope of his executive duty is to secure the just payment of the sums due upon different articles of commerce, and to enforce a compliance with the requisites ordained by law. An officer so appointed, and for such an end, ought, in consistency and prudence, to reap the compensation for his services solely from the power whence his authority is delegated, and to the use of which the produce of his labours is applied. It is not we think, proper or safe, that his emoluments should proceed from any other source than the crown or national treasure.

"The revenue of the customs however considerable in the aggregate, rests, and must rest, in origin materially upon the integrity and diligence of officers not high in the official scale. The vigilant guard of the ship, from her arrival in port until the legal duties payable upon all her cargo have been satisfied, and the ascertaining faithfully and accurately the weight, number, quantity, quality, or whatever may be the rule for fixing the amount of the duty due upon the article of commerce, are the main operations which secure and determine the receipt. The officer in discharging these trusts, as well as those upon which the diminution of the receipt by bounty or drawback depends, is continually placed in a situation where the rights of the public, and the interests of the individual, are opposed. In some transactions he has specially the exercise of a discretionary judgment, and in the general course of the business much is in his power.

"With

"With whatever strictness a line of conduct under these circumstances may be watched, it behoves, as a primary precaution, to fix the mode of reward upon the purest foundation. The practice of allowing the officer to be paid by the merchant, for the performance of official business, appears to be repugnant to that maxim. It occasions an intercourse unfit and dangerous, and brings them into a mutual relation, in which they should never stand. Habits of pecuniary obligation or exchange of private interests, ought not to mingle with the execution of such public duty. The subsistence of the officer who collects revenue, should in no wise depend upon the person who contributes. By these observations, we would not be thought to convey imputation upon any officer or class of officers.—We have no instances of misconduct in view.—We reason upon general truths.

"It is not to be overlooked, that the fee has in itself an inherent defect. That method of payment cannot be so adjusted as to bear exact proportion to the value of the subject which it affects. The fee is a given sum paid upon a certain document, or for a certain service: whether it be upon an entry, or by the package, or tale, or such like measure, the different value of the goods does not produce any corresponding variation in the fee. And this is not barely a speculative imperfection; it has hurtful consequences. We have it in evidence, that orders, when but to small amount, have been very frequently left unexecuted on account of the heaviness of the fees which must have been paid upon them; and, farther, that these orders, there was great reason to believe, were thereby di-

verted into the channels of foreign trade.

"The principle which has determined our judgment upon the inexpediency of admitting the payment by fee to the officer of the customs, applies in equal force to the recompence or gratuity.

"The gratuity, as by nature less definite than the fee, is, where usage has not corrected that defect, more faulty. But this kind of discrimination matters little. Our position, if solid, can allow of no exception. It is true that the service for which the gratuity is payable is special, and out of the ordinary course. The legislature has, however, authorized the attendance of the officer at times and places not required by law, as a proper and necessary accommodation for trade; and it seems meet that the execution of such business should be made a part of his regular duty, and the reward thereof be provided for in the annual stipend allotted to him.

"We are accordingly of opinion, that every payment by fee or gratuity, or in any shape whatsoever, by the merchant or others to the officer, for or on account of business done in the discharge of his official duty, ought to be abolished throughout the whole department of the customs; and that the reward of the officer (except in what arises from seizures) should be by salary alone.

"If this regulation be adopted, a provision for the officer, in lieu of the emolument he now derives from fees and gratuities, must be made. That charge must either be borne by the revenue of the customs, or, if to remain upon the merchant, some equal and convenient method must be devised, whereby persons transacting business with the office may sup-

supply a fund for that purpose. Whether with the load of debt that presses upon the country, the total exoneration of commerce from this incumbrance might, by the many beneficial effects to foreign and domestic trade which must follow, sufficiently countervail and compensate for the increase of public expence thence induced, is one of those high matters to be reserved for the deliberation of the legislature, and on which we do not presume to offer an opinion.

" If the merchant is to have his business in the office of the customs transacted gratuitously, or if he is, by a substitute for fees, still to pay on account of the revenue what has hitherto been taken of him for the benefit of the officer, the change introduced will in either case be great. And it will no doubt be an object with the superintending branches of the department, to have the utmost care that the introduction of a system unsupported by former habits, and placing the officer and the merchant in a new relative situation, may not obstruct or lessen any of the fair official accommodations to trade now permitted.

" We have proposed that a fixed annual salary should become the sole reward to the officer of the customs for executing the duty of his office. That salary ought, we think, in every instance to be a compensation fully adequate to the employment. We do not thereby mean any arrangement tending to the profuse disposal of public money or the concession of unnecessary advantage to the officer.—We mean such an appointment as shall be judged reasonable and competent, due regard being had to the talents or industry required, the trust com-

mitted, the responsibility annexed, and the station in office and life of the person employed. And this, we deem, is strictly consistent with sound economy, which manifests itself, not by withholding from the efficient servant of the public a proper return for his service, and the fair means of support, but by suppressing useless offices, reducing overgrown emoluments, striking unnecessary expences, and modelling every department upon such a plan, that each officer shall have a fit and sufficient portion of duty assigned to him, and all needless superfluity in the number of officers maintained be rejected.—A salary estimated by this just and liberal standard will, in our opinion, be finally for the safety and welfare of the revenue; whilst to admit the pressure of necessity, upon situations exposed to frequent temptation, and affording easy opportunities of yielding thereto, can hardly be reconciled to prudence or humanity.

" The institution of one plain salary to the officer, will be attended with another good effect: it will simplify the mode of reward in the office. We found it complicated and perplexed, consisting often, in the portion of it derived from the crown of various minute payments by salary, and of different poundages and allowances allotted to particular services, and paid under special authorities to the same officer.—Distinctions of no use, and serving to multiply and subdivide account. Nothing ought to be more clear, and speedily ascertainable than the charge upon the public, and the profit to the officer, arising from any employment. How little the system now obtaining in the customs is suited to this kind of precision, appears

apparent from the detail given at the beginning of this Report. More than a twelve month elapsed before the office could furnish us with a complete account of the emoluments of the officers for one year.

"As the stipend to the officer should in the first instance be in a simple form, so it ought, we think, to be exempt from all subsequent deductions upon public account. The practice of issuing a sum, to receive back a portion thereof after that portion has been subject to a circuit, to delay, and diminution from charges of collection, seems to be inconsistent and unthrifty. In respect of the payment for the land tax made by many of the officers, this incongruity goes farther. The annual contributions to that tax, by officers whose salaries do not exceed sixty pounds a year, are again paid them out of the duties of the customs; and thus this process of payment and repayment is carried one stage farther, in reality to no other effect than the transfer of a certain portion of the produce of the custom revenue to that derived from land. The sums in this way paid and repaid are to an amount not inconsiderable. From two accounts procured by us, it appears that the sum paid out of the duties of the customs, for the land tax assessed on the salaries of the officers of the customs in the port of London, for the year 1784, was 823*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* and that the sum paid out of the duties of the customs, for the land tax assessed on the salaries of the officers of the customs at the out-ports; for the year 1784, was 8,842*l.* — 10*½d.* together, 9,665*l.* 9*s.* 6*½d.*

"If the present distinctions and appropriations of the national funds should be thought to require the continuance, in the office of the cus-

toms, of the contributions to the land tax, the shilling and sixpenny duties, the most compendious method of accomplishing that end will be, in the first instance, to fix the salaries of the officers at such a rate as to allow for those payments being charged upon the revenue; and to pay out of the custom duties in totals the sums due upon the emoluments of the officers to these three respective collections — A mode which will be rendered easy, when the salary becomes the sole source of emolument.

"The examinations taken with a view to collect the practical observations of trade upon the objects then immediately before us; among various matters; of which some have been already discussed; and others, as regarding the executive duty of particular officers, may, we think, with propriety be referred to the attention of the presiding power in the department, contain one subject of so general and important a nature as to merit special consideration. — We advert to the holidays observed in the customs. The disadvantages occasioned to trade by their frequency have been stated: they are; upon the strong concurrent testimony of experience, numerous and great.

"A subject like commerce, of necessity depending in its movements upon many inevitable contingencies, such as winds, tides; seasons; and peculiarly liable to injury from being retarded in its progress, and compelled to forego the favourable occasion, ought, it should seem, when regulations are directed to it, to have every indulgence and accommodation not incompatible with the end of those regulations.

"The wants of the country have made it necessary to impose a variety

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of burthens upon different articles of merchandize; and whatever official delay, formality, and other cautionary interposition, are expedient for the safe and regular conduct of this system, so as to secure produce, and effect the other objects comprehended therein; of these a most exact and unvarying observance must be maintained. This, and no more, public utility appears to require. Any needless clog or restraint upon the free course and dispatch of commercial business must, we deem, in a nation deriving, to the degree this does, strength and pre-eminence from the operations of trade, be repugnant to general good.—The holidays kept in the customs are seemingly in this predicament: they are forty-five in number; and if from the year the fifty-two days set apart for public worship be deducted, they form a considerable portion of the time allotted for work.

“ We farther find, that these holidays, in their prejudicial influence, do not act upon trade alone; they are, in one striking instance, fraught with evil tendency to the revenue. The legislature have, by the 13th and 14th of Charles the Second, an act made for the express purpose of preventing frauds and regulating abuses in the customs, confined within specific limits the time admitted between the arrival of a vessel from parts beyond the seas, and the reporting her contents and lading. When holidays intervene, as the report cannot then be made, this limitation is extended, and a most indispensable legislative precaution is so far defeated; thereby impairing the fences against unlawful acts, and opening a very dangerous inlet to fraudulent and evil practices. It is also probable, that holidays, by delaying the loading or unloading

of ships, and occasioning the absence of many of the officers from their stations, may, at those times, in various ways, increase or facilitate the means of carrying on the same illicit proceedings.

“ These forcible objections to the frequent observance of holidays in this office present themselves. It is plain that few of them are at present applied to those services of religion for which they were originally instituted; and therefore the necessity of their preservation cannot stand upon that ground. According to the suggestions of our judgment, they can, if at all useful, be so but in one of these two ways; either for the system of office, or for the officer. If holidays are wanted as occasional cessations from public work, to afford an opportunity for revising, bringing up, adjusting and completing parts of the official business, which are not perfected in the course of constant daily transaction, and which would, by remaining behind, interrupt order; or at intervals of rest and relaxation to the officer, that he may thereby be enabled to go through the labour of his employment effectually for the service—these are considerations of weight and solidity. However the former reason, should it at all obtain, must be partial, and prevalent only in certain lines of the business; and it is not to be conceived but that such arrangements within the department might be introduced, would serve to obviate that difficulty. In respect to the latter, it seems a posite to remark, that a given annual quantity of business to be performed, may as to execution be brought into a smaller compass of time, but cannot substantially be diminished by the operation of holidays. That kind of suspension from

work must create a consequent excess of it: the officer, previously raised, is in the result called upon for greater effort: and when holidays happen together, or near to each other, and at busy periods (in a department where the entries inwards in the port of London have in one day amounted to about four hundred), an extreme of hurry, toil, and anxiety, may be induced, highly burthenfome upon the officer himself, and not advantageous to the business, which is in all lines best conducted under an equal and regular division of labour.

"Of the thirty-one holidays annually kept in the customs under the authority of the legislature, twenty-seven are established by the 5th and 6th of Edward the Sixth, chapter the 3d—an act framed almost two centuries and a half ago. That act, governed as it must have been by the lights and manners of the age, has this remarkable clause; that it shall be lawful to every husbandman, labourer, fisherman, and to all and every other person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition he or they be, upon the holidays aforesaid, in harvest, or at any other time of the year when necessary shall require, to labour, ride, trim, or work any kind of work, at their free wills and pleasure; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding. Had commerce been exhibited to the understanding of our ancestors, in the enlarged form, and with the important combinations, under which we behold that subject, probably it would have been distinguished by a due place in this spirit of provisional wisdom, against the hindrance of labour or business useful to the state.

"The act of the 6th and 7th of William the Third, in some measure

supplied what was wanting in this ancient law, by permitting the officer of the customs, upon urgent occasions, to work at times not legally required of him, in consideration of a recompence made by the merchant for such service. A farther progress in the same direction would be consistent with the ripened policy and advanced state of things at this day.

"Since, therefore, on the one hand, there does not appear to be any essential necessity for continuing the holidays in the customs in their present number; and, on the other hand, their observance may be productive of evil to the revenue, and is highly inconvenient and detrimental to trade, with the extension or decrease of which the custom receipt must augment or diminish, we are of opinion, that a regulation rendering these holidays less numerous would be to national benefit.

"The restriction of the annual holidays in the customs to the great festivals, and a few memorable anniversaries; or a reduction of them, upon the principle of preventing their happening near to each other (Sunday being regarded as one), and of their being rejected at the seasons when the bulk of the import or export trade is transacting, might either of them suffice, and the mode judged most expedient be adopted.

"We thought it to be our duty thus to submit to the wisdom of the legislature what has occurred to us upon a subject which arose in the course of our inquiries, and relates to matters of high public concern.

"In pursuing the expenditure incurred in the management of this revenue for the year 1784, the plan upon which the cruising vessels of the customs are supported, came under our observation. We found the cruizers maintained either upon the

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establishment, or by contract; and the contracts of two kinds. It is not for us to judge which of these different modes of maintenance, or whether a plan like the present mixed and comprehending each of them, is best adapted to the nature and exigencies of the service, and most for the public advantage: to the board of customs, where the aids of past experience are united with continual practical knowledge on the subject (the true means of determining), that decision properly belongs. But observing one part of the system which appears to us defective in principle, upon that we consider ourselves bound to remark. It is this: the contracts entered into for the cruizers are, many of them, made with the collectors and controllers (together or separately) of the ports at which the vessels are respectively stationed. Of twenty-four cruizers employed by contract in the year 1784, not less than sixteen were thus circumstanced. We apprehend it to be an obvious truth, that no interest in the performance of a service ought to vest in the person whose duty it is to control the execution thereof: the union of these two trusts is not to be confided in; an official self-control seems to be practically a contradiction, and a thing impossible.—The application intended is plain.

“The cruising service in the customs imports much to the revenue and fair trade of the country: that it may be conducted to best effect, depends upon many concurrences; as, the proper outfit of the vessel, the repair and state in which she is kept, the number and condition of her men, her plying her station diligently, and other particulars of a like kind. The superintendence and check, at the out-ports over most if not the whole of this combination, reside with the collectors and

controllers; these officers are either to be informed of, inspect, examine, report, or certify upon the several circumstances relative to the performance of, and expenditure attending this service.

“It appears possible that the crown and the contractor, though the clear produce of the seizure made by the cruizer is for their common benefit, may, in previous instances, have their interests tending different ways. For example, savings in the repairs or victualling of the vessel; a complement of men short of the number allowed by and charged to the crown; a regard to the safety of the vessel herself in hazardous weather (and other cases might be put), may, it should seem, in one or the other species of contract, be made to operate to the prejudice of the revenue, and the advantage of the contractor; and, what is not the least material consideration, the efficacy of a principal instrument, used for the repression of very pernicious acts, thereby be diminished.

“It is not on any supposed prevalence of such ill consequences that our reasoning is built. We do not know that they exist. We look solely to these positions—that every check should stand upon ground perfectly free from any interested connection with the subject to be checked; and, that all official arrangement ought to preclude the opening for injury to the public service. Therefore we think, that unless some very powerful cause obtains for adhering to the present practice, no collector, controller, or officer belonging to the customs should be admitted to contract for or to have share or concern in, the contracts made for the cruising vessels to be employed in the service of this revenue.

“In our last Report we recommended

ended the suppression of several inferior treasuries in the customs; as also, of the offices supported for the purpose of controlling or passing the accounts kept in those treasuries. In these various offices, we found, extended in order that the produce arising out of seizures and fines might be kept distinct from the custom duties in all the stages of receipt, payment, and audit of account. That distinction, as repugnant to uniformity, perspicuity, and economy, we thought, ought to be discontinued; and, in place thereof, the treasury, and one control, to be established.

"The necessity of such regulation has been farther confirmed to us. The accounts in every public office ought to be so constructed, as to exhibit, if coming under the view of parliament, a complete statement of all receipt and expenditure within the department. By the practice of distinguishing these two sources of revenue in the customs, this end is counteracted. An account of the gross and net produce of the customs, we learn from the examination of Mr. Joshua Powell, is not presented regularly to parliament, but only upon special requisition.

"When an order, pursuant to that requisition, comes to the board of customs, they, by their minute, direct the controller general to make out and present the account required: and no other account is made out, by any officer of the customs, in consequence of the requisition. The controller general includes in the account, all he can include, the gross receipt of the custom duties, and the payments therefrom. The produce arising from seizures and fines, and the payments out of that produce, he cannot insert: they are

not within his cognizance or control.

"By the examination of Mr. John Bassin, first clerk to the accountant of petty receipts, in whose office the account of seizures is passed, we find, that, upon consulting the books in his office, it does not appear that any account has ever been delivered to parliament of the produce of seizures, fines, and forfeitures, for London and the out-ports, with the various payments for management made out of that produce, and the payments into the exchequer. Thence it follows, that no perfect and entire state of the produce and expenditure of this office is laid before parliament, or can be, whilst the present mode of forming and obtaining the account is preserved.

"In the year 1784, the payments into the exchequer, out of the king's net share of seizures and fines, by the two receivers of fines and forfeitures, and the solicitors of the customs, amounted together to 25,961*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* their payments for charges of management, together with those made by the collectors at the out-ports out of the king's net share of seizures, to 69,659*l.* 4*s.* —. Sums which would not have appeared had the general account of the customs for the year been called for. And this defect the more requires to be corrected, in as much as the system of directing the various charges incident to this revenue upon the fund arising out of seizures and fines, has of late been gaining ground. We are informed by Mr. John Mills, that a considerable part of the incidental expences of the customs, which used to be paid by the receiver general, has for some time past been paid by the receiver of fines and forfeitures for the out-ports.

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"Accounts laid before parliament become the subject for deliberations and proceedings of high national concern: they should comprehend the full means of information. The defect we are observing upon not only prevents that information from being complete; but it may serve to mislead, and give rise to erroneous conclusions: for, whilst the total charges of management stated in the controller general's account may, comparatively with those of former years, be decreasing, the real expence of managing this revenue, including the payments made out of the king's net share of seizures and fines, and which do not appear in the general account, may augment.

"We are, therefore, of opinion, that the reform we suggested, of bringing all receipt and payment into the office of the receiver general, and of extending the control of the controller general to the produce of seizures and fines, in the same way that it now operates upon the custom duties, is urgently wanted, and should, without delay, be carried into execution.

"To induce consistency throughout the forms of framing and passing the accounts in this revenue, a regulation is necessary respecting the plantation accounts. We are informed by Mr. Joshua Powell, that the accounts of the duties received, and the payments out of them, in the plantations, have never been passed in the exchequer, but by the controller general, under the authority of the board of customs: they were not made out in a manner so as to be compatible with the forms of the exchequer: they have, within these two or three years, been put upon such a footing, that they

might go through those forms, if the balances depending could be admitted at any given period. These balances are now open for more than a century. No evil could arise from admitting them at any period; for if they were afterwards found to be erroneous, the collectors might be surcharged in cases where sums were due to the public, and have credit where balances were due to them.

"It seems therefore right, that proper authority should be given to take these balances at the period most convenient for the account. The controller general will be enabled to include in the general account of the customs, when required by parliament, the gross receipts and the payments at the plantations; whereas hitherto no more of the receipt and expenditure has been inserted than the sum brought to account by the receiver general, and the charges on the head of the plantations paid in England. Thus simplicity and unity, qualities essential to the apt and expedient conduct of business, peculiarly that of account, and where the transactions are of magnitude, will be introduced into some of the most material branches of this great department.

"We here conclude our researches into the customs—an office which has employed much of our time and labour, and engaged us in three successive Reports.

"Various matters of moment have, in the pursuit of that object, been brought under our consideration. Our duty has called upon us for opinions on subjects extensive and intricate: those opinions have frequently terminated in suggestions subversive of forms long established

PUBLIC PAPERS. (183)

introductory of material change in the system; wide and powerful in effect.

"In executing a work thus arduous, we have not shrunk from the pains of enquiry;—we have attentively and perseveringly examined; cautiously and deliberately weighed:—we have used the best lights of our understanding to judge

right, and endeavoured to render service to the public.

A. PIGGOTT, (L. S.)

RICHARD NEAVE, (L. S.)

SAM. BEACHCROFT, (L. S.)

GEO. DRUMMOND, (L. S.)

WILLIAM ROE, (L. S.)

Office of Accounts,

Surrey Street,

19th December, 1786.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1789.

NAVY.

MARCH 17.

F OR 26,000 men, including 3860 marines	£. s. d.
	1,040,000 0 0
MAY 21.	
Ordinary, including half-pay	713,000 0 0
Extraordinaries	575,570 0 0
	2,328,570 0 0

ARMY.

MARCH 17.

For 17,448 men, as guards and garrisons	638,562 14
Forces in the plantations	315,915 8
Deficiency in the difference between the British and Irish establishment for 1788	2,891 17
Difference between ditto for 1789	8,245 10
Forces in the East Indies	11,435 12
Deficiency in full pay of superannuated officers for 1788	1,023 11
Full pay to ditto for 1789	10,871 14
General and general staff-officers	6,409 8
To the postmaster general, &c.	63,043 5
Reduced officers of the land forces and marines	172,787 5
Ditto horse guards	212 14
Officers late in the Dutch service	3,392 14
Reduced officers of British American forces	55,092 10
Allowances to several ditto	4,907 10
Officers widows	9,943 3
Hessian subsidy	36,093 15
Chelsea pensioners	177,465 0
MAY 28.	
Extraordinaries for 1788	398,769 1
	1,917,062 17

ORDNANCE.

MARCH 17.

Five companies of military artificers	9,620 6
Land service for 1789	220,576 15

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1789.

PUBLIC PAPERS. (185)

	MARCH 19.	£.	s.	d.
Land service not provided for in 1788	—	9,306	4	1
Extraordinaries for 1789	—	218,017	6	4
One company of military artificers	—	1,924	1	8
		459,444	7	9

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

	MARCH 17.			
Scotch roads and bridges	—	4,000	0	0
	APRIL 28.			
British museum	—	3,000	0	0
	MAY 28.			
To discharge exchequer bills	—	5,500,000	0	0
Commissioners of American claims	—	2,111	0	6
American sufferers	—	41,559	4	0
Bills drawn by the governors of Nova Scotia, the Bahama Islands, and New Brunswick	—	1,286	19	9½
Ditto by the commissary at New South Wales	—	2,075	6	1
American and East Florida sufferers	—	313,659	2	5
Address money	—	34,370	1	4
Convicts at Plymouth and on the Thames	—	56,598	7	9
Clerk to the commissioners of fees and offices	—	761	8	0
Secretary of the commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves	—	500	0	0
Commissioners of crown lands	—	3,000	0	0
Secretary of the commissioners of the East Florida Claims	—	900	0	0
Ditto of American loyalists	—	4,693	8	6
Civil establishment of Nova Scotia	—	6,218	17	6
Ditto of New Brunswick	—	5,400	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Island	—	1,900	0	0
Ditto of Cape Breton	—	2,100	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	—	1,182	10	0
Ditto of the Bahama Islands	—	4,080	0	0
Ditto of New South Wales	—	2,877	10	0
Chief Justice of Dominica	—	600	0	0
Ditto of the Bermuda Islands	—	580	0	0
	JUNE 15.			
Secret service-money abroad	—	191,342	13	0
Carleton house	—	35,200	0	0
African forts	—	13,000	0	0
	JULY 7.			
To John Reader, esq. a compensation for his loss by dismantling of an iron foundry in Jamaica, in 1782, by order of sir Archibald Campbell	—	3,000	0	0
	JULY 20.			
Prosecution of Warren Hastings, esq.	—	20,312	6	4
		6,256,309	2	2½

(186) PUBLIC PAPERS.

DEFICIENCIES.

JUNE 15.

Deficiency of last year's grants

£. s. d.
331,649 18 3½

	£.	s.	d.
Navy	2,328,570	0	0
Army	1,917,062	17	9½
Ordnance	459,444	7	9
Miscellaneous Services	6,256,309	2	2½
Deficiencies	331,649	18	3½
	11,293,036	6	1½

WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies for 1783.

MARCH 23.

Land-tax and malt duty 2,750,000 0 0

JUNE 11.

A tontine 1,002,500 0 0
 Annuities for 18½ years, from April 5, 1789 187,000 0 0
 Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets at 15l. 8s. 7½ d. 271,562 10 0
 Exchequer bills 5,500,000 0 0
 Surplus of consolidated fund 1,530,000 0 0

JULY 21.

Balance in the hands of the paymaster general 398,769 0 0

11,639,831 10 0

11,293,036 6 1½

Excess of Ways and Means £. 346,795 3 10½

NEW TAXES.

Additional halfpenny on newspapers 28,000 0 0
 fixpence on advertisements 9,000 0 0
 duty on cards and dice 9,000 0 0
 probates and wills 18,261 0 0
 legacies to collateral relations only 5,000 0 0
 duties on carriages and horses 41,739 0 0
 111,000 0 0

Public

Public Acts passed in the Sixth Session of the Sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

March 24.

The mutiny bill.
Act for regulating the marine forces while on shore.
American intercourse bill.

April 8.

Land tax act.
Malt duty act.

May 19.

Militia pay and clothing bill.
Act to repeal the duty on shops.
Act to suspend, for a limited time, an act of last sessions, for the better securing of the rights of freeholders at county elections, and for indemnifying the persons appointed to carry it into execution.
Act for repealing the said act of last session.

Act for the importation of bread, flour, corn, &c. from the United States of America into the province of Quebec.

Act to continue an act for the encouraging of the arts of designing and printing linens, &c.

June 24.

Act to amend the hawkers and pedlars act.
Act to incorporate certain persons under the name of the Northumberland fishery.

July 13.

Two acts for raising money by exchequer bills.
The lottery bill.
Act for raising money by short annuities.
Ditto by a tontine.
Act for repealing the duties on spirits, &c. in Scotland
Act to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for public offices, &c.
Act for allowing further time for

the enrollment of the deeds and wills of papists, &c.

Act to prevent the wilful burning and destroying ships, or destroying any woollen, linen, silk, or other goods in Scotland.

Act for granting additional duties on horses and carriages.

Ditto on probates of wills, letters of administration, receipts for legacies, &c.

Ditto on newspapers, advertisements, cards, and dice.

Act for the more effectual encouragement of the manufacture of flax and cotton.

Act respecting the importation and exportation of corn, starch, rape-seed, &c.

Act to explain the American intercourse bill.

Act to regulate the Newfoundland, Greenland, and Southern whale fisheries.

Act to regulate the trade of pawn-brokers.

August 11.

Act respecting piece goods wove in this kingdom, persons licensed to retail spirituous liquors, &c.

Act for allowing a drawback on the exportation of tea to Guernsey, &c.

Act for appointing commissioners to enquire into the emoluments of the officers of the customs in Scotland.

Act for continuing for a time the slave-trade regulating bill.

Act for appointing commissioners to enquire further into the losses of the American loyalists.

Act for the more effectual executing the laws respecting gaols.

Act to enable the East India company to raise money by further increasing their capital stock.

Act for repealing the duties on tobacco and snuffs, and granting new duties in lieu thereof.

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1789.

N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the Course of any Month are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock	13 per c. red.	3 ditto conf.	4 p. c. 15 p. c. conf.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Ann.	India Stock	India bonds	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Excheq. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 169 1/2 170 1/2 }	{ 72 1/2 73 1/2 }	{ 71 1/2 74 1/2 }	{ 92 1/2 93 1/2 }	{ 109 1/2 113 1/2 }	{ 21 1/2 21 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 161 1/2 166 1/2 }	{ 70 78 }	{ 80 1/2 82 1/2 }	{ 71 1/2 72 1/2 }	{ 70 1/2 71 1/2 }	{ 23 28 }	{ 15 8 0 16 3 8 }
Feb.	{ 169 1/2 175 1/2 }	{ 72 1/2 74 1/2 }	{ 71 1/2 74 1/2 }	{ 92 1/2 96 1/2 }	{ 109 1/2 113 1/2 }	{ 21 1/2 22 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 162 166 }	{ 70 75 }	{ 80 1/2 83 1/2 }	{ 72 1/2 74 1/2 }	{ 71 1/2 72 1/2 }	{ 22 25 }	{ 14 18 0 15 18 0 }
Mar.	{ 173 1/2 176 1/2 }	{ 74 1/2 75 1/2 }	{ 73 1/2 74 1/2 }	{ 95 1/2 96 1/2 }	{ 113 1/2 114 1/2 }	{ 22 1/2 22 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 165 169 1/2 }	{ 74 78 }	{ 83 1/2 84 1/2 }	{ 73 1/2 74 1/2 }	{ 73 1/2 73 1/2 }	{ 23 25 }	
Apr.	{ 173 1/2 176 1/2 }	{ 73 1/2 75 1/2 }	{ 74 1/2 75 1/2 }	{ 94 1/2 96 1/2 }	{ 113 1/2 114 1/2 }	{ 22 1/2 22 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 168 169 1/2 }	{ 73 80 }	{ 85 1/2 86 1/2 }	{ 73 1/2 73 1/2 }	{ 73 1/2 74 1/2 }	{ 26 30 }	
May	{ 173 1/2 179 1/2 }	{ 74 1/2 76 1/2 }	{ 74 1/2 77 1/2 }	{ 94 1/2 97 1/2 }	{ 114 1/2 116 1/2 }	{ 22 1/2 22 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 168 1/2 170 1/2 }	{ 78 85 }	{ 85 1/2 86 1/2 }	{ 73 1/2 75 1/2 }	{ 74 1/2 76 1/2 }	{ 29 30 }	
June	{ 176 1/2 180 1/2 }	{ 75 1/2 77 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 77 1/2 }	{ 95 1/2 97 1/2 }	{ 115 1/2 116 1/2 }	{ 22 1/2 22 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 169 1/2 174 1/2 }	{ 78 85 }	{ 86 1/2 86 1/2 }	{ 74 1/2 76 1/2 }	{ 75 1/2 75 1/2 }	{ 29 30 }	
July	{ 179 1/2 185 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 79 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 79 1/2 }	{ 97 1/2 99 1/2 }	{ 115 1/2 117 1/2 }	{ 22 1/2 23 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 170 1/2 175 1/2 }	{ 81 100 }	{ 85 1/2 87 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 79 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 78 1/2 }	{ 30 33 }	{ 15 16 6 15 18 0 }
Aug.	{ 184 1/2 191 1/2 }	{ 78 1/2 80 1/2 }	{ 78 1/2 79 1/2 }	{ 98 1/2 99 1/2 }	{ 115 1/2 116 1/2 }	{ 23 1/2 23 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 14 1/2 }	{ 173 1/2 179 1/2 }	{ 97 107 }	{ 86 1/2 88 1/2 }	{ 78 1/2 79 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 78 1/2 }	{ 36 60 }	{ 15 16 0 16 1 6 }
Sept.	{ 189 1/2 194 1/2 }	{ 79 1/2 82 1/2 }	{ 79 1/2 81 1/2 }	{ 99 1/2 104 1/2 }	{ 116 1/2 122 1/2 }	{ 23 1/2 24 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 14 1/2 }	{ 175 1/2 178 1/2 }	{ 99 109 }	{ 88 1/2 90 1/2 }	{ 79 1/2 80 1/2 }	{ 78 1/2 80 1/2 }	{ 58 60 }	{ 15 18 0 16 1 6 }
Oct.	{ 183 1/2 191 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 80 1/2 }	{ 78 1/2 80 1/2 }	{ 97 1/2 102 1/2 }	{ 117 1/2 118 1/2 }	{ 23 1/2 23 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 176 1/2 179 1/2 }	{ 102 107 }	{ 88 1/2 89 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 78 1/2 }	{ 78 1/2 79 1/2 }	{ 57 59 }	{ 15 18 0 16 0 0 }
Nov.	{ 181 1/2 183 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 78 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 79 1/2 }	{ 96 1/2 97 1/2 }	{ 118 1/2 118 1/2 }	{ 23 1/2 23 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 177 1/2 177 1/2 }	{ 101 110 }	{ 87 1/2 88 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 77 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 77 1/2 }	{ 55 57 }	{ 15 16 6 16 1 0 }
Dec.	{ 181 1/2 181 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 76 1/2 }	{ 77 1/2 77 1/2 }	{ 97 1/2 97 1/2 }	{ 117 1/2 117 1/2 }	{ 23 1/2 23 1/2 }	{ 13 1/2 13 1/2 }	{ 172 1/2 172 1/2 }	{ 105 105 }	{ 87 1/2 87 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 76 1/2 }	{ 76 1/2 76 1/2 }	{ 48 48 }	{ 15 15 0 15 15 0 }

BIOGRAPHICAL
ANECDOTES
AND
CHARACTERS.

ALPHABETICAL
RECORDS

AND

CHARACTERS

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

The LIFE of LORD CHANCELLOR COWPER.

[Extracted from the IVth Vol. of Dr. KIPPIS's Edition of the
BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.]

WILLIAM Cowper, earl Cowper, lord high Chancellor of Great Britain, was descended from an ancient family, and son to sir William Cowper, baronet, who was member of parliament for the town of Hertford, in the reigns of Charles II. and William III. He is supposed to have been born in the castle of Hertford, of which his family had been a considerable time in possession; but of the place, or time of his birth, or where he was educated, we have not been able to obtain any certain information. It appears, however, that being brought up to the study of the law, he made so great a proficiency in it, that, soon after he was called to the bar, he was chosen recorder of Colchester. His eloquence, and skill in his profession, rendered him very conspicuous in it; and in the reign of king William, he was appointed one of his majesty's council learned in the law. In 1695, he was chosen one of the representatives in parliament for the town of Hertford; his father, at the same time, being elected the other member for that borough. The following year, he appeared as counsel for the crown on the trials

of sir William Perkins, brigadier Rookwood, major Lowick, and Charles Cranburne, who were convicted of high treason, for being concerned in the plot to assassinate king William. The same year, he was also council for the crown on the trial of captain Thomas Vaughan, for high treason on the high seas: and he likewise supported, in parliament, the bill of attainder against sir John Fenwick. In 1704, he made a speech in the house of commons, in the famous case of Ashby and White, in which he maintained, that an action did lie at common law, for an elector, who had been denied his vote for members of Parliament. His practice and reputation continued greatly to increase; on the accession of queen Anne, he was again appointed one of the council to the crown; and on the 11th of October, 1705, he was constituted lord keeper of the great seal of England."

"The following year, commissioners having been appointed for England and Scotland, to treat concerning an union of the two kingdoms, they met, for the first time, at the Cockpit, Whitehall, on the 16th of April; when the lord keeper

Cowper, who had been appointed one of the commissioners for England, made a speech to the lords commissioners for Scotland, in which he observed to their lordships, that the parliament of England were actuated by the strongest desire to attain that union, which had been so long thought necessary, by all that wished well to the prosperity of both nations; and that the English commissioners now met those for Scotland, with hearts fully resolved to use their utmost endeavours to remove all difficulties in the treaty, and to prevent all misunderstandings; to have the general and joint good of both kingdoms solely in their view, and not the separate interest of either, and determined to act as if they were already united in interest, and had nothing left to consider, but what settlements and provisions were most likely to conduce to the common safety and happiness of the whole island of Great Britain. He attended a variety of other meetings in the management of this important business; and on the 23d of July waited upon the queen, at St. James's, with the articles agreed upon between the commissioners of both kingdoms, as the terms or conditions upon which the intended union was to take place. He was accompanied by the other commissioners; and in their names made a speech to her majesty on the occasion. Another speech was afterwards made, by the lord chancellor of Scotland, in behalf of the commissioners for that kingdom, who attended at the same time: and the articles of union, agreed upon by the commissioners, with some few alterations, were afterwards ratified by the parliaments both of England and Scotland.

“ Before that event had taken

place, an extraordinary manœuvre of the tories in parliament, had thrown the whigs, at least such of them as were in power, into some degree of embarrassment. A motion was made by the tory party in the house of peers, that an address should be presented to the queen, requesting her majesty to invite the princess Sophia, as presumptive heir to the crown, to come and reside in England. The tories knew that if the ministry supported this measure, they would give great offence to the queen; and if they opposed it, they would probably be suspected of being enemies to the protestant succession. The motion was, however, opposed by the whigs; and rejected by a great majority. But two bills were afterwards brought in, and passed, which were deemed a great security to the protestant succession. By the first, a regency was appointed on the event of the queen's death; and the second was a bill for the naturalization of the princess Sophia, and the issue of her body, being protestants. When these bills had received the royal assent, the earl of Halifax was sent with them to the court of Hanover; and he also carried with him letters from the leaders of the whig party, and in particular one from the lord keeper, to the elector, expressive of the sincerity of his attachment to the protestant succession.

“ In consideration of the lord keeper's merit and services, he was advanced, on the 10th of November, 1706, to the dignity of a peer of this kingdom, by the style and title of lord Cowper, baron Cowper of Wingham, in Kent; and on the 10th of May, 1707, her majesty in council declared him lord high chancellor of Great Britain. When the second parliament of Great Britain assembled, on the 16th of November,

ember, 1708, which was soon after the death of prince George of Denmark, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor Cowper, the lord treasurer, the lord steward, and the master of the horse, were appointed to represent her majesty in parliament; and on this occasion both houses were addressed in a speech by lord Cowper. On the 11th of March, 1708-9, by order of the house of peers, he returned thanks to the duke of Marlborough, who had then returned from abroad, and taken his place in the house, for the important services performed by him during the preceding campaign; and the following year his lordship presided at the trial of Dr. Sacheverell. The same year, in consequence of the intrigues of Harley and Mrs. Masham, the earl of Sunderland, son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was removed from the office of secretary of state; and it being apprehended, that this event would give so much disgust to that great general, that he might be induced to quit the command of the army, a joint letter was sent to his grace by lord Cowper, the dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, lords Somers, Oxford, and Halifax, and Mr. Henry Boyle, then secretary of state, in which they conjured him, in the strongest terms, not to quit his command. But soon after, on the 8th of August, 1710, the earl of Godolphin was removed from the post of lord treasurer, and the other whig ministers resigned. The queen signified her inclination, notwithstanding the change of ministry, that lord Cowper should still continue in the post of chancellor: but he also resigned, as he did not choose to remain in office, when an administration was formed consisting of men, whose political senti-

ments and views were totally different from his own. Soon after the new ministry came into office, Mr. Harley being at the head of the treasury, some inquiries were set on foot in order to criminate the late administration; and a vote of censure was passed relative to the management of the war in Spain. Lord Cowper took an active part in the debates occasioned by these inquiries; and he joined in several protests against the determinations of the house of peers concerning the conduct of that war. When prince Eugene was in England, he is said to have been consulted about some dangerous schemes formed by that prince and the duke of Marlborough. It may reasonably be questioned, whether any such schemes were ever really formed by those great men; but however that be, it is allowed on all hands, that they received no countenance or approbation from lord Cowper."

"The part which lord Cowper took, in opposition to the administration of the earl of Oxford, occasioned him to be attacked by dean Swift, with much virulence, in the Examiner; and some reflections were thrown out against him, relative to his private character, which is said to have been somewhat licentious with respect to women.

"As a public man, he continued to adhere steadfastly to the whigs; and when a debate took place relative to the Catalans, on the 2d of April, 1714, it was observed by lord Cowper, and some other lords, that the crown of Great Britain having drawn in the Catalans to declare for the house of Austria and engaged to succour and support them; those engagements ought to have been made good; and lord Cowper moved for an address to her majesty importing, That her majesty's endeavour,

for preserving to the Catalans the full enjoyment of their liberties having proved ineffectual, their lordships made it their humble request to her majesty, that she would be pleased to continue her interposition in the most pressing manner, in their behalf. An address to this purpose, though with some alterations, was afterwards agreed to; but to which the queen returned a very evasive answer. Lord Cowper strongly opposed giving any parliamentary approbation to the peace of Utrecht, in which he appears to have acted according to the full conviction of his own mind; and indeed, though peace was at that time, as at all others, a very desirable object, it is manifest, from the manner in which the treaty of Utrecht was commenced and concluded, that a due attention was not paid to the honour or interest of Great Britain; and that the chief object of those by whom the treaty was negotiated, on the part of England, was not the interest of their country, but the promotion of their own private views.

"On the 1st of June following, when a debate took place concerning the schism bill, that bill was very strongly opposed by lord Cowper, who observed, "that no man was more ready than himself to do every thing that should be necessary to attain the seeming intention of that bill, namely, the preventing the growth of schism, and the farther securing of the church of England; but that the enacting part would be so far from answering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to church and state. Instead of preventing schism, and enlarging the pale of the church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its in-

separable attendants, superstition and irreligion." In support of this idea of the tendency of the bill, his lordship farther remarked, that in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar schools, were chiefly supported by the dissenters, not only for the instruction and benefit of their own children, but likewise of those of the poor churchmen; so that the suppressing of those schools would, in some places, suppress the reading of the holy scriptures. He also opposed that clause in the bill, by which justices of the peace were empowered finally to hear and determine offences against it. The bill, however, passed both houses, and received the royal assent; but a protest against it was entered, signed by lord Cowper, twenty-six other peers, and five bishops; and in the subsequent reign the act was repealed.

"On the demise of queen Anne, lord Cowper was nominated one of the lords justices of the kingdom, till the arrival of king George I. from Hanover. On the 29th of August, 1714, he was appointed lord chancellor of Great Britain; and shortly after lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Hertford. When a new parliament was assembled, on the 27th of March, 1715, king George I. declared from the throne, "that he had ordered the lord chancellor to declare the causes of calling this parliament, in his majesty's name and words." He then delivered his speech into lord Cowper's hands, who read it to both houses. On the 6th of February, 1716, his lordship was appointed lord high steward for the trial of the rebel lords; as he was also, the following year, at the trial of the earl of Oxford, to whom he behaved on that occasion with great politeness. When a

bill was brought in by lord Stanhope, "for strengthening the protestant interest," which included in it a repeal of the schism act, some clauses of the bill were opposed by lord Cowper, who thought they too much interfered with the test and corporation acts: for though his lordship had strongly opposed the schism bill in the preceding reign, he appears not to have been sufficiently enlightened on the subject of toleration. A change taking place in the ministry, in the beginning of March, 1718, lord Cowper resolved to resign the great seal; but, before his resignation, the king, on account of his great merit and services, on the 18th of that month, raised him to the dignity of a viscount and earl, by the title of viscount Fordwich, in the county of Kent, and earl Cowper. The preamble to his patent was drawn up by Mr. Hughes. He resigned the great seal in the month of April: lords commissioners were appointed for a few days; after which lord Parker was appointed chancellor.

"After his resignation, lord Cowper diligently attended the public business in the house of peers, and frequently opposed the measures of the court. He spoke and voted against the peerage bill; and the famous South Sea scheme also received from him a very powerful opposition."

"In the year 1723, Christopher Layer, who had been convicted of high treason; underwent a long examination before a secret committee of the house of commons, relative to a conspiracy for raising the Pretender to the throne. The report of this examination was printed by order of the house of commons; and it appeared from this report, that Layer, in the course of his examination, had mentioned a club of disaffected persons, of which,

he said John Plunket had told him, that lord Cowper was one. This occasioned his lordship to remark in the house of peers, that, after having on so many occasions, and in the most difficult times, given undoubted proofs of his hearty zeal and affection for the protestant succession, and of his attachment to his majesty's person and government, he had just reason to be offended, to see his name bandied about in a list of a chimerical club of disaffected persons, printed in the report of the secret committee, on the bare hearsay of an infamous person, notoriously guilty of prevarication; and who, in the opinion even of the secret committee, "in order to magnify the number of the Pretender's friends, did, in several lists, insert the names of persons as well affected to the Pretender's service, without having the least authority for so doing," which alone was sufficient to give an air of fiction to the whole conspiracy. But, in justice to his own character, he thought it necessary to move, that John Plunket, from whom Layer pretended to have received the list of the club, mentioned in the report of the committee, should be immediately sent for to the bar of that house, to be there examined. This motion, after some debate, was rejected by the majority; and it was observed by lord Townshend, that as the secret committee had declared, that they were satisfied of lord Cowper's innocence, his lordship's reputation could not have suffered upon that account. Lord Cowper, however, thought proper to make a public declaration of his innocence.

"On the 15th of May, this year, earl Cowper made a long speech in the house of peers, in opposition to the bill for inflicting

pains and penalties on bishop Atterbury. He urged a variety of arguments to shew, that the evidence against the bishop was extremely insufficient; and he pointed out the danger of such a precedent, as that of inflicting pains and penalties on a man without law, and without proper evidence against him."

"The last public transaction, in which we find earl Cowper engaged was opposing the bill for taxing the papists; which he represented as an impolitic and indefensible measure. He remarked, that it might afford a pretext to some foreign princes for treating their protestant subjects with severity; and he observed, that no state had ever got any thing by persecuting its subjects. In France, he said, persecution had been the means of driving away the wealthiest of their merchants, and their most industrious artificers; and this bill might also force the English Roman catholics to leave the kingdom, and carry eight or nine hundred thousand pounds into foreign countries. The bill, however, passed; but lord Cowper, and several other lords, signed a protest against it. His lordship lived but a few months after; for he died at his seat at Colne Green, in Hertfordshire, on the 10th of October, 1723; and on the 10th of that month, he was interred in Hertingfordbury church, in the same county. A Pindaric ode, occasioned by his death, was published by Mr. Ambrose Philips.

"The eloquence and abilities of earl Cowper were highly celebrated in his own time; he made a very conspicuous figure at the bar; he was a distinguished member of both houses of parliament; his general character as a public man appears to have been extremely respectable;

and in his conduct in the court of chancery he displayed great disinterestedness. He opposed the frequency and facility with which private bills passed in parliament; and refused the new year's gifts, which it had been customary to present to those, who held the great seal. Dr. Smollett observes, that England, by his death, "lost a worthy nobleman, who had twice discharged the office of lord chancellor, with equal discernment and integrity. He was profoundly skilled in the laws of his country; in his apprehension quick and penetrating; in his judgment clear and determinate. He possessed a manly eloquence: his manner was agreeable, and his deportment graceful." Mr. Tindal says of him, that he "was eminent for his integrity in the discharge of the office of lord chancellor, which he had twice filled. There may have been chancellors of more extensive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. His judgment was quick, and yet solid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His manner graceful and noble." Lord Chesterfield, in his letters to his son, represents earl Cowper as more distinguished, as a speaker, by the elegance of his language, and the gratefulness of his manner, than by the force of his arguments. He says, "the late lord chancellor Cowper's strength as an orator, lay by no means in his reasoning, for he often hazarded very weak ones. But such was the purity and elegance of his style, such the propriety and charms of his elocution, and such the gratefulness of his action, that he never spoke without universal applause. The ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and the understanding of the audience."

EXAMINATION of the HISTORIANS of the Admirable CRICHTON.

[From the same Work.]

THE wonderful and extravagant encomiums on the admirable Crichton which have been delivered with the utmost confidence by his different biographers, will render the following investigation of the supposed facts on which their testimony is built, an acceptable present to our readers. For the particulars of these encomiums we refer to Dr. Mackenzie's *Writers of the Scot's Nation*, vol. iii, the eighty-first number of the *Adventurer*; and to the account inserted in *Pennant's First Tour in Scotland*, vol. i. After introducing their various representations of the talents and exploits of their hero, our author observes, "Such are the accounts which, by a succession of writers, and particularly since the time of Mackenzie, have been given of the admirable Crichton with little variation, and scarcely with any degree of hesitation or reflection. It is, therefore, an object of importance, to examine somewhat more accurately and extensively than hath hitherto been done, what measure of faith is to be allotted to the different parts of the preceding narrative. And here it must be observed, that no credit can be granted to any facts which depend upon the sole authority of sir Thomas Urquhart. Sir John Hawkins, indeed, seems to think that the stories told of Crichton by this writer may be considered as sufficiently authenticated to all the purposes of historical information. Mr. Pennant, likewise, speaks of him with approbation; and Dr. Samuel Johnson laid a stress on his veracity, in the account of Crichton which he dictated to doctor Hawtsworth, and is inserted in the

eighty-first number of the *Adventurer*; of which account it may be observed, that it is only an elegant summary of the life written by Mackenzie. But with all deference to these respectable names, I must declare my full persuasion that sir Thomas Urquhart is an author whose testimony to facts is totally unworthy of regard; and it is surprising that a perusal of his works does not strike every mind with this conviction. His productions are so inexpressibly absurd and extravagant, that the only rational judgment which can be pronounced concerning him is, that he was little, if at all, better than a madman. To the character of his having been a madman must be added that of his being a liar. Severe as this term may be thought, I apprehend that a diligent examination of the treatise which contains the memorials concerning Crichton would shew that it is strictly true. But of his total disregard to truth there is incontestible evidence in another work of his, entitled the "True Pedigree, and Lineal Descent of the most ancient and honourable Family the Urquharts in the House of Cromarty, from the Creation of the World until the Year of God, 1652." In this work it is almost incredible what a number of falsities he has invented, both with respect to names and facts. Perhaps a more flagrant instance of imposture and fiction was never exhibited; and the absurdity of the whole pedigree is beyond the power of words to express. It can only be felt by those who have perused the tract itself. Such a man, therefore, can justly be

entitled

entitled to no degree of credit, especially when he has a purpose to serve, as was the case with sir Thomas Urquhart. His design was to exalt his own family and his own nation; at any rate. With respect to his own nation, there was no occasion for having recourse to fiction, in order to display the lustre of Scotland, in the eminent men whom it has produced in arms and literature. The pencil of truth alone would have been amply sufficient for that purpose.

“ So far, therefore, as sir Thomas Urquhart’s authority is concerned, the wonderful exhibitions of Crichton at Paris, his triumph at Rome, his combat with the gladiator, his writing an Italian comedy, his sustaining fifteen characters in the representation of that comedy, the extraordinary story of the amour which is described as the cause of his death, the nine months mourning for him at Mantua, and, the poems hung round his hearse to the quantity of Homer’s works, must be regarded as in the highest degree doubtful, or rather as absolutely false. I cannot forbear mentioning two circumstances, which shew how much sir Thomas Urquhart was destitute of prudence, as well as of scrupulosity in his violations of truth. He says that the duke of Mantua was pleased to confer upon the young lady that was Crichton’s mistress, and future wife, a pension of five hundred ducats a year; and that the prince also bestowed as much upon her, during all the days of his life, “ which was, adds sir Thomas, but short; for he did not long enjoy himself after the cross fate of so miserable an accident.” Now it is well known that Vincenzo di Gonzaga succeeded his father in the dukedom of Mantua, in 1587, and that he did not die till

the year 1612; which was almost if not entirely, thirty years after Crichton’s decease. The other instance of the imprudence of sir Thomas Urquhart in the contrivance of his fictions, occurs at the conclusion of his narrative, where he asserts that the verity of the story which he hath related concerning the incomparable Crichton, “ may be certified by two thousand men yet living, who have known him.” *Two thousand men yet living!* that is, in 1652, sixty-nine or seventy years after Crichton’s death, for such was the time of sir Thomas’s publication. Our author would have been sadly puzzled to collect together these two thousand living witnesses, who could certify the verity of his story.

“ With regard, however, to the account which is given of the prodigious exertions of Crichton, both corporal and mental, at Paris, Mackenzie imagines that he has found a full confirmation of them in a passage produced by him from the *Disquisitiones* of Stephen Pasquier, and which he considers as the testimony of an eye-witness. But the whole of what has been built upon it, by Mackenzie, and succeeding biographers, is founded on a mistake. In the quotation from the *Disquisitiones*, the name of Crichton is not mentioned, and the author doth not appear to have been personally present at the exhibitions of the extraordinary youth there described. The expressions which are supposed to carry that meaning may well be referred not to the writer himself, but to his countrymen the French, before whom the young man is said to have displayed his surprizing talents. But the discussion of this point is totally needless, because the passage in question is not an original authority. The book entitled,

Stephane

Stephani Paschieri Disquisitiones, is only an abridgement, in Latin, of Pasquier's "Des Recherches de la France." Now in this last work there is, indeed, an account of a wonderful youth, such as is related in Mackenzie's quotation, and from which that passage was formed. But this wonderful youth, whoever he might be, was not the admirable Crichton; for Pasquier, who does not tell his name, expressly says, that he appeared in the year 1445. The evidence therefore, produced by Mackenzie falls entirely to the ground. Indeed, if the story of Crichton's exploits at Paris had been true, no man was more likely to be acquainted with them than Stephen Pasquier, who lived at the time, and who would be fond enough of recording transactions so extraordinary. It may farther be observed, that Thuanus, who was likewise a contemporary, and who, in his own life, is very particular in what relates to learned men, makes no mention of Crichton. The only authority for his having ever resided in France at all (sir Thomas Urquhart excepted) is that of Dr. John Johnstone, who says, "Gallia Pectus excolit." But this amounts to no proof of the truth of the transactions related by Urquhart. The whole which can be deduced from it is, that Crichton, in the course of his travels, might make some stay in France, for the purpose of improvement. Even this, however, doth not agree with the narration of Imperialis, who informs us, that when troubles arose in Scotland on account of religion, and queen Mary fell into so many calamities, Crichton was sent by his father directly from that country to Venice, as a place of security.

"It is acknowledged by sir John Haikins, that sir Thomas Urquhart

has produced no authorities in support of his surprizing narrations. But this defect sir John thinks is supplied in the life of Crichton which is given in Mr. Pennant's Tour. I am under the necessity of saying, that this is by no means the case. The article in Pennant, was not drawn up by that ingenious and learned gentleman, but is the transcript of a pamphlet that was printed some years ago at Aberdeen; and which pamphlet is nothing more than a re-publication, with a few verbal alterations, of the Life of Crichton written by Mackenzie. It doth not, therefore, furnish a single additional testimony in confirmation of sir Thomas Urquhart's stories, excepting in the mistaken instance from Pasquier. In other respects, it only borrows facts from sir Thomas Urquhart, without establishing them upon fresh proofs. It is observable, that the earlier biographers of Crichton had no knowledge of most of the transactions enlarged upon by this extravagant writer; for, if they had known them, they would have been eagerly disposed to relate them, and to do it with every circumstance of exaggeration. How much this was the character of Thomas Dempster, with regard to his own countrymen, is sufficiently understood, and hath frequently been remarked; and yet his account of Crichton is uncommonly modest, compared with those of succeeding authors. The extravagance of Imperialis in respect to Crichton has already appeared. There seems indeed, to have been an universal tendency in the writers of this young Scotsman's life to produce wonder and astonishment. Mackenzie remarks, that Imperialis could not but know the truth of all, or at least of most of the things he has related concerning Crichton,

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since he lived upon the places in which they were transacted, and had them from an eye and ear witness, even his own father. It is, however, to be remembered that Imperialis's *Museum Historicum* was not published till 1640, nearly sixty years after the events recorded by him happened; to which may be added, that the information he derived from his father was probably very imperfect. Imperialis the elder was not born till 1568, and consequently was only thirteen years old when Crichton displayed his talents at Padua. What real dependence, therefore, could there be on the accuracy of the account given by a youth of that age? He could only relate, and perhaps from inadequate intelligence, the things which were talked of when he was a boy. Besides, his authority is appealed to for no more than a single fact, and that a doubtful one, since it does not accord with Manutius's narrative: and who ever heard of the famous philosopher Arcangelus Mercenarius?

"The truth of the matter is, that, some slight circumstances excepted, neither Dempster nor Imperialis have produced any evidences of Crichton's extraordinary abilities besides those which are recorded by the younger Aldus Manutius. He, therefore, is to be regarded as the only living authority upon the subject. Manutius was contemporary with Crichton; he was closely connected with him in friendship; and he relates several things on his own personal knowledge. He is a positive and undoubted witness with respect to our young Scotsman's intellectual and literary exertions at Venice and at Padua; and from him it is that our account of them is given above. Nevertheless, even Aldus Manutius

is to be read with some degree of caution. Dedications are apt to assume the style of exaggeration, and this is the case with Manutius's dedication of the *Paradoxa Ciceronis* to Crichton. In addition to the general language of such addresses he might be carried too far by his affection for his friend, which appears to have been very great: nor was the younger Aldus eminent for steadiness and consistency of character. It is even said that, by his imprudencies, he fell into contempt and misery. But independently of any considerations of this kind, it may be observed, that Manutius's narrative, previously to Crichton's arrival at Venice, could not be derived from personal knowledge. For that part of it (which is sufficiently erroneous) he was probably indebted to Crichton himself. Neither does he appear to have been an eye witness of the whole of the disputations, which were held at Padua; for speaking of his young friend's praise of ignorance, he relates that those who were present told him afterwards how much they were struck with that oration. However, at the other disputation, which lasted three days, Manutius seems certainly to have attended: for he concludes his account of it, with saying, that he was not only the adviser, but the spectator of Crichton's wonderful contest. It is evident, however, from the dedication, that his extraordinary abilities were not universally acknowledged and admired. Some there were, who detracted from them, and were displeased with Manutius for so warmly supporting his reputation.

"As to the real cause and manner of our young Scotsman's death, both of them still remain in some degree of obscurity. That he was killed

led in a rencounter at the carnage of Mantua, is testified by too many authors to be reasonably doubted. But whether there was that particular malignity on the part of Vincenzo di Gonzaga, which is commonly ascribed to him, may be considered as uncertain.

"One important method yet remains, by which we may be enabled to form a judgment of Crichton's genius, and that is, from a perusal of the four poems of his which are still preserved. It is, however, to be feared, that these will not exhibit him in a very high point of view. Some fancy, perhaps, may be thought to be displayed in the longest of his poems, which was written on occasion of his approach to the city of Venice. He there represents a Naiad as rising up before him, and, by the order of the Muses and of Minerva, directing him how to proceed. But this is a sentiment which so easily presents itself to a classical reader, that it can scarcely be considered as deserving the name of a poetical invention. The three other poems of Crichton have still less to recommend them. Indeed, his verses will not stand the test of a rigid examination, even with regard to quantity.

"What then, is the opinion, which, on the whole, we are to form of the admirable Crichton? It is evident that he was a youth of such lively parts as excited great present admiration and high expectations with regard to his future attainments. He appears to have had a fine person, to have been adroit in his bodily exercises, to have possessed a peculiar facility in learning languages, to have enjoyed a remarkably quick and retentive memory, and to have excelled in a power of declamation, a fluency of speech, and a readiness of re-

ply. His knowledge, likewise, was probably very uncommon for his years; and this, in conjunction with his other qualities enabled him to shine in public disputation. But whether his knowledge and learning were accurate or profound may justly be questioned; and it may equally be doubted whether he would have arisen to any extraordinary degree of eminence in the literary world. It will always be reflected upon with regret, that his early and untimely death prevented this matter from being brought to the test of experiment.

"It is natural, on the present occasion, to recollect the case of John Picus of Mirandula. He is celebrated for having been such a prodigy of parts and literature as scarcely ever existed; and yet his works are not understood by any means to correspond with his once splendid reputation.

"A circumstance has been pointed out to us concerning Crichton, which must not be omitted. He was very much dissatisfied (as appears from an incidental passage of Manutius), with Socrates's manner of disputing against the sophists. Manutius expresses great surprize at this sentiment of his friend, but surely without reason; for Crichton was himself too like the ancient sophists not to be fond of their character.

"I am under no apprehension that any single gentleman of Scotland will be displeased with the present article. That country, as hath already been noticed, stands not in need of falsehood to support its reputation. It produced many eminent scholars at the time in which Crichton lived; and hath continued to produce writers of the first order. The names that adorn the present age it is needless to mention. Lord Buchan,

[14] MEMOIRS OF ALEXANDER CRUDEN.

Buchan, in his memoir, lays no stress upon any account of Crichton's literary exhibitions, excepting that which is given by Manutius; and even Manutius is blamed by his lordship, for having had a great share, by his own extravagance of language, in occasioning the bombastic and intemperate praises which afterwards appeared of his young friend. It is to a respectable and

learned gentleman of North Britain, who doth not permit me the honour of mentioning his name, that I am indebted for several hints and communications, by which I have been greatly assisted in my endeavours to furnish a more complete and authentic narrative of the life of the admirable Crichton than has hitherto been written by any of his biographers."

MEMOIRS OF ALEXANDER CRUDEN.

[From the same Work.]

"**A**LEXANDER Cruden, M. A. was the second son of Mr. William Cruden, merchant, and one of the baillies of Aberdeen, an office similar to that of alderman in England, and was born in the year 1701. He received his education in the grammar school of Aberdeen, and was a school-fellow with the late George earl Marischal, and James, afterwards the celebrated field marshal Keith, who, in the school catalogue, were distinguished by Dominus Georgius Keith, and magister Jacobus Keith. At the expiration of the usual number of years, Mr. Cruden entered as student of Marischal College. From his close attendance at the divinity lectures of Mr. Blackwell, father to the late principal Blackwell, he appears to have had thoughts of the church, as a profession; and although prevented by the melancholy change of mind which took place about this time, he preserved through the whole of life the impression that he was appointed by Heaven to preach the Gospel and reform mankind.

"It is uncertain to what that insanity which now appeared in his words and actions, and which with few intervals accompanied him to

his grave, is to be attributed. Some thought it was occasioned by the bite of a mad dog; but nothing can be gathered from the history of that dreadful distemper which favours this opinion. Others derived his madness from disappointment in a love affair, but it is uncertain whether this operated as a cause or consequence. Some uncommon circumstances with which it was attended, however, will apologize for making mention of it in this place. The object of his affection was the daughter of a clergyman of Aberdeen. Cruden courted her with enthusiasm and perseverance, but the lady thought proper to reject his addresses, and his behaviour becoming outrageous and troublesome, her father ordered his doors to be shut against him. This increased his passion, and his friends soon found it necessary to confine him for a considerable time in prison. The young lady in the mean while became pregnant, which was with too much reason attributed to a criminal intercourse with her own brother. She was sent into the country, and never returned. That Mr. Cruden shared in the general horror which this event produced

may

be easily believed. He never mentioned the name of the unhappy woman but with the bitterest grief and most tender compassion.

On his release from confinement, he gave up the pursuit of studies at Aberdeen, and resolved to leave his native country. In the year 1722 he came to London, and engaged in several families as private tutor to young persons at school, or who were intended for the university. In this employment he spent some years in the Isle of Man. In the year 1732, we find him in London again, as corrector of the press and bookfeller. His shop was under the Royal Exchange. While in this situation, an incident happened, which Mr. Cruden numbered among the most remarkable occurrences of his life. A gentleman from Aberdeen, who wished to serve Cruden, offered to introduce him to a merchant near the Royal Exchange, a near relation of the young lady above mentioned. When they knocked at the door of this merchant's house, it was opened by the young lady herself, who, unknown to Mr. Cruden, or his friend, had found an asylum here. Mr. Cruden started back, with visible signs of wonder and agony, and grasping his friend's hand, exclaimed wildly, "Ah! she has still her black eyes." It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that his hopes of intimacy in this family were now at an end. He did not then, nor ever after, enter the house, nor court the acquaintance of its owner, who was indeed a younger brother of the lady.

"The year after he began to compile the work which entitles him to be ranked among the friends of literature, and consequently to a place in these records. He had long meditated "A complete Concordance of the Holy Scriptures of

the Old and New Testament." If the merit of labour only be given to this work, it must be acknowledged that it required labour to which it is impossible to make any addition, and perseverance that knows no interval. Mr. Cruden was well qualified for such an undertaking; for habits of industry were familiar to him, and his inclination led him to form the plan and indeed to execute the whole, before he had received any encouragement from the public. The first edition was published in the year 1737. The preface explains his plan and his views in publishing. The book was dedicated to queen Caroline, who had given the author some reason to expect a gratuity on its being presented to her. But a very few days before its publication, the queen died, and Cruden lost his patroness. His affairs were now embarrassed; the time he had bestowed on his work was not productive of immediate profit, and his reward was no longer to be expected; for that he did expect a reward from her majesty, appeared by visible symptoms of the keenest disappointment. He disposed of his stock in trade, and shut up his shop. Without employment, without friends, and without hope, he became again a prey to his phrenetic disorder, and it was found necessary to confine him in a private mad-house at Bethnal Green. As soon as he was released he took revenge on his keepers, and on those who were the cause of his confinement, by publishing a pamphlet, entitled "The London Citizen exceedingly injured, giving an account of his Adventures during the time of his severe and long Campaign at Bethnal Green, for nine weeks and six days, the Citizen being sent thither in March 1738, by

Robert

Robert Wightman a notoriously conceited whimsical Man, where he was chained, hand-cuffed, strait-waistcoated, and imprisoned, &c. &c." He also commenced an action against Dr. Monro, and other defendants, which was tried in Westminster-hall, July 17, 1730, when a verdict was given in favour of the defendants. After the verdict was given, Cruden said, "I trust in God." The chief justice, sir William Lee, replied, "I wish you had trusted more in God, and not have come hither." Mr. Cruden had recourse again to his pen, and published an account of the trial with remarks on the œconomy of private mad-houses, which he dedicated to the late king.

"After this he lived chiefly by correcting the press, and under his inspection several editions of the Greek and Roman classics were published with great accuracy. He rendered himself useful to the book-sellers and printers in various ways. His manners were inoffensive: he was always to be trusted, and performed his engagements with strict fidelity. In these occupations he employed several years, until the return of his disorder obliged his friends a third time to shut him up in a madhouse. When he was released, he published his case with the whimsical title of "The Adventures of Alexander the Corrector."—Three parts afterwards appeared under the same title. It is not easy to characterise them. They are a faithful transcript of a wild mind, various, whimsical, serious, and jocular. His madness was *sui generis*. We find nothing like it in the annals of medicine, nor can it be accounted for on any known principles of physiology. The faculty are seldom called in, and seldom attend to cases like that

of Cruden; and the world either laughed at, or pitied him: in his worst paroxysms it appears that he was perfectly harmless, and it is more than probable that the severity of confinement unnecessarily added to his disorder.

"In September 1751, when released, he undertook what was more difficult to effect than all his former attempts. He endeavoured to persuade one or two of his friends who had confined him, to submit to be imprisoned in Newgate, as compensation for the injuries they had brought upon him. To his sister, he proposed, what he thought very mild terms; she was to have her choice of four prisons; Newgate, Reading and Aylesbury gaols, and the prison in Windsor Castle. When he found that his persuasions were of no avail, he commenced an action against her and the others, and stated his damages 10,000*l*. The cause was tried in February, 1754, and a verdict given in favour of the defendants. Cruden had now no remedy but an appeal to the public: accordingly he published an account of the trial in a six-penny pamphlet, dedicated to the king. He went to St. James's Palace to present it, but was prevented, and denied the honour of knighthood, to which, at this time, he aspired.

"His phrenzy, indeed, was now at its height. He called himself "Alexander the Corrector," and gave out that he was commissioned by Heaven to reform the manners of the age, particularly to restore the due observance of the Sabbath. To raise the public belief in his favour, he produced and printed certain prophecies of eminent ministers and others, all anonymous, and with the initials only of names. The substance of these prophecies

was that "Mr. Cruden was to be a second Joseph, to be a great man at court, and to perform great things for the spiritual Israel in this sinful Egypt, &c." Furnished with such credentials, he went to Oxford and Cambridge, and exhorted the ladies and gentlemen, whom he found in the public walks on the Sabbath, to go home and keep that day holy. But his advice was not welcomed as he wished, and on one occasion he narrowly escaped corporal chastisement for having been too bold in his addresses to a young lady, who happened to be walking with a student in Clare-hall walks. He generally followed his advice with a denunciation of eternal wrath in case of non-compliance.

"On his return to London his ambition increased; for ambition he certainly indulged from the idea that he was destined to a superior station in life; and the general election approaching, Mr. Cruden determined to stand candidate for the city of London, and in a common-hall was nominated by Mr. Sheriff Bury, whom he had importuned to do this office for him. What will be thought very remarkable, Mr. Cruden had the satisfaction to see several hands held up for him; but he declined the poll, which was contested by the other party, and consequently lost his election. It is scarcely possible to record this event with historical gravity; but it is worthy of notice that he had actually received promises of support, and was comforted by the reflection, he says himself, that if he had not been so, he had the hearts of the citizens. His advertisements are specimens of his manner of speaking and writing concerning himself, and his phrenzy was at its height. At the same time he paid his

addresses to a lady, but lamented that in this, as in every other great design, he could not command success.

"Amidst this series of wild attempts and undertakings, Mr. Cruden devoted his best hours to study. He was continually making additions to the Concordance, the second edition of which was published in 1761. At this time he was corrector of the prefs to the Public Advertiser, published by the late Mr. Woodfall. He laboured, indeed, incessantly at some employment or other; and apportioned his time so judiciously that only when he appeared in public, could he be said to do nothing. The business of the printing office was rarely over before one o'clock in the morning, when the paper was put to press. Cruden seldom slept more than four or five hours, and before six in the morning he might always be found turning over his Bible, adding, amending, and improving his Concordance with great and scrupulous attention: at this he continued till evening, when he went to the printing office. This assiduous attention to useful objects, it was hoped, would restore his mind to a state of calm regularity, and in some degree this was the case. His next appearance in public will be seen with satisfaction.

"In 1762, one Richard Potter, a sailor, was tried and capitally condemned at the Old Bailey for forging, or rather uttering, knowing it to be forged, a seaman's will, a crime which then, as well as now, is rarely pardoned. It appeared, however, from the evidence, that Potter was a poor illiterate creature, the tool of another, and ignorant of the nature of the crime he committed. Fortunately for him, Mr. Cruden happened to be in court, and was so firmly convinced that

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Potter

Potter was a proper object of the royal clemency, that he determined to interfere in his behalf. To be more fully satisfied, however, he visited Potter in Newgate, examined him, and found that his crime was the crime of ignorance, without any evil intention on his part. But it was not to save him from the sentence of the law only, that Cruden meditated. He prayed with him, exhorted him, taught him the principles of religion, and gave him a proper sense of the wickedness of his past life, and the enormity of the crime for which he was condemned: in a word, he made a convert of a poor wretch, who had scarcely ever heard of a God. He then began to devise means to obtain a pardon, and, improbable as it appeared, his repeated applications succeeded, and Potter's sentence was changed into transportation. Mr. Cruden accompanied his petition to the earl of Hallifax, then secretary of state, with a copy of the second edition of the Concordance, to which was prefixed an elegant Latin dedication to his lordship. The tenderness with which Mr. Cruden visited, exhorted, fed and clothed his pupil, the anxiety he felt, and the unceasing importunity of his applications to every person that could be useful to Potter, deserve to be remembered with approbation, and to reconcile us to all his oddities. A particular account of the whole affair was published the same year, entitled "The History of Richard Potter, &c. &c."

"The success Mr. Cruden had enjoyed in reforming this poor criminal induced him to continue his labours among the other felons in Newgate. He visited them every day, gave them New Testaments, Catechisms, &c. catechised them, and bestowed small pecuniary re-

wards on the most apt scholars. His labour, however, was lost, the books were soon exchanged for money, and the money spent in drinking; and Cruden discontinued his practice, when he found it produced no better effects. A regard for the eternal welfare of his fellow-creatures was a predominant feature in his character. He was peculiarly elated when he had succeeded in rescuing any poor creature from the barbarity of ignorance, or the practice of wickedness. Of this we have another instance, but at what period it happened cannot now be remembered. Returning one Sunday evening from a place of worship, he accidentally met with a man, whose looks betrayed anxious sorrow, melancholy, and, as Cruden imagined despair. He immediately accosted the man, and drew from him a confession, that the extreme poverty of his family, and other causes had driven him to the desperate resolution of committing suicide. Mr. Cruden expostulated with him, displayed the wickedness of his intention, and administered such friendly consolation, accompanied with pecuniary assistance, and a promise of future support, that the poor man became cheerful, signed, and hopeful. In such a Mr. Cruden delighted.

"At the time when the dispute between Mr. Wilkes and the government agitated the nation, Cruden wrote a small pamphlet against that gentleman, whom he never could hear named with civility. He testified his aversion to him in a way peculiar to himself, effacing No. 45, wherever he found it chalked on doors or window-shutters. His instrument was a large piece of sponge, which he carried in his pocket, partly for this purpose and partly that no words, often

to good morals, might be allowed to disgrace the walls, doors, &c. of the metropolis. This employment rendered his walks through the city very tedious.

"In the year 1769 he visited Aberdeen, the place of his nativity, and in a public hall gave a lecture on the cause of reformation; contended that he was born to reform the age, and exhorted all ranks to amend their ways. There was nothing in this advice improper or absurd—but Mr. Cruden's manner was always at variance with his matter, and he met with no better success here than in other places. Many anecdotes are related of his labours here. Among others, he printed the fourth Commandment in the form of a hand bill, and distributed them to all persons without distinction, whom he met in the streets on Sunday. To a young clergyman whom Cruden thought too conceited and modern, he very gravely and formally presented a little catechism, used by children in Scotland, called the "Mother's Catechism" dedicated to the Young and Ignorant. For young people he always had his pockets full of religious tracts, such as Guyse's Sermons, &c. which he bestowed with pleasure on such as promised to read them.

"After residing about a year at Aberdeen he returned to London, and took lodgings in Camden-street, Milington, where he died. In the morning of Thursday, November 14, 1770, he was found dead on his knees, apparently in the posture of prayer. He had complained for some days of an asthmatic affection, but it did not seem attended with danger. As he never married, he bequeathed his moderate savings to his relations, except a certain sum, to the city of Aberdeen to be employed in the purchase of religious

books for the use of the poor; and he founded a bursary (or exhibition) of five pounds sterling per annum, to assist in educating a student at the Marischall College. This bursary was to be obtained on certain terms specified in his will, one of which was a perfect acquaintance with Vincent's Catechism.

"In private life Mr. Cruden was courteous and affable; prone to give his opinions, and firm in all his religious persuasions. To the poor he was as liberal of his money as of his advice: he seldom, indeed, separated the one from the other. His concern for them must have been sincere, for interest he could have none; and his generosity must have been pure, for he often gave more than he retained for his own uses. To such young men, especially from Aberdeen, as were recommended to him, he acted like a father, or affectionate friend and tutor. Among men of genius he cannot be classed: but in his greatest labours he experienced no fatigue, and the utility of his literary projects will not admit of a dispute. His Concordance was his favourite work; and it is probable that the attention he bestowed upon it was favourable to the state of his mind, although it could not altogether prevent the return of that phrenzy which gave a certain colour to all his actions, and suggested to him those whimsical plans of reformation, and those hopes of superiority, which were as useless to himself as unprofitable to others. In conversation and in writing his style was stiff and awkward. He does not appear to have had a prompt memory; and his words came slowly. In religion he professed Calvinism, as appears from the definitions in his Concordance of the words *grace, faith, predestination, &c.* But it must be added,

[20] PARTICULARS of the LIFE of Dr. LEECHMAN.

that had not an intollerant spirit, and often with severity he censured the principles and practices of narrow-minded men. During the greatest part of his life in London, he joined in communion with Dr. Guyse's Independent Meeting; but about the year 1761-2, when age

and infirmities obliged the doctor to resign, and Mr. Stafford succeeded him, Mr. Cruden attended Dr. Conder on the Paved Stones, Moorfields, and went to Dr. Guyse's Meeting on the first Sunday of every month only, when the sacrament was administered."

PARTICULARS of the LIFE of Dr. LEECHMAN.

[Extracted from Dr. WODROW's Narrative, prefixed to the First Vol. of Dr. LEECHMAN's Sermons.]

"**D**R. William Leechman was one of the few whom Divine Providence sometimes raises from an humble to a distinguished and useful station in life, chiefly by the influence of eminent talents and amiable virtues. It may not be unpleasing to trace the steps of his progress. To his numerous friends and scholars, who knew him thoroughly, and to the world, who have formed a favourable judgment of him from his writings, some account of his life may perhaps be acceptable; of the early and retired part of it little can now be recovered. Any thing, however, worthy of notice, which hath come to the knowledge of the writer of these memoirs, shall be faithfully marked.

Dr. Leechman was born in the year 1706. He was the son of William Leechman, a farmer, who lived in the parish of Dolphinton, in the shire of Lanerk, and always maintained a character respectable for piety and integrity. His son learned the rudiments of the languages at the parish-school of Dolphinton, under the care of Mr. Henderson, who was afterwards a clergyman. He completed his education at the University of Edinburgh, not without some assistance

from the family of Baillie of Jervitwood, a gentleman of note in that country. The family considered themselves as under an obligation to Mr. Leechman's father, who, when a young man, at the head of two or three of his companions, had the spirit to take down one of the quarters of Mr. Robert Baillie, affixed to the Tolbooth of Lanerk, by the orders of the privy-council, and to give it a decent interment.

"At the College of Edinburgh Mr. Leechman distinguished himself by his proficiency in the different branches of literature to which he applied. This soon procured him the notice and friendship of Mr. Bowie, minister of Dolphinton, and Mr. Bradfute, minister of Dunfyre, who was himself an excellent classical scholar. These two reverend gentlemen recommended him to Mr. Geddes of Kirkurd, in the shire of Tweedale, as a proper tutor to his eldest son."

"Mr. Leechman began his theological studies about the year 1724, and continued to prosecute them under Dr. William Hamilton, then professor of divinity at Edinburgh, a man much esteemed at that time in Scotland, for the wisdom and good temper with which conducted the de-

of the general assembly, and no less esteemed for his learning, judgment, and candour as a teacher."

"After Mr. Geddes had no further occasion for a tutor, the Rev. Mr. Bradfute again recommended Mr. Leechman as a proper person to superintend the education of a young gentleman in Renfrewshire, Mr. Mure of Caldwell, in which recommendation Mr. Bradfute was joined by Mr. Alexander Dunlop, Greek professor at Glasgow. This was Mr. Leechman's first introduction into the west country, destined to be afterward the principal scene of his usefulness; and it broke off, in a great measure, his connexion with the few friends he had acquired in the east and south. Yet he never forgot his obligations to Mr. Bradfute, but retained a warm sense of them throughout the whole course of his life. Long after the death of his benefactor, he was ever ready to do the most friendly offices in his power to his children and grand-children.

"It was in the summer of the year 1727, that Mr. Leechman was introduced into the family of Caldwell, where he had an opportunity of displaying the innate goodness of his heart in different ways. Mr. Mure's grand-uncle was then alive, confined to his bed, and who soon became so fond of his new guest, as to prefer his company and conversation to that of all his other friends. Mr. Mure himself was then very young, but equally promising, on point of amiable dispositions and abilities, with Mr. Geddes. So that Mr. Leechman was very fortunate in meeting with two young minds so susceptible of instruction and improvement; and they no less profited in meeting with proper culture under the care of a man so well qualified to bestow it."

"The family of Caldwell lived during the summer and harvest months in the country; and during the rest of the year, at Glasgow, for the sake of the education of the children. There Mr. Leechman had an opportunity of seeing the method of teaching at another University, and attending any of the lectures he pleased, especially those of professor Hutcheson, who was brought to that college in the year 1720. His lectures on natural theology, ethics, jurisprudence, and on the evidences of Christianity, were a valuable source of improvement to the more advanced as well as to the younger students. Even his conversation, various, cheerful, and animated to a high degree, was not only an agreeable entertainment, but very instructive and improving to those who had the happiness of enjoying it. His colleague, professor Dunlop, was not much behind him in learning, talents, and benevolence. These two eminent men had the discernment to distinguish Mr. Leechman's modest merit, and to prognosticate his future advancement. They admitted him into all the familiarity of friendship."

"About the beginning of the year 1731, Mr. Leechman offered himself for probationary trials to the presbytery of Paisley, within whose bounds he resided: and after delivering six different kinds of discourses prescribed to him, and going through the other usual pieces of trial with approbation, he was, in the month of October, licensed to preach the Gospel by that Presbytery. He continued a preacher, without any prospect of preferment, for no less than five years. This, however, was certainly on the whole a favourable circumstance in his lot; for, unembarrassed with the cares and

duties of a fixed charge, he was at liberty to oblige his clerical friends, by preaching for them occasionally; and he had full leisure in the very spring of life, to pursue his own studies, both in the country and at Glasgow, with all possible advantage."

"In the year 1716, the parish of Beith, where the family of Caldwell usually resided, became vacant. The right of presentation was vested in the Eglinton family; but the late countess, Susannah, waving the exercise of that right, recommended Mr. Leechman, in a letter to the Presbytery of Irvine. And in consequence of this and the unanimous call or concurrence of all ranks in the parish, he was, in the month of October, ordained minister of Beith.

"In this populous and extensive charge he continued about seven years, living sometimes in his manse, where he had servants, but for the most part at Caldwell."

"In October 1740, Mr. Leechman was elected moderator of a meeting of the provincial synod at Irvine, and according to custom opened the following meeting at Glasgow with a sermon to the clergy, *on the Temper, Character, and Duty of a Minister of the Gospel*. Among the very many sermons and charges published on this subject, few perhaps will bear a fair comparison with this first attempt of a young minister, in respect of the variety of useful advices crowded into a small compass, and perhaps also the nervous language, and the striking, yet delicate manner in which these advices are given. In the beginning of 1743, he published a much longer sermon, *on Prayer*. Both these publications drew a more than ordinary atten-

tion at first, and run through a great number of editions afterwards.

"In July that year, he married Mrs. Bridget Balfour, of the family of Pilrig, near Edinburgh, a young lady very worthy of his choice, qualified by the sedate, amiable, and generous turn of her mind to value and enjoy the advantages and endearments of his friendship, which she did to the last day of his life; and qualified also, by the great propriety of her conduct, and the easy elegance of her manners, to do honour to herself and her husband in the superior stations in which they were destined afterwards to appear.

"Soon after his marriage, he was waited on by two gentlemen from Ireland, deputed by a respectable dissenting congregation in Belfast to invite him to be their minister and to offer him a better salary than he enjoyed at Beith. This offer Dr. Hutcheson advised him to accept, but professor Dunlop, and his other friends at Glasgow joined by Mr. Leechman's relations at Edinburgh persuaded him to decline. Mr. Dunlop always wished to get him into the college, and it was not long before he had an opportunity for in the end of that year the theological chair became vacant. The election was in the hands of the faculty; that is the court of ordinary professors, who, in former important questions, had been accustomed to divide into two nearly equal parties. In one party, Mr. Craig, then minister in the city, had for who preferred him to all others; but he, from modesty, friendship and a regard to the interests of religion, refused to interfere at all, so that this party soon united in favour of Mr. Leechman. The other party pitched upon Mr. James Macclure

Maclaurin, one of the ministers of Glasgow; a candidate highly respectable for his learning and piety, and well qualified for the station, had he had the *same aptness to teach* with his rival. The people of the city and neighbourhood interested themselves warmly in the fate of this election; as it was indeed an event of no small consequence to the future education of their clergy. They befriended the one or the other candidate, according to their acquaintance with him, and their opinion of the conformity of his religious sentiments to their own. Mr. Leechman had the good wishes of all the hearers of his friend Craig, who considered themselves as the people of taste and education; and Mr. Maclaurin the good wishes of a much larger body, even all the rest of the town.

"On the day fixed for the decision of this matter, the votes of the members of the faculty were equally divided, and Mr. Leechman obtained the divinity chair by the casting vote of the then lord rector, George Bogle, esq. of Daldowie, a worthy gentleman in the neighbourhood, who till the end of his life felt much satisfaction in what he had done that day.

"Against this election, the disappointed party made a formal protest; not with a view to overturn it before the court of session, for it was strictly legal, but in the hope of frustrating the effect of it, by the assistance of the ecclesiastical courts of Scotland. Living in habits of intimacy with a few clergymen in that neighbourhood, they flattered themselves that their influence over the whole body was greater than they found it to be. Accordingly, when Dr.

Hutcheson, and Dr. Hamilton professor of anatomy, appeared, January 3, 1744, at the first meeting of the presbytery of Irvine, under whose jurisdiction Mr. Leechman and his parish were, and laid before that presbytery, the minute of his election, requesting them to take the proper steps in consequence of it; another professor, of the opposite party, vested with a commission from the minority, made his appearance likewise, and attempted to stop any procedure, under the pretext of a controverted election. But the court found that this gentleman had no title to appear, having neither a proper commission from the college, nor the parish, the only parties concerned. They agreed therefore to loose Mr. Leechman from his parochial connection, and gave him up to the college, with an ample and honourable testimony of their approbation of his abilities, doctrine, and life, during the time he had lived among them.

"But the very next day he experienced a different treatment, when, with the deputies of the college, he presented himself before the presbytery of Glasgow. They refused to enrol him as a member of their court, and to allow him to take the steps the law had appointed previous to his teaching. This obliged him to protest and complain of their conduct to the synod: after which he began, and continued to teach in the college during the remaining part of the session.

"At their meeting in February, the majority of that presbytery, under the direction of a zealous country clergyman, took a very violent step, with a view to eject the new professor. They resolved to commence a process of heresy

against him. Whatever their motives might be, the attempt itself had the most direct tendency imaginable to hurt his reputation and usefulness, and to bring him under a general odium. A prosecution of this kind had been carried, on, about sixteen years before, against a very learned professor in the same chair, and had ended, in his suspension from public teaching. To pave the way for the present process, the presbytery appointed a numerous committee to examine Mr. Leechman's sermon on Prayer, lately published. This committee, after various meetings and much deliberation, produced a paper of remarks, as they called it, consisting of eight articles of what they deemed heretical omissions. The purport of the whole went to charge Mr. Leechman, with having laid too little stress on the merit of the satisfaction and intercession of our blessed Saviour, as the sole ground of our acceptance with God in prayer; and with teaching Christians to look for pardon and acceptance upon other grounds than this which, they insinuated, Mr. L—— considered as a circumstance superfluous or foreign to prayer. To each of their remarks, or objections, the professor gave in written answers, vindicating himself, and pointing out the mistakes of the committee in a modest, yet sufficiently spirited manner. But these answers, as might be expected, were neither satisfactory to the committee, nor to the presbytery, under whose authority they acted,

“The sermon itself, which bore on the face of it strong marks of a devout heart, as well as of a highly cultivated understanding, had been much read and admired. In the space of a few months it had undergone

a second edition. And this unexpected attack on the author, visibly calculated to raise a spirit of bigotry in the common people against him, soon roused the attention and indignation of many of the conscientious friends of religion and learning in that quarter, to whom Mr. Leechman was not personally known. It drew together a great number of the clergy from the most distant corners of that large synod, together with several gentlemen of rank, who took their seats with them as elders, which they had not done for many years before. The court assembled at Glasgow in the beginning of April, and, in consequence of Mr. Leechman's complaint, thought proper to call for the papers, and to take the business entirely out of the hands of the inferior court, who shewed great reluctance to part with it; having resolved to continue their sittings, and to hang up the cause for some time to the public view. The synod appointed a particular diet to judge and decide it: in which the remarks, answers, and every thing referred to in both, were read, and read a second time article by article. Every member was allowed to propose what further objections occurred to him, and the professor allowed to answer him, if he could, viva voce, which was done in several instances. On the whole, the synod almost unanimously found “Professor Leechman's answers to the remarks or objections made by the committee of the presbytery of Glasgow, to be fully satisfying, and sufficient to remove any offence conceived; and found no reason to charge the said professor with any unsoundness in the faith, expressed in the passages of the sermon complained of.” The professor thanked the reverend and honourable members of the court for the time and pains they had bestowed

was in doing justice to his character: hoping that, through the help of God, he should, in the future exercise of his office, justify the favourable opinion they seemed to have formed of him."

"The presbytery had at the beginning made an appeal to the general assembly. That court, when the cause came before them, wisely referred it to a select committee, and adopted their judgment without a dissent. They found, "That the synod of Glasgow and Air had sufficient reason to take into their own hands the cognizance of the enquiry touching the sermon." They confirmed the judgment passed by that synod, and prohibited the presbytery of Glasgow to commence, or carry on any further or other proceedings against the professor, on account of that sermon."

"Mr. Leechman being now at full liberty to exert his talents on the public theatre, his character, both as a preacher and a professor, shone out the brighter, after this cloud was dissipated. No further attempts were made to darken his reputation, and to disturb him in the exercise of his duty. Some of those who had appeared his keen adversaries in the church process lived with him afterwards on terms of sincere friendship: even the prejudices of the common people in Glasgow gradually subsided; so that he came to be considered there, as he had always been in every other place, a very acceptable preacher.

"But his time was chiefly employed, at the beginning, in preparing lectures for the divinity hall. Dr. Hutchefon, who spoke Latin with more fluency and elegance than most men, was the first who introduced the custom of lecturing in English at university. Mr. Leechman followed his example: and

though his great modesty prevented him from ever attaining to the easy and spirited manner of that celebrated professor, who lectured, to appearance, extempore, walked up and down in his class-room, and spoke with an animation of countenance, voice, and gesture which instantly went to the heart; though Mr. Leechman made an almost constant use of his papers, under the disadvantage of being very near sighted; yet his lectures were also judicious, liberal, sometimes uncommonly striking, and equally relished by the great multitude of students who attended them.

"Doctor Leechman continued in the theological chair seventeen years, cutting off, from time to time, such parts of his lectures as were least valuable: enriching them with something new or more important, suggested by the train of reading in which he was engaged, or by his own fertile mind: especially vindicating and establishing the grand truths of natural and revealed religion against the principal objections made to them by Mr. Hume, lord Bolingbroke, Voltaire, and other sceptical writers, whose books made their first appearance during that period, and, from the literary reputation of the authors, attracted more of the public attention than they deserved. Dr. Leechman was, indeed, qualified, beyond most men, to be a successful teacher and defender of truth. His love of it was pure and warm: yet this generous warmth was strictly guarded by the modesty of his own mind, and never betrayed him into any harsh or indecent language towards those whose opinions he could not but consider as hostile to truth, and to the best interests of mankind. He was as free, as any man I ever knew, from bigotry, or an improper attachment to any systems

tenis of theology of philosophy, that of Hutcheson his beloved friend not excepted. He was, to all appearance, equally candid with the justly-admired Lardner: and though his reading or learning was considerably inferior to that prodigy of knowledge, yet it was still very extensive, especially in the historical, moral, and theological branches. He had, perhaps more original genius and force of mind than Lardner. He had a most remarkable talent of selecting what was most important or most striking on every subject he handled; so that his arguments were never specious but solid; not founded on speculations, but facts; urged at the same time with a degree of warmth, which carried the hearers, along with him; for they were addressed equally to the judgment and to the heart. In fine, the exertion of these distinguished talents was stimulated and heightened by a spirit of manly devotion, which he never concealed, but gave way to on all proper occasions: and though the effects of this were transient on many, yet it left such impressions on some minds as will never be entirely effaced.

“ Dr. Leechman’s fame and success as a teacher was such as might be expected from such talents and virtues. The first prejudices raised against him were soon forgotten. The divinity hall at Glasgow, was crowded in his time with a greater number of scholars than any other in Scotland. His labours there contributed to increase the rising reputation of that university, and did eminent service to the church, especially by inspiring young minds with an ardour for truth, cherishing a spirit of inquiry after it, and diffusing rational and liberal sentiments of religion in that corner of the

country. Even the young men designed for the ministry among the seceders, who are considered as the most rigid sect in Scotland, attended Dr. Leechman’s lectures in considerable numbers; and thus manifested a thirst for knowledge and liberality of mind, which did them much honour. Many ingenious young men from England and Ireland attended his lectures, and improved under his tuition, several of whom have since distinguished themselves both among the dissenters and in the church. His numerous scholars, however they might differ in their sentiments of speculative theology and church government, were all cordially united in their affection and veneration for their old master, imbibed early, and retained to the last.”

“ Dr. Leechman was slender in his make, but had firm nerves, and a strong, clear, commanding voice. His health was on the whole good, but needed the guard of strict temperance and exercise during the summer months; and was withal, sometimes, so precarious as to alarm his friends. In his youth he was thought to be in the last stage of consumption, and recovered beyond expectation. At Glasgow, he was subject to frequent coughs, which did not however prevent him from studying hard, and teaching constantly; till about the beginning of the year 1759, when his cough increased, accompanied with hæmorrhages. This ended in his spitting up an imposthume from his breast. During this illness he taught as long as he was able, in the public hall, and afterwards in a large room in his own house, till he was forced to stop in the middle of a lecture; yet he still continued to meet with his students and to hear their dis-

courses, after he was unable to speak to them any longer than a few minutes himself.

"In the beginning of that summer, his physicians sent him to Bristol. Mrs. Leechman and he set out in the view of going by London, with many introductory letters; but he grew so ill on the road, that it was thought necessary to go to Bristol without delay. He received great benefit from the use of the waters, living, during the summer and harvest months, at the village of Clifton-hill, where they met with much civility and attention from several gentlemen and clergymen in that neighbourhood."

"After the death of Mr. Neil Campbell, principal of the university, Dr. Leechman was raised to that office during the summer 1761, by a presentation from the king. For this last step of his advancement he was chiefly indebted to Mr. Mure, then one of the barons of the exchequer in Scotland, his old pupil and intimate friend. The students of divinity saw with regret their professor removed from a station where he had been so useful to them; yet they were happy to see him raised to what is the summit of ambition to a clergyman in Scotland: placed at the head of a respectable university, and in a situation where he could enjoy, *otium cum dignitate*. Indeed the state of his health had been for some time so precarious, and he exerted himself in doing his duty to others with so much ardour, and so much indifference about his own health and life, that nothing could be more seasonable than this relaxation from the labour of public teaching. It was probably the principal means of prolonging his valuable life for five and twenty years.

"Yet it was impossible for a

mind so conscientious and so active as his was, to enjoy much ease in his new station, entrusted as he was with the oversight, both of the morals and literature of such a numerous society; and having a peculiar trouble from his office, with the superintendence and administration of the various branches of its revenue, more complicated and considerable, on the whole, than that of the other Scottish universities. This trouble was doubtless increased, from his having been little accustomed to business during his former life.

"Besides, he did not confine himself to the ordinary routine of duty connected with his office; but entered warmly into every scheme for the benefit and improvement of the society suggested by other professors, and prosecuted some schemes of his own suggestion. He gave a lecture, for some time, once a week, to the students of divinity, which he was entitled to do as *primarius professor*; and during the session 1763, and several following sessions, he gave weekly lectures to the whole university, I believe, upon the Sunday evening, when they were disengaged from their peculiar studies; — Lectures upon various subjects, such as the design of academical institutions, and the conduct incumbent both on the masters and scholars to answer this design: upon self-knowledge, as subservient to this, as well as to our general conduct in life: upon the wisdom and benefit of early piety; upon the excellency of the scriptures, with some other lectures formerly delivered in the divinity hall, and now adapted to a more mixed audience. These lectures were remembered and spoken of afterwards, as excellently calculated to inspire young minds with an ardour both for literary and moral

moral improvement, and to stimulate them to strenuous exertions in this steep but pleasing path: to guard them against the influence of the spirit of scepticism and licentiousness, very catching in the present age; and to prepare them to make a manly stand, in their riper years, for truth, virtue, liberty, and every thing important to mankind. Several of the students, who attended these evening lectures, still remember the deep impressions which they made upon their minds at the time, the increased attachment to study, and the exertions excited by them."

"His faculties remained in full vigour amidst the increasing infirmities of old age, and his taste for valuable knowledge as acute as ever. This enabled him to be useful to many in his private capacity. His house was open to students in every walk, where the conversation usually turned on subjects of learning and taste, and contributed to their improvement."

"For the last twelve years of his life, he was distressed with asthmatic and gravelly complaints, which he bore with great patience. Having in his youth improperly accustomed himself to late rather than early hours of study; this, together with his asthma, gradually brought on a habit of night-waking, such, that for several years, he had no sleep till six or seven in the morning, and then only very little, sometimes none at all, for a night or two together. Yet he never complained."

"Nevertheless, the want of this best of all restoratives by degrees wasted his flesh, and exhausted his bodily strength, without having any visible effect upon his spirits. These continued invariably good. He was

ever fit for business or conversation. His mind seemed indeed to be in a great measure independent of all bodily infirmities and connexions. Firm in his own native and acquired vigour, supported by the steady principles and joyful hopes of religion, and perpetually animated by some worthy purpose, it stood in no need of the amusements which weaker minds are obliged to have recourse to, in order to support or recruit their exhausted spirits."

"When Dr. Leechman was at his country-house about the middle of September 1785, being now in the eightieth year of his age, his strength exhausted by the want of sleep, and his body worn to a shadow; he had a sudden and violent paralytic shock, in consequence of which he lay insensible for an hour. He came out of this, however, perfectly well, as if nothing had happened. But on the 24th of October he had a second shock of the same kind, that lasted only five minutes, and deprived him of the power of his whole left side, which he never recovered, but he lay for six weeks longer in his bed in a state of extreme weakness. He was for the most part free from sharp pain, yet often, for days together, restless and distressed in every posture that could be contrived for him; which he bore with great patience. During this last scene of his life, he exhibited to those about him, a spectacle, not of compassion or regret, but worthy of admiration, a great soul in a manner without a body: for his bodily powers were all gone, except the power of speech, and this sometimes scarcely audible. But his mind retained its wonted vigour; continued in full possession of its faculties; often as intelligent, judicious, and even acute, as ever; always
firm

serene and happy, to a degree which he was unable to express."

"His disorder took various turns, and once or twice flattered his friends, even his medical friends, with some slight hope of a recovery."

"On the first of December he recovered so much, as to surprise every body, and conversed again with his friends in the most easy and cheerful manner imaginable. But the ray of hope was soon extinguished! For the next day he had a third attack of his disorder, not only on his extremities, like the former, but over his whole body; so that it was thought impossible any could come out of it. He did, however, recover in an hour or two; and though he spoke nothing that evening, but yes or no, when a question was put to him; he seemed easy, or free from pain; his countenance resumed its wonted serenity and placid serenity."

"Thus he continued till very early in the morning, December 3, when he fell asleep, and this in so easy a manner, that nobody about him knew the exact time when it happened."

"Such was the life, and such the death, of this good man. They afford a pleasing and striking proof, that Christianity has not grown old by length of time, but continues to exert even at this day, its primitive happy influence on some of the most liberal and best cultivated minds. Of this cast was Dr. Leechman's. His increasing knowledge did not weaken, but strengthen his faith. He had with him a fund of everlasting consolation and good hope through grace; which became more and more lively the nearer he approached to the consummation of his hope, and rendered the last scene, amidst the most humiliating bodily weakness, by far the highest and happiest scene of his life."

SKETCH of the CHARACTER of Mr. HARMER.

from the Preface to Dr. Symonds's Observations upon the Expediency of revising the present English Version of the four Gospels.]

THE reputation of Mr. Harmer, as a scholar and divine, is, I believe, fully and universally established. If, as a writer, he may sometimes be thought elegant in his style, and too minute in the investigation of facts, these defects are amply compensated by the general choice of his materials, and the clearness of method with which he digested and arranged them. Some books come into the world, set off with all the ornaments of language; and with their authors are soon forgotten; they

resemble those meteors, which by their luminous appearance attract our notice; and almost in the same moment vanish from our sight. The credit of Mr. Harmer's writings rests upon a foundation strong and durable. He hath professedly treated a subject of the first importance, which had before been touched upon only incidentally; and, by shewing at large the wonderful conformity between the ancient and modern customs in the East, hath not only thrown a considerable light upon numberless passages in the Bible, but hath

hath opened new and fruitful sources of information for the use of future expeditors.

“But it would be doing great injustice to Mr. Harmer, to confine our attention to the fruits of his learning alone. As the whole purpose of his studies was to illustrate the scriptures, so it was his constant endeavour to practise those duties, which are therein declared to be essential to the forming of a true Christian. He was a man of unaffected piety: equally kind as a master, parent, and husband: meek and modest in his deportment: and invariably averse from every degree of intemperance and excess. Superior to all those narrow and illiberal prejudices, which we are apt to imbibe from education or habit, he was governed by a general principle of benevolence; and though he was commonly called the Father of the Dissenters, yet his good offices were so far from being confined to those of his own communion, that he acknowledged and encouraged

merit wheresoever he found it. “will apply to Harmer” was the usual language of every injured person in his neighbourhood; and it seldom happened, that the aggressor was not soon induced by his persuasion to repair the injury which had been done; and I do not exaggerate when I affirm, that there is not probably a single instance of an individual to be found, who, by a mild and reasonable interference, prevented more law-suits than Mr. Harmer. When we reflect that these virtues, which he so eminently possessed, were still heightened the character of a peacemaker: a character, to which an evangelical blessing is annexed, we cannot but look upon his death as a public loss much less can we be surprized, that it should deeply affect all those who personally knew him and enjoyed his friendship; but by none is more sincerely lamented, than him, who offers this slender tribute of regard to his memory.”

ANECDOTES OF CORELLI.

[From the 3d vol. of Dr. Burney's General History of Music.]

“AT the time that Corelli enjoyed the highest reputation, his fame having reached the court of Naples, and excited a desire in the king to hear him perform, he was invited, by order of his majesty to that capital. Corelli, with some reluctance, was at length prevailed on to accept the invitation; but, lest he should not be well accompanied, he took with him his own second violin and violoncello. At Naples he found Alessandro Scarlatti, and several other masters, who entreated him to play some of his concertos before the

king; this he for some time declined, on account of his whole being not being with him, and there being no time, he said, for a rehearsal. At length, however, he consented and in great fear performed the first of his concertos. His astonishment was very great to find that the Neapolitan band executed his concertos almost as accurately at sight, as his own band, after repeated rehearsal when they had almost got their heart. *Si suona*, (says he to Alessandro, his second violin) *a Napoli*.

“After this, being again admitted into his Majesty's presence,

The LIFE of GIUSEPPE TARTINI. [[31]

desired to perform one of his sonatas, the king found one of the adagios so long and dry, that being tired, he quitted the room, to the great mortification of Corelli. Afterwards, he was desired to lead in the performance of a masque composed by Scarlatti, which was to be executed before the king; this he undertook, but from Scarlatti's little knowledge of the violin, the part was somewhat awkward and difficult: in one place it went up to *f*; and when they came to that passage, Corelli failed, and was unable to execute it; but he was astonished beyond measure to hear Peverillo, the Neapolitan leader, and the other violins, perform that which had baffled his skill. A song succeeded this, in *C* minor, which Corelli led off in *C* major; *ricominciaviamo*, said Scarlatti, good-naturedly. Still Corelli persisted in the major key, till Scarlatti was obliged to call out to him, and set him right. So mortified was poor Corelli with this disgrace, and the

general bad figure he imagined he had made at Naples, that he stole back to Rome in silence.

"It was soon after this, that a hautbois player, whose name Geminiani could not recollect, acquired such applause at Rome, that Corelli, disgusted, would never play again in public. All these mortifications, joined to the success of Valentini, whose concertos and performance, though infinitely inferior to those of Corelli, were become fashionable, threw him into such a state of melancholy and chagrin, as was thought, said Geminiani, to have hastened his death.

"This account of Corelli's journey to Naples is not a mere personal anecdote, as it throws a light upon the comparative state of music at Naples and at Rome in Corelli's time, and exhibits a curious contrast between the fiery genius of the Neapolitans, and the meek, timid, and gentle character of Corelli, so analogous to the style of his music.

The LIFE of GIUSEPPE TARTINI, with his CHARACTER as a COMPOSER.

[From the same Work.]

Giuseppe Tartini was born at Pirano, in the province of Istria, in April, 1692. His father having been a great benefactor to the cathedral church at Padua, had been ennobled in reward for his piety. Giuseppe was intended for the law, but mixing music with his other studies during the course of his education, it soon grew too powerful for the rest, and tyrannised over the whole circle of his sciences. This is not so surprising as another strong propensity, which

during his youth occupied his attention very much, which was fencing, an art that was not likely to become necessary to the safety or honour of a man of so pious and pacific a disposition, in a civil employment; and yet he is said to have equalled in this art even the master from whom he received instructions. In 1710, he was sent to the university of Padua to pursue his studies as a civilian; but before he was twenty, having married without the consent of his parents, they wholly

[32] The LIFE of GIUSEPPE TARTINI.

wholly abandoned him, and obliged him to wander about in search of an asylum; which, after many hardships, he found in a convent at Asolo, where he was received by a monk, his relation, who commiserating his misfortunes, let him remain there till something better could be done for him. Here he practised the violin to keep off melancholy reflections; but being discovered on a great festival in the orchestra of the church of the convent by the accident of a remarkable high wind, which, forcing open the doors of the church, blew aside the curtain of the orchestra and exposed all the performers to the sight of the congregation; when being recognized by a Paduan acquaintance, differences were accommodated, and he settled with his wife at Venice for some time. This lady, indeed, was of the Xantippe kind, and being himself very Socratic in wisdom, virtue, and patience, her reign was unmolested by any domestic war, or opposition to her supremacy.

"While he was at Venice, the celebrated Veracini arrived in that city, whose performance awakened an extraordinary emulation in Tartini, who, though he had been thought to have a powerful hand, had never heard a great player before, or conceived it possible for the bow to have such varied powers of energy and expression. He therefore quitted Venice the next day, and went to Ancona, in order to study the use of the bow in more tranquillity, and with more convenience than at Venice, as he had a place assigned him in the opera orchestra of that city.

"This happened in the year 1714, the year in which he discovered the phenomenon of the third sound. It was here too, and in the carnival

of the same year, that he heard and perceived the extraordinary effect of a piece of simple recitative, which he mentions in his *Trattato di Musica*. It was during his residence at Ancona, that, by diligent study and practice, he acquired sufficient abilities and reputation to be invited, in 1721, to the place of first violin and master of the band in the celebrated church of St. Anthony of Padua.

"By this time, his fame was so extended that he had repeated invitations from Paris and London to visit those capitals; but by a singular devotion and attachment to his patron saint, to whom he consecrated himself and his instrument, he declined entering into any other service.

"By the year 1728, he had made many excellent scholars, and formed a school, or method of practice for the students on the violin, that was celebrated all over Europe, and which increased in fame to the end of his life.

"The author of the compendium of his life informs us that his first book of solos was engraved at Amsterdam 1734; the second at Rome 1745, and that he produced above two hundred of these compositions which were handed about in manuscript by the curious; but does not seem to know that nine or ten books of Tartini's solos were printed at Paris, of which I am in possession of opera third, sixth, seventh and ninth, besides the two books printed in England, amounting upwards of fifty solos, exclusive of manuscripts.

"Of his concertos, which likewise amount to two hundred, this author gives a very unsatisfactory account. He says that a surreptitious copy of two sets having first appeared in Holland, he would never own them.

the first six seem to have been composed in his first manner before he changed his style; and I find them mentioned in Dutch catalogues before the year 1740. The second are more modern, and were manifestly composed in his second and more manner, after the year 1744, when he is said to have changed his style. They were collected, as Le Cene confesses, from different people who had obtained them from the author, and there was not the least doubt of their being genuine.

Though Tartini's compositions have afforded me great pleasure, they were never obliterated from my memory, yet as they are now as much laid aside as those of Bassani and Locatelli, I thought it right to send them a revision before I ventured my sentiments concerning their merit.

Tartini, on a recent examination of his works, seems, to my feelings and conceptions, to have had a large proportion of merit, as a mere instrumental composer, than any other who flourished during the last fifty or sixty years of the present century. Though he made himself his model in the purity of his harmony, and simplicity of his modulation, he greatly surpassed every composer in the fertility and originality of his invention; not only in the subjects of his melodies, but in the truly cantabile manner of playing them. Many of his adagios want nothing but words to be excellent pathetic opera songs. His allegros are sometimes difficult; but his passages fairly belong to the instrument for which they were composed, and were suggested by his consummate knowledge of the finger-board, and power of the bow. He certainly retained his passages, and adheres to the original motive, or theme, too

much, for the favourite desultory style of the present times; but it must be allowed that by his delicate selection and arrangement of notes, his passages are always good; play them quick or play them slow, they never seem unmeaning or fortuitious.

"Indeed, as a harmonist, he was perhaps more truly scientific than any other composer of his time in the clearness, character, and precision of his bases; which were never casual, or the effect of habit or auricular prejudice and expectation, but learned, judicious, and certain. And yet, with all my partiality for his style, talents, and abilities, as well as veneration for his principles and character, I must, in justice to others, own, that, though the adagio and solo-playing, in general, of his scholars are exquisitely polished and expressive, yet it seems as if that energy, fire, and freedom of bow, which modern symphonies and orchestra-playing require, were wanting. It is now (1788) eighteen years since I visited Italy, and gave my opinions of what then subsisted, with all the fairness and freedom possible; but since that time, the productions of Boccherini, Haydn, Pleyel, Vanhal, and others, have occasioned such a revolution in violin-music, and playing, by the fertility and boldness of their invention, that compositions which were then generally thought full of spirit and fire, appear now totally tame and insipid.

"This admirable musician and worthy man died the 26th of February, 1770, to the great regret of the inhabitants of the city of Padua, where he had resided near fifty years, and where he was not only regarded as its chief and most attractive ornament, but philosopher, saint, and sage.

"As Tartini, besides his practical excellence,

excellence, deservedly merits a place among the ingenious theorists of the present age, we shall reserve the

consideration of his writings on art for another part of this work.

SINGULAR ACCOUNT of LA MAUPIN.

[From the same Work.]

LA Maupin seems to have been a most extraordinary personage. "She was equally fond of both sexes, fought and loved like a man, and resisted and fell like a woman. Her adventures are of a very romantic kind. Married to a young husband, who soon was obliged to absent himself from her, to enter on an office he had obtained in Provence, she ran away with a fencing-master, of whom she learned the small-sword, and became an excellent fencer, which was afterwards an useful qualification to her on several occasions. The lovers first retreated from persecution to Marseilles; but necessity soon obliged them to solicit employment there, at the opera; and, as both had by nature good voices, they were received without difficulty. But soon after this she was seized with a passion for a young person of her own sex, whom she seduced, but the object of her whimsical affection being pursued by her friends and taken, was thrown into a convent at Avignon, where the Maupin soon followed her; and having presented herself as a novice, obtained admission. Some time after, she set fire to the convent, and, availing herself of the confusion she had occasioned, carried off her favourite. But being pursued and taken, she was condemned to the flames for contumacy; a sentence, however, which was not executed, as the young Marseillaise was found, and restored to her friends.

"She then went to Paris, made her first appearance on opera stage in 1695, when she formed the part of Pallas, in *Orphée*, with the greatest success. Applause was so violent, that she obliged, in her car, to take off casque to salute and thank the public, which redoubled their mark of approbation. From that time success was uninterrupted. Dumeni, the singer, having affronted her, she put on men's cloaths, was engaged for him in the *Place des Foyes*, and insisted on his drawing sword and fighting her, which refusing, she caned him, and came from him his watch and snuff-box. Next day Dumeni having boasted the opera-house, that he had defended himself against three who attempted to rob him, she related the whole story, and produced his watch and snuff-box in proof, her having caned him for cowardice. Thevenard was next treated in the same manner, and no other way of escaping her contumeliousness, than by publicly asking pardon, after hiding himself at Palais Royal during three weeks. At a ball given by Monsieur, brother of Louis XIV. she put on men's cloaths, and having danced impertinently to a lady, one of her friends, supposing the Maupin to be a man, called her out. She might easily have avoided combat by discovering her sex, but she instantly drew, and killed all three. Afterwards, return-

very coolly to the ball, she told the story to Monsieur, who obtained her pardon. After other adventures, she went to Brussels, and there became the mistress of the elector of Bavaria. This prince quitting her for the countess of Arcos, sent her by the count, husband of that lady, a purse of 40,000 livres, with an order to quit Brussels. This extraordinary heroine threw the purse at

the count's head, telling him, it was a recompence worthy of such a scoundrel and ——— as himself. After this, she returned to the opera stage, which she quitted in 1705. Being at length seized with a fit of devotion, she recalled her husband, who had remained in Provence, and passed with him the last years of her life in a very pious manner, dying in 1707, at the age of thirty-four."

Some ACCOUNT of Dr. ARNE, and his MUSICAL PRODUCTIONS.

[From the Fourth Volume of the same Work.]

THOMAS Augustine Arne was the son of Arne the celebrated upholder, of King-street, Covent-garden, at whose house the Indian Kings lodged in the reign of Queen Anne, as mentioned in the Spectator, No. 50. Arne had a good school education, having been sent to Eton by his father, who intended him for the law. But I have been assured by several of his school-fellows, that his love for music operated upon him too powerfully, even while he was Eton, for his own peace or that of his companions; for with a miserable cracked common-flute, he used to torment them night and day, when not obliged to attend the school. And he told me himself, that when he left Eton, such was his passion for music, that he used to avail himself of the privilege of a servant, by borrowing a livery and going into the upper gallery of the opera, which was then appropriated to domestics. At home he had contrived to secrete a spinet in his room; upon which, after muffling the strings with a handkerchief, he used to practise in the night while the rest of the family were asleep; for had his father discovered how he spent his time, he would, probably, have

thrown the instrument out of the window, if not the player. This young votary of Apo'lo was at length obliged to serve a three years clerkship to the law, without ever intending to make it his profession; but even during this servitude, he dedicated every moment he could obtain fairly, or otherwise, to the study of music. Besides practising on the spinet and studying composition, by himself, he contrived, during his clerkship, to acquire some instructions on the violin, of Festing, upon which instrument he had made so considerable a progress, that soon after he had quitted his legal master, his father accidentally calling at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood, upon business, found him engaged with company; but sending in his name, he was invited up stairs, where there was a large company and a concert, in which, to his great astonishment, he caught his son in the very act of playing the first fiddle! Finding him more admired for his musical talents than his knowledge in the law, he was soon prevailed upon to forgive his unruly passion, and to let him try to turn it to some account. No sooner was the young musician able to practice

aloud in his father's house, than he bewitched the whole family. In discovering that his sister was not only fond of music, but had a very sweet-toned and touching voice, he gave her such instructions as soon enabled her to sing for Lampe, in his opera of *Amelia*. And finding her so well received in that performance, he soon prepared a new character for her, by setting Addison's opera of *Rosamond*, in which he employed his younger brother likewise in the character of the Page. This musical drama was first performed March 7th, 1731, at Lincoln's-Inn Fields, where Mrs. Barbier performed the part of the King; Leveridge, Sir Trusty; Page, Master Arne, who had never appeared in public; Messenger, Mr. Corfe; Queen, Mrs. Jones; Grideline, Miss Chambers, and the part of Rosamond by Miss Arne. The opera was performed ten nights successively, and with great applause; the last time, for the benefit of Mr. Arne, jun. the composer. Having succeeded so well in a serious opera, our young musician tried his powers at a burletta, and fixed upon Fielding's *Tom Thumb* for that purpose, which, under the title of the *Tragedy of Tragedies* having met with great success in 1731, he now got it transferred into the *Opera of Operas*, and setting it to music "after the Italian manner," had it performed, May 31st, at the New Theatre in the Hay-market; the part of *Tom Thumb* by Master Arne, his brother. Princess *Amelia* and the Duke of Cumberland honoured the second representation with their presence; the prince of Wales, the sixth; the youngest princesses, the eighth; and afterwards it had a considerable run."

"In 1738, Arne established his reputation as a lyric composer, by the admirable manner in which he set

Milton's *Comus*. In this masque he introduced a light, airy, original, and pleasing melody, wholly different from that of Purcell or Handel, whom all English composers had hitherto either pillaged or imitated. Indeed, the melody of Arne at this time, and of his Vauxhall songs afterwards, forms an æra in English music; it was so easy, natural, and agreeable to the whole kingdom, that it had an effect upon our national taste; and till a more modern Italian style was introduced in the pasticcio English operas of Messrs. Bickerstaff and Cumberland, it was the standard of all perfection at our theatres and public gardens."

"In 1762, Arne quitted the former style of melody, in which he had so well set *Comus*, and furnished Vauxhall and the whole kingdom with such songs as had improved and polished our national taste; and when he set the bold translation of Metastasio's opera of *Artaserse*, he crowded the airs, particularly in the part of *Mandane* for Miss Brent with all the Italian divisions and difficulties which had ever been heard at the opera. This drama by the novelty of the music to English ears, with the talents of Tonducci, Peretti, and the Doctor scholar Miss Brent, had very great success; and still continues to be represented whenever singers can be found who are possessed of sufficient abilities for its performance. But in setting *Artaxerxes*, though the melody is less original than that of *Comus*, Arne had the merit of first adapting many of the best passages of Italy, which all Europe admired to our own language, and of incorporating them with his own property, and with what was still in favour of former English composers."

"The general melody of our countrymen

countryman, if analyzed, would perhaps appear to be neither Italian nor English, but an agreeable mixture of Italian, English, and Scots. Many of his ballads, indeed, were professed imitations of the Scots style; but in his other songs he frequently dropped into it, perhaps, without design. Arne was never a close imitator of Handel, nor thought, by the votaries of that great musician, to be a sound contrapuntist. However, he had an inward and secret reverence for his abilities, and for those of Geminiani, as well as for the science of Pepusch; but, except when he attempted oratorios, theirs was not the merit requisite for him, a popular composer who had different performers and different hearers to write for. In the science of harmony, though he was chiefly self-taught, yet being a man of genius, quick parts, and great penetration in his art, he betrayed no ignorance or want of study in his scores.

"The oratorios he produced were so unfortunate, that he was always under whenever they were performed. And yet it would be unjust to say that they did not merit a better fate; for though the choruses were much inferior in force to those of Handel, yet the airs were frequently admirable. But besides the great reputation of Handel with whom he was to contend, Arne never was able to have his music so well performed; his competitor had always a more numerous and select band, a better organ, which he played himself, and better fingers.

"None of this ingenious and pleasing composer's capital productions had full and unequivocal suc-

cess but *Comus* and *Artaxerxes*, at the distance of 24 years from each other. *Rosamond*, his first musical drama, had a few songs in it that were long in favour, and the *Judgment of Paris* many; but except when his sister, Miss Arne, afterwards Mrs. Cibber, sung in them, he never gained any thing by either. *Thomas and Sally*, indeed, as a farce, with very little musical merit, was often acted; and previous to that, *Eliza* was a little while in favour; but the number of his unfortunate pieces for the stage was prodigious; yet none of them were condemned or neglected for want of merit in the music, but words, of which the doctor was too frequently guilty of being the author. Upon the whole, though this composer, who died March 5th, 1778, had formed a new style of his own, there did not appear that fertility of ideas, original grandeur of thought, or those resources upon all occasions which are discoverable in the works of his predecessor, Purcell, both for the church and stage; yet, in secular music, he must be allowed to have surpassed him in ease, grace, and variety; which is no inconsiderable praise, when it is remembered, that from the death of Purcell to that of Arne, a period of more than four-score years, no candidate for musical fame among our countrymen had appeared, who was equally admired by the nation at large.

"Of near a hundred and fifty musical pieces that have been brought on the stage at our two national theatres within these forty years, thirty of them, at least, were set by Arne."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

The MANNER of CONDUCTING RELIGIOUS WORSHIP in the OTHOMAN EMPIRE.

[From the First Volume of M. D'OHSSON'S General History of the OTHOMAN EMPIRE.]

“THERE is the utmost simplicity in this public service, both with regard to the interior appearance of the mosques, and to the dress of the Imams and the other ministers of religion, who never wear any sacerdotal habit; yet nothing can be more awful and august than this ceremony, performed with the most silent and profound attention.

“Notwithstanding the simplicity of all their temples, they do not fail, particularly the imperial mosques, by their immense extent and high-vaulted roofs, to excite admiration. The generality of them are adorned with splendid columns of porphyry, of green antique, or of marble. The decorations consist only of small silver lamps, and of small lustres elegantly worked, surrounded by still smaller lamps, and ostriches' eggs, on which passages from the *Cour ann* are inscribed in letters of gold. Some of these mosques, particularly that of Sultan Ahmed, have also golden lamps enriched with jewels. The walls are in general ornamented only with inscriptions in large golden letters; such as the name of God, Allah, those of the Prophet, of the four first Khaliphs, and of the Imams

Hassan and Hussein, sons of Ali. They exhibit no image, figure, or representation whatever, neither painting or sculpture; the law is in this respect extremely rigorous.

“Three principal objects, if we may use the expression, may be said to characterize all the Mahometan temples; 1. the altar, *Mihrab*, which is a concavity or niche of four or eight feet high, cut out of the wall, at the extremity of the edifice and which serves no other purpose than to shew the geographical situation of Mecca; 2. the gallery of the Muezzinns, *Mahfil-Muezzin*, always on the left of the altar; 3. the pulpit, *Kurfi*, of the *Scheyks* who preach; it is elevated by two or three steps on the right of the altar. In the principal mosques, where preaching, *Khouthbé* is allowed, the solemn service on Fridays, and on the two feasts of *Bevram*, there is a second pulpit, called *Mimbar*, entirely consecrated to the minister *Khatib*, who discharges that important function. This pulpit, fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five steps, in proportion to the height of each mosque, is placed at a certain distance from the altar, always on the left hand. The imperial mosques and those which the sultan forms

times honours with his presence, are also decorated with a gallery, Mah-hsil-Padiscabhy, destined for his reception, and for that of the Khafscodahs, or gentlemen of the bed-chamber. It has gilt grated windows, and is placed on the right of the altar, opposite the pulpit of the Khatibs.

"In the day, the service is performed without tapers or flambeaux; and at the first, fourth, and fifth Namazs, they light only a part of the small lamps suspended from the ceiling, and the tapers placed near the altar. Of these there is in general only two, one on the right, the other on the left of the Mihhrab: they have been given by the founders of the mosques. Pious Mussulmen are, however, permitted to increase their number by donations equally perpetual. Thus some mosques have four, six, eight, ten, &c.: they are always placed by the side of the two first, in a right line, along the wall; the number of them, however, never exceeds eighteen, nine on each side of the altar. In case of additional donations, the Caïm-Baschy of the mosque, instead of increasing the number, causes new ones of a larger size to be made, composed of these and the former, in the form of flambeaux. The candlesticks are generally of copper, a very few of the mosques have them of silver: that of Saint Sophia has two of massive gold; a last monument of the spoils of Hungary, when Buda, its capital, fell into the hands of Suleyman I. such is at least the opinion of the people, and of the ministers who perform service in that mosque.

"In all the Mahometan temples there are neither benches nor chairs: the use of these would be incompatible both with the manners of the people, and with the nature of their

worship, which consists in inclinations and prostrations. The great and the small, all are seated, without distinction, on the carpets or mats with which the mosques are furnished at all seasons of the year; thus no one ever enters without leaving his outermost slippers at the door, both in summer and winter. The 19th and 25th plates, which represent Saint Sophia and Sultan-Ahmed, will afford an exact idea of the inside of these mosques. As to the political and historical account of these temples, their rank, their prerogatives, their revenues, &c. these circumstances will be discussed hereafter, in the chapter which mentions their being built.

"In the public service, the officiating Imam always faces the altar, and stands before the rest of the assembly; the people are ranged behind him in parallel lines, from the altar to the door of the temple. No one ever begins a new line till the vacancies of the preceding are entirely full: in this mode of arrangement are the Namazs performed in public. Their various movements, which are made with astonishing regularity and precision, present a most striking spectacle. The Imam alone recites the prayers aloud: he and the Muezzinns are the only persons allowed to chant. Of the fourteen profodies which they have for spiritual harmony, seven are reprobated as profane; the others are used by the ministers of religion; but the most esteemed, and most generally adopted, is that which bears the name of Assim. The people repeat in a low voice what the Imam chants, and hear in silence the different chapters of the Cour'ann which are recited by him. The Amen only, Aminn, may be articulated aloud. This Namaz, as has been already observed, constitutes

the whole religious ceremony of the Mahometans; it is uniform, general, universal, at all the canonical hours, in all the mosques, and throughout the whole course of the year; there is no difference, except with regard to the number of the rik'aths prescribed for each of the canonical hours, and to the recitation of the chapters of the Cour'ann, which are always at the choice of each Imam at public prayers, and of every individual in his private worship.

"As in the assembly of the men the law allows only women of a certain age, they are seldom seen in the mosques; private galleries are, however, set apart for them; they are furnished with grated windows, and are elevated at the entrance of the temple, above the principal door: the women, who are here placed, form, according to the spirit of the law, the last rows of the assembly. They never assemble together in a body to say their Namaz, either at the mosques or elsewhere. There are neither convents, monasteries, nor religious societies for the female sex; whatever be their state and condition, they almost universally say their Namaz in private.

"But the men, as has been already mentioned, are allowed to say it either in public or private: many of the nobles and public officers, when they are unable to attend the mosques, pray publicly with the servants of their household. If they perform this duty in the offices where they transact public business, all the persons who are there employed, all they who may accidentally be present, join in this pious ceremony. Hence in the public hotels, and in houses of distinction, they keep private Imams and Muezzinns, by the title of chaplains or almoners. These Muezzinns announce the Ezann on the top of the stair-case, or near the

door of the room where they meet to pray. They afterward place themselves in one of the rows of the assembly, where they recite the second sunmons, Ikaméth; after which the Imam, placed as in the mosques before the congregation, begins the Namaz. These private ministers are different from those public ones which officiate in the mosques. They are merely citizens appointed by the heads of families under whose name and authority they preside over this religious service, as having themselves the privilege of discharging in their own houses the sacred office of Imam. This prerogative is common to every Mussulman in these private assemblies; and it is at the choice of this transient Imam, whether he who officiates be possessed of those virtuous qualities which the law requires in those who assume that hallowed character.

"Except in case of lawful impediments, they very seldom omit the daily Namazs in public, either at the mosques, or elsewhere. The really pious, and they who find it their interest to appear so, never omit this service. The Sultans themselves very frequently join in this ceremony with the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, in a chapel of the seraglio. They who omit this ceremony dread the censures of the lawyers, the most rigorous of whom loudly accuse those who say their Namaz in private, but particularly persons of rank and dignity, as being more especially required to set an example to the rest of the nation.

"Bayezid I. devoted to wine and debauchery, neglected the public prayers. We are informed by Sa'd-ed-dinn Efendy, that this monarch had a dispute with the principal Oulémas of his court, respecting a cause which interested one of the

of the palace. It was necessary to produce a second witness to prove judicially the object of the procedure. Bayezid, who was acquainted with it, told the Mollas, that he knew accurately the circumstance, and would bear testimony to the truth: "We can only believe your word," replied one of these magistrates, Fencrizadé Shems'uddinn Efendy, Cady of Brouse, then the capital of the empire; "but the evidence of your majesty is not admissible in any judicial question." Bayezid's expressing the greatest surprise, the Cady very respectfully explained to him, that the law did not allow a Mussulman to be a wit-

ness, unless he had been faithful to his religion, and attentive to fulfil all the duties of external worship, "Thus, as your majesty," added he, "does not join in the five daily Namazs in common with the faithful, your testimony is not admissible." These words made a deep impression on the mind of the sultan: from that day he determined to be rigorously attentive to this public form of prayer; he commanded even a mosque to be constructed near his palace, where he afterward attended regularly every day, says the same author, to discharge publicly this first duty of Islamism."

FUNERAL LAWS and CEREMONIES of the MAHOMETANS.

[From the same Work.]

THESE funeral laws are observed with the most scrupulous attention by the whole Mahometan people. They use uniformly the same lotions, the same envelopes, the same perfumes, the same prayers, and the same celerity in interment.

"Notwithstanding the silence of the ancient Imams, respecting those who have a right to administer the funeral lotion, all the modern doctors are of opinion that it belongs, as well as the funeral prayer, to the sultan, as supreme Imam; to him to the magistrates, to the Mollas, Cadys, and Naibs; afterward to the natural guardian of the deceased, to his father, son, or nearest relation. It is only when these are wanting that the right devolves to the Imams-Khatibs, which they are considered as transmitting to the rectors, Imam'ulhahhs. These all generally discharge this duty in person, or substitute the Muezz-

zins and Caiyims belonging to the same mosque. With regard to the female sex, this office is always performed by women, who are particularly appointed, by the name Ghafsalé, that is washer. However, in a case of absolute necessity, as if a woman die on board a ship, &c. a man is permitted to perform these lustrations; but then the nearest relations, Mahréms, have the sole right of exercising this religious privilege, the son being preferred to the husband, which is expressly determined in the collection of the Fethwas of the Moughy Behdje Abd'ullah Efendy.

"According to the historian Ahmed Efendy, the body of Mohammed was washed by his relations and principal disciples, Aly, Abas, Fazl, Cassim, Ussamé, Schakrann, &c.; that of Ebu-Bekir by his wife Effma. Almost all the khaliphs his successors received these lotions from the hands of their nearest relations.

The

The Othoman sultans, however, and all the princes of their family, are at their death generally washed by the Hunnkear-Imamys, who are the almoners of the seraglio.

“ No Mussulman is buried without these lustrations. The Mahometan annals afford only one example of their being neglected, which was the daughter of the Prophet. Fathima, the wife of Aly, who survived her father only six months, commanded in her last moments that with regard to her no funeral lotions or envelopes should be used; that her body should not be uncovered, but that she should be interred in her clothes: these orders were respectfully attended to.

“ The funeral prayer, which is subsequent to the lustrations, differs from the common Namaz, in requiring neither inclinations, prostrations, nor even the Ezann and Ikameth, which, as has been already mentioned, are considered as having been performed at the birth of the deceased, when he received his name. This prayer is said in the house of the person departed, whether man or woman, by relations and friends, at which the Imam of the parish always presides. With respect to sovereigns, it was formerly a prevailing custom, particularly among the khaliphs, that the new monarch discharged this religious duty to the prince whom he succeeded. This was in imitation of Omer, who, at Eubekir's death, said the funeral prayer before the whole family of this first of the khaliphs. For the Othoman sultans, it is usually the Imam-Ewel, the first almoner of the seraglio, or the Mouphty himself, or in his stead the Scheykh of Saint Sophia, who performs this function at the head of the principal Oulemas and officers of the court. The

Scheykh of Saint Sophia, who is considered as the highest of all the religious ministers, has also the right of exercising this office, and even that of the lustrations, at the death of the Mouphty and Grand Vezir, as being the two vicars and representatives of the sovereign, the one spiritual, the other temporal.

“ Throughout all classes of the nation, the funeral rites are performed always with as much simplicity as precipitation. This law was established by the Prophet's example, who, according to his own desire, was buried without pomp, a few hours after his decease. Hence the day of a Mussulman's death is also that of his interment, of whatever sex, rank, and condition. The dangerous haste can only be attributed to the heat of the climate. Humanity, it cannot be doubted, must sometimes be the victim of the custom, which is uniform at all seasons, and throughout all the Mahometan countries. They depart from it only in extraordinary cases and for sovereigns and persons of the highest rank. The khaliph Othman I. was not buried till the third day after his death, and then with the greatest secrecy, to conceal his body from the rage of those who had sought his life. All the sovereigns who have died in war, or at a distance from their capital, have been carried thither and interred many days after their decease.

“ The celerity prescribed to the attendants on a funeral is very religiously observed: they always carry a corpse with a quick pace. Relations and friends take the sole charge of the coffin, four, six, or eight at a time relieving each other successively. These are the last honours which are paid to blood and friendship. The sultans themselves

used formerly to carry the bodies of their predecessors, attended by the nobles and principal personages of the state.

"The coffin is always covered with a plain stuff, and in general a piece of the veil consecrated to the Keabé of Mecca is thrown over the upper part of it. It is of black silk, entirely embroidered with passages of the Cour'ann; it is, however, more commonly used for women and children. As men are forbidden the use of silk, many prohibit its being thrown over their coffins. They are in this respect more scrupulous at their death than during their life. Many families purchase at a high price these veils, which are revered as reliques, and employed only on this occasion: the molques supply those who are in want of them. This is the only article which they provide for funerals.

"The coffin is carried with the head foremost, and this part of it is ornamented with the turban of the deceased: that of the women is without any decorations. The funeral is never attended by tapers or flambeaux. There is neither chanting nor incense. It is only at the funerals of sovereigns, and of princes and princesses of the blood, that the Muezzins chant, and then in a low voice. Before the corpse are carried censers, Boukhourdamm, of gold or silver, fuming with ambergris and aloes. This deviation from the law is reserved as a distinction for the royal family. The women never attend; and the nearest relations, in obedience to the law, combat by restraining their tears the tenderest sentiments of nature. This opinion is beside conformable both to the extent which is allowed to the dogma of fatality, and to the glory which every Mussulman attributes

to himself when he follows the example of Mohammed, the founder of his religion.

"This extraordinary man shewed the most perfect resignation at every misfortune, whether private or public. Among other examples, history mentions that on the death of Boukhiyé, his daughter, who was married to Osman, Mohammed was then on his celebrated expedition of Bedr-Oeuzma against the people of Mecca. He received this news with astonishing coolness; and with dry eyes he uttered these remarkable words, "Let us give thanks to God, and accept as a favour even the death and interment of our daughters."

"After this principle of resignation, which forbids a Mussulman every external mark of sorrow, no mourning is ever worn. The Arabs formerly wore it. Black was the colour adopted by the khaliphs Abassides. Many sovereign families, particularly the Beno-Bouyé, who reigned in Persia and at Baghdad, as also the Fathimites of Egypt, used to wear mourning at the death of a monarch: that custom was not however general with regard to the nation, or to all the Mahometan courts. Under the first Othoman sultans, they wore mourning only for the sovereign, the princes of the blood, and sometimes for the Validé-Sultanas; but it never continued more than three days: it was worn only by the new sultan, and the principal officers of the court and seraglio. Some only covered their turban with a black muslin, which they called Schemlé. Mohammed III. put on mourning for the grand-vizir Lala Mohammed Pascha, for whom he had a strong affection, and who died in 1004 (1595), the tenth day after his nomination. He went even to visit his tomb, and gave bountifully

bountifully to the poor; these were honours which no other sultan ever paid to the memory of his ministers or favourites. Mourning was abolished at this court in the reign of Ibrahim I.

"They who do not profess the religion of Mohammed cannot attend the funeral of a mussulman; and no mahometan is allowed to be present at the interment of any one whose faith has been different from his own. They believe, in both these cases, that such a permission would defile religion, and vilify the dignity of Mussulmanism: on this subject, however, history presents an example worthy of notice.

"Under the reign of Melich-Schah, surnamed Djelal-ud-Dew-Jeth, the fourth king of the Seldjoukian dynasty, which occupied near a century and a half the throne of Isfahan in Persia, Nizam-ul-Mulk, his prime minister, was so powerful, says Ahmed Efendy, that he followed no other law than his own will, and that of his favourites and creatures. He appointed a Jew, named Ibn-Allam, to be Mouhassil, or general receiver of the public taxes at Bassora, who became the object of such terror and respect in that city, that at the death of his wife, in 467 (1074), all the public officers and mahometan citizens, except the Cady, honoured her obsequies with their presence. The historian mentions this circumstance in terms of the greatest astonishment.

"All bodies, whether of men, women, or children, are interred with the right side turned towards Mecca. Immediately after the interment, the Imam on his knees, sitting by the side of the grave, says the prayer Telkiun. He begins by addressing the deceased three times, by his own name, and by that of his mother: he never mentions

that of his father. If his mother's name be not known, for the mother he substitutes that of Mary, in honour of the holy virgin, and for the women that of Eve, in honour of the common mother of mankind. This law is observed even with regard to the sultans, and to all the princes and princesses of the imperial family. The Imam thus addresses the deceased, Ya Ahmed Ibn Meryem! Oh Ahmed son of Mary! Ya Fathima, binté Hewa! Oh Fathima, daughter of Eve! &c. He afterward recites the Telkiun which is as follows: "Remember the moment when thou didst leave the world, making the following profession of thy faith: Assuredly there is no God except God; he is alone, he is single, he allows no other being to be associated with himself; assuredly, Mohammed is the prophet of God; assuredly, paradise is real; assuredly, the resurrection is real; assuredly, the day of judgment is real and indisputable; assuredly, God will raise the dead, he will enable them to come forth from their tombs; assuredly thou hast acknowledged God as thy Lord, Islamism as thy religion, Mohammed as thy prophet, the Cour'ann as thy Imam, the Kaaba as thy Kiblé (that is, the sanctuary of Mecca as the place to which the prayers were directed) and the faithful as thy brethren. God my Lord, there is no other God but he; he is the master of the august and sacred throne of heaven. O N say that thy God is the Lord (this he repeats three times). O N say that there is no God except God (which he also repeats three times); O N say that Mohammed is the prophet of God that thy religion is Islamism, and that thy prophet is Mohammed upon whom be the salvation

and the mercy of the Lord. God, abandon us not; of all things thou art the most valuable." The Imam concludes this prayer with the Fatihha, the first chapter of the Cour'ann.

The same prayer serves sometimes for the interment of several persons at once, as in time of war or of the plague, when the Imams do not bury with that celerity which the law requires: in these cases only it is allowable to use for several persons the same funeral ceremony.

As the law forbids not only interment, but also the funeral prayer in the mosques, the bodies are always carried immediately from the houses to the public burying-grounds: these are beyond the limits of the cities, and most of them resemble the appearance of parks; they are planted with linden-trees, elms, &c., but particularly with cypress, which is a favourite tree with the Mahometans. The principal burying-grounds of Constantinople are, 1. those of Eyub, on account of the body of that saint, one of the first Mahometan apostles, who is buried in the suburb which bears his name; 2. those of Aiwan-Serai, where are deposited the remains of twenty-six other disciples of the prophet, who died under the walls of Constantinople, in the first attacks of the Mahometans against that city, under the Khalifat of Harun I. and, 3. those of Scutari in Asia, a suburb separated from Constantinople by the Thracian Bosphorus. Almost all the soldiers, nobles, and principal citizens, chuse to be interred in the burying-grounds of Scutary, as making part of the continent on which are situated the two sacred Arabian cities. This pious prevailing opinion is founded on a belief that

Asia is the only true country of the Mahometans; that it is the chosen continent reserved for Islamism by the special favour of Providence; and that the remains of Mussulmen rest there in much greater security than in European ground, where, with more religion than policy, they consider the Othoman power as less durable than in the Asiatic countries.

"All the graves are, in general, covered with earth, and raised above the ground to prevent any one from walking over the bodies of Mussulmen. There is no marble plate or monument whatever over the grave; it is covered with flowers, or with the apples of myrtle, yew, box, &c. Those of the common people have only two flat or oval stones, placed vertically, at the extremities of the grave. Those of the opulent citizens, and of persons of a certain rank, are distinguished by pieces of fine marble, of which that at the head is crowned with a marble turban. The form of this shews the rank and condition of the deceased, because the different classes of citizens are distinguished as much by the turban as by the rest of their dress. The tombs of the women differ from those of the men only in having the two sockets uniform, flat, and terminated in a point.

"On each epitaphs are engraved in golden characters: they express in general only the name of the deceased, his rank, the day of his death, and an exhortation to passengers to recite the Fatihha. Some of them exhibit distichs, quatrains, and stanzas of different length. Some describe the fragility of the world, the duration of eternity, and express wishes for the eternal felicity of the deceased. They are as follows: May the Almighty deign to wrap his soul in a cloud of mercy and

and gladness, and cover his tomb with the splendour of unceasing light! others represent death as the limit of human miseries in this short and transitory life, congratulate the deceased upon his happiness, and compare his soul to a nightingale in paradise, Djenneth-bulbul. Others mention his virtues and his attachment to religion, and exhort those who pass by to pray for the repose of his soul; that he may better deserve, on the day of judgment, the intercession of the prophet at the throne of the Almighty. Sometimes they consist only of two verses, This world is transitory, it has no continuance; to-day for me, to-morrow for thee. Upon those of children of both sexes, the grief of their parents is commonly expressed by lamentations against fate, which has had the cruelty it is said, to pluck the rose from the garden of delight and beauty, to tear a tender shrub from the bosom of its mother, and to cast its unfortunate parents into the flaming furnace of grief and despair.

"The tombs of persons of rank in the different orders of the state, are much more distinguished. They are surrounded with marble in the form of a chest, that part which is at

the head and feet being always more elevated."

"Those of the principal Mahometan Saints are a kind of citadel erected by the piety of monarchs of opulent individuals. Houses of distinction, particularly those of Oulemas, have vaults which serve for the interment of their families; they call them Turbe, which means a sepulchral chapel. They have nearly the same form as those of the Sultans, superb edifices which are built round the imperial mosques. A description of the will be afterward given, in the chapter which mentions the Mahometan temples.

"These mausoleums are, in general, the only monuments destined to perpetuate the glory of monarchs, and that of the principal personages in the empire. State marble trophies, symbolical figures, those pieces of sculpture which adorn most of the European churches, are unknown to Mahometans. This is a natural consequence of their extending that prohibition which forbids the painting of men and animals; a circumstance which will be explained in the moral part of the present work.

CEREMONIES attending the INAUGURATION of INFANT LAMA, in TIBET.

[From the First Volume of the ASIATICK RESEARCHES.]

"THE emperor of China appears on this occasion to have assumed a very conspicuous part in giving testimony of his respect and zeal for the great religious father of his faith. Early in the year 1784, he dismissed ambassadors from the court of Pekin to Teshoo Loomtoo, to represent their sovereign in

supporting the dignity of the high priest, and do honour to the occasion of the assumption of his office. Dalia Lama and the viceroy of Lassa, accompanied by all the court, one of the Chinese generals mentioned at Lassa with a part of his troops under his command, two of the four magistrates of the city

the heads of every monastery throughout Tibet, and the emperor's ambassadors, appeared at Teshoo Loomboo to celebrate this epoch in their theological institutions. The 28th day of the seventh moon, corresponding nearly, as their year commences with the vernal equinox, to the middle of October 1784, was chosen as the most auspicious for the ceremony of inauguration: a few days previous to which the Lama was conducted from Terpalang, the monastery in which he had passed his infancy, with every mark of pomp and homage that could be paid by an enthusiastic people. So great a concourse as assembled either from curiosity or devotion was never seen before, for not a person of any condition in Tibet was absent who could join the suite. The procession was hence necessarily constrained to move so slow, that tho' Terpalang is situated at the distance of twenty miles only from Teshoo Loomboo, three days expired in the performance of this short march. The first halt was made at Tson-due; the second at Summaar; about six miles off, whence the most splendid parade was reserved for the Lama's entry on the third day; the account of which is given me by a person who was present in the procession. The road, he says, was previously prepared by being whitened with a wash, and having piles of stones heaped up, with small intervals between on either side. The retinue passed between a double row of priests, who formed a street extending all the way from Summaar to the gates of the palace. Some of the priests held lighted rods of a perfumed composition, that burn like decayed wood, and emit an aromatic smoke; the rest were furnished with the different musical instruments they use at their devo-

tions, such as the gong, the cymbal, hautboy, trumpets, drums, and sea-shells, which were all sounded in union with the hymn they chanted. The croud of spectators were kept without the street, and none admitted on the high road but such as properly belonged to or had a prescribed place in the procession, which was arranged in the following order.

"The van was led by three military commandants or governors of districts at the head of 6 or 7000 horsemen armed with quivers, bows, and matchlocks. In their rear followed the ambassador, with his suite, carrying his diploma, as is the custom of China, made up in the form of a large tube, and fastened on his back. Next the Chinese general advanced with the troops under his command, mounted and accoutred after their way with fire-arms and sabres; then came a very numerous group bearing the various standards and insignia of state; next to them moved a full band of wind and other sonorous instruments; after which were led two horses richly caparisoned, each carrying two large circular stoves disposed like panniers across the horse's back and filled with burning aromatic woods. These were followed by a senior priest, called a Lama, who bore a box containing books of their form of prayer and some favourite idols. Next nine sumptuary horses were loaded with the Lama's apparel; after which came the priests immediately attached to the Lama's person for the performance of daily offices in the temple, amounting to about 700; following them were two men each carrying on his shoulder a large cylindrical gold insignium embossed with emblematical figures, (a gift from the Emperor of China). The Duhunners and Sopoos, who were

were employed in communicating addresses and distributing alms, immediately preceded the Lama's bier, which was covered with a gaudy canopy and borne by eight of the sixteen Chinese appointed for this service. On one side of the bier attended the regent, on the other the Lama's father. It was followed by the heads of the different monasteries, and as the procession advanced, the priests who formed the street fell in the rear and brought up the suite, which moved at an extremely slow pace, and about noon was received within the confines of the monastery amidst an amazing display of colours, the acclamations of the croud, solemn music, and the chanting of their priests.

The Lama being safely lodged in the palace, the Regent and Soopoon Choomboo went out, as is a customary compliment paid to visitors of high rank on their near approach, to meet and conduct Dalai Lama and the Viceroy of Lassa who were on the way to Teeshoo Loomboo. Their retinues encountered the following morning at the foot of Painom castle, and the next day together entered the Monastery of Teeshoo Loomboo, in which both Dalai Lama and the Viceroy were accommodated during their stay.

The following morning, which was the third after Teeshoo Lama's arrival, he was carried to the great temple, and about noon seated upon the throne of his progenitors; At which time the emperor's ambassador delivered his diploma, and placed the presents with which he had been charged at the Lama's feet.

The three next ensuing days, Dalai Lama met Teeshoo Lama in the temple, where they were assisted by all the priests in the invocation and public worship of their

Gods. The rites then performed completed, as I understand, the business of inauguration. During this interval all who were at the capital, were entertained at the public expence, and alms were distributed without reserve. In conformity likewise to previous notice circulated every where for the same space of time, universal rejoicings prevailed throughout Tibet. Banners were unfurled on all their fortresses, the peasantry filled up the day with music and festivity, and the night was celebrated by general illuminations. A long period was afterwards employed in making presents and public entertainments to the newly inducted Lama, who at the time of his accession to the Musnad, or if I may use the term, pontificate, of Teeshoo Loomboo, was not three years of age. The ceremony was begun by Dalai Lama, whose offerings are said to have amounted to a greater value, and his public entertainments to have been more splendid, than the rest. The second day was dedicated to the Viceroy of Lassa. The third to the Chinese General. Then followed the Cullong or Magistrates of Lassa, and the rest of the principal persons who had accompanied Dalai Lama. After which the Regent of Teeshoo Loomboo, and all that were dependent on that government, were severally admitted, according to pre-eminence of rank, to pay their tributes of obeisance and respect. As soon as the acknowledgements of all those were received who were admissible to the privilege, Teeshoo Lama made, in the same order, suitable returns to each, and the consummation lasted forty days.

Many importunities were used with Dalai Lama to prolong his stay at Teeshoo Loomboo, but he excused himself

from encumbering the capital any longer with so numerous a concourse of people as attended on his movements; and deeming it expedient to make his absence as short as possible from the seat of his authority,

at the expiration of forty days he withdrew with all his suite to Laffa, and the emperor's ambassador received his dismissal to return to China; and thus terminated this famous festival."

ACCOUNT of the religious Sect of SEEKS, at PATNA, in a Letter from CHARLES WILKINS, Esq. to the Secretary of the ASIATIC SOCIETY.

[From the same Work.]

I FOUND the college of the Seekers, situated in one of the narrow streets of Patna, at no very considerable distance from the custom-house. I was permitted to enter the outward gate, but as soon as I came to the steps, which led up to the chapel, or public hall, I was civilly accosted by two of the society. I asked them if I might ascend into the hall: they said it was a place of worship open to me as to all men; but at the same time, intimated that I must take off my shoes. As I consider this ceremony in the same light as uncovering my head upon entering any of our temples dedicated to the Deity, I did not hesitate to comply, and I was then politely conducted into the hall, and seated upon a carpet in the midst of the assembly, which was so numerous as almost to fill the room. The whole building forms a square of about forty feet, raised from the ground about six or eight feet. The hall is in the center, divided from four other apartments by wooden arches, upon pillars of the same materials, all neatly carved. This room is rather longer than it is broad. The floor was covered with a neat carpet, and furnished with six or seven low desks, upon which stood as many of the books of their law; and the walls, above

the arches, were hung with European looking glasses in gold frames, and pictures of Mussulman princes, and Hindoo deities. A little room which, as you enter, is situated at the left hand end of the hall, is the chancel, and is furnished with an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which was laid a round black shield over a long broad sword, and on either side, a chowry of peacock's feathers, mounted in a silver handle. The altar was raised a little above the ground, in a declining position. Before it stood a low kind of throne plated with silver; but rather too small to be useful; about it were several silver flower pots, and rose-water bottles, and on the left hand stood three small urns which appeared to be copper, furnished with notches to receive the donations of the charitable. There stood also near the altar, on a low desk, a great book of a folio size, from which some portions are daily read in their divine service. It was covered over with a blue mantle, on which were printed, in silver letters, some select passages of their law.

"After I had had a long conversation with two of the congregation, who had politely seated themselves, on each side of me, on the carpet, and whom I found very intelligent,

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telligent, notice was given, that it was noon and the hour of divine service. The congregation arranged themselves upon the carpet, on each side of the hall, so as to leave a space before the altar from end to end. The great book, desk, and, all, was brought, with some little ceremony from the altar, and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man, with a reverend silver beard, kneeled down before the desk, with his face towards the altar; and on one side of him sat a man with a small drum, and two or three with cymbals. The book was now opened, and the old man began to chant to the time of the drum and the cymbals; and at the conclusion of every verse, most of the congregation joined chorus in a response, with countenances exhibiting great marks of joy. Their tones were by no means harsh; the time was quick; and I learnt that the subject was a hymn in praise of the unity, the omnipresence, and the omnipotence, of the Deity. I was singularly delighted with the gestures of the old man: I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy, whilst he turned about from one to another, as it were, bespeaking their assents to those truths, which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth. The hymn being concluded which consisted of about twenty verses, the whole congregation got up and presented their faces with joined hands towards the altar, in the attitude of prayer. A young man now stood forth; and, with a loud voice and distinct accent, solemnly pronounced a long prayer or kind of liturgy, at certain periods of which all the people joined in a general response, saying *Wa Gooroo!* They prayed against temptation; for grace to do good;

for the general good of mankind and a particular blessing to the Seekers: and for the safety of those who at that time were on their travels. This prayer was followed by a short blessing from the old man and an invitation to the assembly to partake of a friendly feast. The book was then closed and restored to its place at the altar, and the people being seated as before, two men entered, bearing a large iron cauldron, called a curray, just taken from the fire, and placed it in the center of the hall, upon a low stool. These were followed by others with five or six dishes, some of which were of silver, and a large pile of leaves sewed together with fibres in the form of plates. One of the plates was given to each of the company without distinction, and the dishes being filled from the cauldron, the contents were served out till every one had got his share: myself was not forgotten, and as I was resolved not to give them the smallest occasion for offence, I ate up my portion. It was a kind of sweetmeat, of the consistence of soft brown sugar, compounded of flour and sugar mixed with clarified butter, which is called ghee. Had not the ghee been rancid I should have relished it better. We were next served with few sugar-plums; and here ended the feast and the ceremonies of the day. They told me the religious part of the ceremony was daily repeated five times. I now took leave, inviting some of the principal men amongst them, who were about to return to their own country through Banaris, to pay me a visit.

"In the course of the conversation I was engaged in with the two Seekers before the service, I was able to gather the following circumstances

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That the founder of their faith was called Nanee Sah, who flourished about four hundred years ago at Punjab, and who, before his apostasy, was a Hindoo of the Kshetry, or military tribe; and that his body disappeared as the Hindoos and Mussulmans were disputing for it; for upon their removing the cloth which covered it, it was gone. That he left behind him a book, composed by himself, in verse and the language of Punjab, but a character partly of his own invention; which teaches the doctrines of the faith he had established. That they call this character, in honour of their founder, Gooroo-Mookhee: from the mouth of the preceptor; that this book, of which that standing near the altar, and several others in the hall, were copies, teaches that there is but one God, omnipotent and omnipresent; filling all space, and pervading all matter; and that he is to be worshipped and invoked. That there will be a day of retribution, when virtue will be rewarded and vice punished, (I forgot to ask in what manner); that it not only commands universal toleration, but forbids disputes with those of another persuasion. That it forbids murder, theft, and such other crimes as are, by the majority of mankind, esteemed crimes against society; and inculcates the practice of all the virtues, but particularly, an universal philanthropy, and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers. This is all my short view would permit me to learn of this book. It is a folio volume, containing about four or five hundred pages.

They told me further, that some years after this book of Nanee Sah had been promulgated, another made its appearance, now held almost as much esteem as the for-

mer. The name of the author has escaped my memory; but they favoured me with an extract from the book itself in praise of the deity: The passage had struck my ear on the first entering the hall, when the students were all engaged in reading. From the similarity of the language to the Hindoovee, and many Shanscrit words, I was able to understand a good deal of it, and I hope, at some future period, to have the honour of laying a translation of it before the Society. They told me I might have copies of both their books, if I would be at the expence of transcribing them.

I next enquired why they were called Seekers, and they told me it was a word borrowed from one of the commandments of their founder which signifies "Learn thou;" and that it was adopted to distinguish the sect soon after he disappeared. The word, as is well known, has the same import in the Hindoovee.

"I asked them what were the ceremonies used in admitting a profelyte. A person having shewn a sincere inclination to renounce his former opinions, to any five or more Seekers assembled together, in any place, as well on the highway as in a house of worship, they send to the first shop where sweetmeats are sold, and procure a small quantity of a particular sort, which is very common, and, as I recollect, they call Batafa, and having diluted it in pure water, they sprinkle some of it on the body, and into the eyes of the convert, whilst one of the best instructed repeats to him, in any language with which he is conversant, the chief canons of their faith, exacting from him a solemn promise to abide by them the rest of his life. This is the whole of the ceremony. The new convert may

then choose a Gooroo, or preceptor, to teach him the language of their scriptures, who first gives him the alphabet to learn, and so leads him on, by slow degrees, until he wants no instruction. They offered to admit me into their Society; but I declined the honour; contenting myself with the alphabet which they told me to guard as the apple of my eye, as it was a sacred cha-

racter. I find it differs but little from the Dewnagur: the numbers, order, and powers of the letters are exactly the same. The language itself is a mixture of Persian, Arabic, and some Shanscrit, grafted upon the provincial dialect of Punjab, which is a kind of Hindoo-vee, or, as it is vulgarly called by us, Moors."

Some ACCOUNT of the CAFFRES.

[Extracted from PATTERSON'S Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the HOTTENTOTS, &c.]

"**A**BOUT eight in the evening we met three of the Caffres, who were much surpris'd at our appearance, as we were certainly the first Europeans they had ever seen. They speedily returned and alarmed the whole village before we arrived; but on our arrival, they received us kindly, brought us milk, and offered us a fat bullock agreeably to their usual hospitable custom. This village consisted of about fifty houses, situate on the banks of a pleasant river, called in the Caffre language Mugu Ranie; and it belongs to their chief. It contained about three hundred inhabitants, all of whom were servants or soldiers to their chief, who was likewise the proprietor of the numerous herds of cattle. These people subsist on the milk of their cows, and on game, not being allowed to kill any of their cattle. The men milk the cows, and the women take care of the gardens and corn.

"We were accompanied by all these people from one village to another, till we arrived at the place belonging to the person whom they denominate their chief or king.

His habitation was situate on a pleasant river, called Becha Cum, or Milk River. Indeed all their houses are built on the banks of rivers or streams: but there was no corn or garden near it. The chief had about an hundred cows, which supplied him and his household with milk. His family consisted of about twenty-two servants, who attended him wherever he went. On our arrival he seemed very shy, and kept at a great distance for about an hour, when a number of Caffres met and accompanied him to his house. He soon afterwards sent one of his servants to invite us thither. The first thing I presented him with, was some beads, of which he freely accepted. I also offered him some of our tobacco: but he seemed to prefer his own, which was much lighter. He soon offered me a herd of fat bullocks in return; but I refused to take them, which seemed to affront him greatly, and he often repeated, "What do you think of our country. After a few words between us, I accepted of one, which we immediately shot; this surpris'd all the spectators, who were about six hun-

ed persons, few of them having ever seen a gun, or heard the report of one. We had a part of the bullock dressed, which I thought much superior to the beef near the Cape. The rest of the animal I distributed to the king and his servants. He still seemed displeased that I would accept of nothing more in return. I then asked him for some of their baskets, which he gave me, and also two of their lances or assegais, which they make with great ingenuity; but the construction of the baskets, which are made by their women, is much more surprising; they are composed of grass, and woven so closely that they are capable of holding any fluid. Khouta, the chief, intreated me to remain with him a few days; this, however, we did not consent to; but after much persuasion, agreed to stay all night. In the afternoon I ranged the neighbouring woods in search of plants, and at night returned to my companion, who staid at the Becha Cum. As the weather was hot, we chose to sleep in the woods rather than in any of the huts. During the night I observed that there were two guards placed on each side the door of the chief's house, who were relieved about every two hours.

"On the ninth, I proposed to proceed farther to the east, allured by the pleasantness of the country, and its affording variety of unknown plants, but found there was a river a little to the eastward of us, called by the natives the Kys Comma. We then determined to return the same way we came. The large palm, grows here in abundance, and is used for bread by the Caffres as well as the Hottentots. They take the pith of this plant, and after collecting a sufficient quantity let it lie several days till it becomes a little

four; after this they bake it in an oven which is erected for the purpose. They also bake bread of their own corn, which is the same as the Guinea corn. But this grain is mostly used for making punch, called by some of them Pombie, which is strong and intoxicating. They make considerable use of a plant, called by the natives plantains, which grows spontaneously on the banks of the rivers, and in the woods. The pods of this plant are triangular, and about the size of a prickly cucumber. I found none of them in flower, but several in fruit; the seed is about as large as a pea; and I believe it to be what Dr. Tunberg calls the *Helaconia Caffraria*.

"The men amongst the Caffres are from five feet ten inches to six feet high, and well proportioned, and in general evince great courage in attacking lions, or any beasts of prey. This nation is now divided into two parties; to the northward are a number of them commanded by one Chatha Bea, or Tambushie, who has obtained the latter denomination from his mother, a woman of the tribe of Hottentots called Tambukies. This man was the son of a chief, called Pharoa, who died about three years before, and left two sons, Cha Cha Bea, and another named Dsirika, who claimed the supreme authority on account of his mother being of the Caffre nation. This occasioned a contest between the two brothers, in the course of which Cha Cha Bea was driven out of his territories, with a number of his adherents. The unfortunate chief travelled about an hundred miles to the northward of Khouta, where he now resides, and has entered into an alliance with the Boshmen Hottentots.

"The colour of the Caffres is a
D 3 jet

[54] CHARACTER of the SPANISH LADIES.

jet black, their teeth white as ivory, and their eyes large. The cloathing of both sexes is nearly the same, consisting entirely of the hides of oxen, which are as pliant as cloth. The men wear tails of different animals tied round their thighs, pieces of brags in their hair, and large ivory rings on their arms; they are also adorned with the hair of lions, and feathers fastened on their heads, with many other fantastical ornaments. When they are about nine years of age they undergo the operation of being circumcised, and afterwards wear a muzzle of leather which covers the extremity of the penis, and is suspended by a leathern thong from their middle. This covering is in general ornamented with beads and brags rings, which they purchase from the Hotentots for tobacco and Dacka. They are extremely fond of dogs, which they exchange for cattle, and to such a height do they carry this passion, that if one particularly pleases them, they will give two bullocks in exchange for it. Their whole exercise through the day is hunting, fighting, or dancing. They are expert in throwing their lances,

and in time of war use shields made of the hides of oxen. The women are employed in the cultivation of their gardens and corn. They cultivate several vegetables, which are not indigenous to their country, such as tobacco, water-melons, a small sort of kidney-beans, and hemp, none of which I found growing spontaneously. The women make their baskets, and the mats which they sleep on. The men have great pride in their cattle; they cut their horns in such a way as to be able to turn them into any shape they please, and teach them to answer a whistle. Some of them use an instrument for this purpose similar to a Boshman's pipe. When they wish their cattle to return home, they go a little way from the house and blow this small instrument, which is made of ivory or bone, and so constructed as to be heard at a great distance, and in this manner bring all their cattle home without any difficulty. The soil of this country is a blackish loam ground, and so extremely fertile that every vegetable substance, whether sown or planted, grows here with great luxuriance."

CHARACTER of the SPANISH LADIES, with some Account of the SPANISH DIVERSIONS.

[From the Second Volume of the Chevalier DE BOURGOANNE's Travels in SPAIN.]

"THE women of every country have particular charms by which they are characterised. In England, by the elegance of their shape, and modesty of their carriage; in Germany by freshness of complexion, and in France by that amiable gaiety which animates all their features. The charm felt on approaching a Spanish lady, has

something of deception which is not easily defined. It owes but little to the aid of the toilet. The complexion of a Spanish beauty is never ornamented with borrowed brilliance: art supplies not the colouring which nature has refused by exposing her to the influence of a burning climate. But by her many beauties is she recompensed

for her paleness? Where are finer shapes, greater ease in every motion, or softer delicacy of feature to be found than among the Spanish beauties? Grave, and rather melancholy at first sight, yet should one of these fair ones open on you her large black eyes, full of expression should she accompany her smiles with a smile, insensibility falls at her feet. But if the sweetness of her reception discourages not her admirer from addressing her, she is as decided and mortifying in her disdain, as she is seducing in permitting him to hope.

"In the last case she leaves him no room to fear a long cruelty; but perseverance, which in other countries accelerates the *denouement*, must survive it in Spain, and becomes a severe duty. The fortunate men whom she deigns to conquer, and who are called *Cortejos*, are less disinterested but not less assiduous than the *cicisbei* of Italy. A total sacrifice is required of them. They must give proofs of this at all hours of the day, accompany the lady to the public walk, the theatre, and even the confessional. But what is particular in this kind of intimacy, is that two persons thus united by a sentiment which seems unchangeable, are frequently silent, melancholy, and appear not as in other places, happy in the happiness of each other's company. I know not if I injure the Spanish fair sex; but I am disposed to believe, their chains are not so easy to be borne, as difficult to avoid. The Spanish beauty is said to be very rigorous in many respects; her caprices are sometimes rather hasty, and too obedient to the impulse of her ardent imagination. But that which is not easy to conciliate with her eternally varying fancies, and

concur with a thousand other observations to prove the incoherency of the human heart, both in male and female, is the constancy of Spanish women in their attachments. The intoxication they cause and experience, far different from all extreme agitations or affections of the mind, which continue but a short time, is prolonged greatly beyond the common term; and I saw, during my residence in Spain, more than one such passion continue constant till the parties expired with old age. I have frequently sought for the reason of this constancy; which disconcerted all my ideas, and have imagined it to be in a religious scruple, certainly ill understood, as most such scruples are. Perhaps said I to myself, the conscience of a Spanish lady, sufficiently complaisant to permit her one gratification which offends her duty, would be terrified at a succession of infidelities. In the first she may possibly find an excuse in human infirmity, in the irresistible wish of the heart, which inclines her towards one object, destined by nature to fix her affections.

"It belongs to those who are acquainted with the female heart and conscience to judge of this conjecture. It is certain, that in Spain, more than in any other country, both men and women appear to conciliate the irregularity of manners with the most scrupulous observance of religious duties, and even with the mockeries of superstition. In many countries these excesses alternately succeed each other. In Spain they are simultaneous; and the women, in consequence of this strange mixture of religion and frailty, seem to aim less to prevent scandal, or conceal their conduct, than to establish a kind of equilibrium between their

faults and their merits; an incoherence in which both sexes appeared to me to participate. It is the consequence of error and weakness, and the most serious reproach I have to make that nation.

“How many men have I known, who, though they led an extreme disorderly life, frequented public worship with an assiduity, which even true Christians do not consider as an indispensable duty, carefully observed every injunction of the church relative to abstinence, and rendered to the ministers almost degrading homages?—How many women abandoned to an attachment utterly inconsistent with their duty, are surrounded with relics, cover themselves with a scapulary, oblige themselves by vows to the performance of actions indifferent in their own nature, and scrupulously fulfil them. I believe hypocrites to be very rare in Spain; but to compensate for this the ridiculous association of certain moral improprieties with superstitious practices, is more common there than elsewhere. Must this be attributed to a want of knowledge, or the criminal complaisance of the directors of conscience, who are thus prodigal of the indulgence of which they themselves stand in need? Or is it the climate which must serve as an excuse for some vices, as it is the cause of some virtues: does it command the gratification of certain frailties too imperiously for consciences, scrupulous in other respects, to be terrified from yielding compliance?

“To endeavour to explain the dissoluteness of morals, is to acknowledge it exists, and notwithstanding my favourable opinion of the Spaniards, I cannot but confess this charge. More faithful, however, to the resolution I have form-

ed to be impartial, I must add, that this depravity is not so general as libertines, who always exaggerate their indiscretions, are pleased to say it is; that there are even at Madrid families exemplary in their conduct, faithful husbands, and wives who in other countries would be models of modesty and propriety; that their daughters, although in general not reserved in their carriage, promise much more than they grant, and that nothing is more rare than their anticipation of the rights of matrimony; that if opportunities of purchasing pleasures equally shameful and easy to obtain, are frequent for those who seek them, at least prostitution is neither so public nor impudent as in other countries; and that the police, by severely prohibiting its scandalous seminaries, obliges it to conceal itself, and sometimes pursues it to its secret retreats. I shall farther observe, that women rigorously banish from their society those familiarities which are considered as indifferent by other nations, where the senses, not so quickly inflamed, more slowly betray their disorder; and that this distrust of themselves is at least an homage which their weakness renders to modesty. But provided they be not too nearly approached, they permit and sometimes provoke those allurements at which decency is in other places alarmed.

“They pardon equivocal, obsequious, indelicate descriptions, all witicisms and indiscreet expressions. The free manner in which they explain themselves in some instances cannot but astonish a stranger accustomed to convey his thoughts on similar occasions under a quick veil. The English women have an extremely delicate and pure imagination, and no person would dare

wound their ears with an expression in the least tending to indecency. It is said, they carry reserve in this respect to that degree of excess which we should call prudery. French women, who do not repel the sallies of an innocent gaiety, but whose decency impresses awe upon the contrary; are, in their turn, prudish in comparison to the Spanish women. I have seen the latter hear without a blush, and even permit themselves expressions which men of few scruples would have reserved for the orgies of debauchery. I have heard several of them sing couplets which breathed something more than voluptuousness, and left the penetration of the hearer nothing to imagine. This circumstance alone however, would not be sufficient to prove the depravity of manners in Spain.

Purity of morals is certainly not a matter of convention. In every country depravity is nearly the same, except the modifications given by law and religion. The moral purity of language is something different; this varies according to time and place; it depends upon climate, custom, manners, and genius of language. Women who permit themselves freedom of expression, and give the example of it, are certainly not on that account more seducing to persons of delicacy, but they are not more easily seduced. The woman who jests with us is, perhaps, farther removed from it than she who carefully represses it from her imagination, from conviction of her own weakness; besides, as it has frequently been remarked, manners are never more corrupted than when the moral purity of language is carried to the most scrupulous excess; because every mind is filled with degraded ideas, and the greatest pre-

caution must be taken that they may not be awakened. On the contrary, a nation not yet corrupted by excess of civilisation, may have in its language a kind of ingenuousness which renders expressions far from entirely chaste; and when, like our first parents, it begins to blush at its nakedness, we may be sure that, like them, it has no longer preserved its innocence.

"This, however, is not the case of the Spanish nation. I have only wished to prove that the liberties the Spanish permit themselves in their language, may nevertheless be reconciled with much purer manners. I should be inclined to believe these modes of expression, shocking to the decency of other nations, would disappear by a more refined civilisation, more precautions in the education of young persons, almost exclusively abandoned to the government of servants, even in the most distinguished houses, and especially by better example, the most efficacious of all educations. But can a young lady, who from the most tender age has been familiarised to the grossest expressions which her presence commands not respect enough to repress; who in companies, to which she is frequently admitted, hears applause bestowed on impudence, which disdains to throw a transparent veil even over the obscenities in which it indulges; can one, whose ears are early accustomed to the indecent expressions which are permitted on the stage, and whose eyes repeatedly behold the wanton attitudes exhibited in the favourite Spanish dance, long preserve in her imagination and language that virgin purity which is, perhaps, the greatest charm of her sex?

"The dance I allude to, is the famous Fandango, at which foreigners are

equally astonished and offended, but to which they soon become more than partial.

"No sooner is this begun at a ball, than every countenance becomes animated, and even those who by their age and profession are most obliged to gravity, have much difficulty in preventing themselves from joining in the cadence. It is related, on this subject, that the court of Rome, scandalized that a country, renowned for the purity of its faith, should not have long before proscribed this profane dance, resolved to pronounce its formal condemnation. A consistory assembled, the prosecution of the Fandango was begun, according to rule; and sentence was about to be thundered against it, when one of the judges judiciously observed, that a criminal ought not to be condemned without being heard. The observation had weight with the assembly. Two Spaniards were brought before it, and to the sound of instruments displayed all the graces of the Fandango. The severity of the judges, was not proof against the exhibition; their austere countenances began to relax; they rose from their seats, and their arms and legs soon found their former suppleness. The consistory-hall was changed into a dancing-room, and the Fandango was acquitted.

"After such a triumph, it may be imagined that the remonstrances of decency have but little effect; its empire seems to be firmly established. It is, however, different according to the places in which it is practised. It is frequently called for at the theatre, and generally closes private dances. In these cases the intention is no more than lightly indicated; but, on other occasions, when a few persons assembled seem wantonly to shake off all scruples, the

meaning is then so marked, that voluptuousness assails the mind at every avenue; its incitements cause the heart of the modest youth to palpitate with desire, and reanimate the deadened senses of old age. The fandango is danced by two persons only, who never touch so much as even the hand of each other; but when we view their reciprocal allurements, their retreats and approaches; when we observe the male, in the moment when her language announces an approaching defeat, suddenly acquire new courage to escape from her conqueror, who pursues her, and is pursued in turn; the manner in which their emotions are expressed by their looks, gestures and attitudes, it is impossible not to confess with blush, that these scenes are, to the real combats of Cytherea, what our military evolutions in peace are to the real display of the art of war. The *Seguidilla* is another dance peculiar to the Spaniards. The figure is formed by eight persons; at each corner the four couple retrace although but momentarily the principal movements of the Fandango. A Spanish female dancing the *Seguidilla*, dressed in character, and accompanying the instruments with castanets, and marking the measure with her heel with uncommon precision, is certainly one of the most seducing objects which love can employ to extend his empire.

"The Spanish nation has a decided taste for dancing, and the greatest aptitude to excel in the art. Besides the dances peculiar to the nation they have adopted those of other countries without exception the minuet; but the noble, delicate and easy graces of this dance escape them. It appears, however, to have many attractions in the eyes of the Spaniards, and makes

essential part of their education. Each ball has a president, who, under the name of *Bastonero*, is to make every body dance the minuet, and who, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours to consult the inclination of every one, in forming the couples, never fails to give offence to some. In the reign of Philip V. masquerades were forbidden throughout all Spain. The countess of Aranda, who while attentive to the police of the capital, did not neglect its pleasures, had revived the public balls, and proscribed masquerades under Philip; but these two amusements, which in other places are considered as innocent, survived the retreat of the minister, and being disused when his administration ceased, added to the regret of the inhabitants of the capital.

"The Spaniards are therefore required, for public diversions, to bull fights, and the national spectacles of which we shall hereafter take notice. Their private pleasures have something of the gravity which appears, at least, in the exterior of their persons. The game to which the common people seem most attached is a feeble and spiritless image of the games which kept the strength and address of the ancients in continual activity. It is called *el juego de la barra*, and consists in throwing a bar of iron to a certain distance.

"People of fashion have recreations of another kind. In general they seldom assemble to eat at each others houses; and this is undoubtedly one of the circumstances which contributes to their reputation for sobriety. They are little acquainted with the innocent and healthful pleasures of the country. But few among them are fond of the chase, which the monarch and his family seem to possess the exclusive

privilege. The amusements of the country appear to have no attractions for the Spaniards. Their country-houses might easily be numbered. Among the many rich individuals who inhabit the capital, there are, perhaps, not ten who have a country retreat. With respect to the castles, seats, &c. so numerous in France, England, and Italy, and which contribute to the embellishment of the environs of their capitals, there are so few in the vicinage of Madrid and the rest of the peninsula, that many travellers are of opinion the proverbial expression, building castles in Spain, is thence derived.

"The rich subjects of the kingdom therefore concentrate all their pleasures within the cities. Music is one of those for which the Spaniards have the greatest taste. They cultivate this art with success. Not that their national music has made any great progress. If it has a particular character, it is to be found mostly in little detached airs, called in Spain, *Tanadillas* and *Seguidillas*; sometimes agreeable melodies, but of which the modulations are little varied, and prove that the art of composition is still in its infancy. In return for this they do the greatest justice to the grand compositions of Germany and Italy, which always form a part of their frequent concerts; but they have the most profound contempt for French music, which, in their opinion, is languid and monotonous, not excepting the *Vaudeville*. Their prejudice, in this respect, is carried to such a height, that an Italian air would become displeasing to them by appearing in the livery of French words; so vain are they of their sonorous and cadenced language, and so persuaded that French syllables, by turns, mute and nasal, exclude

exclude the language from the possibility of being adapted to music. They have many lovers of harmony, but few composers worthy of notice.

"A young poet at Madrid produced a few years since a poem on music, wherein didactic dryness is compensated by several episodes, and brilliancy of imagination. Connoisseurs assure us, that the character of Spanish music in particular is there given by a masterly hand; but many examples must be added to the precepts contained in the poem, before it can be relished by the rest of Europe.

"Balls and concerts are not the only entertainments at which the Spaniards assemble. They have also their *Tertulias* and *Refrescos*. The *Tertulias* are assemblies very similar to those of France. Perhaps more liberty reigns in the former, but langour sometimes establishes its throne there as well as in the midst of our circles.

"Women in general seek not many occasions to assemble; each aspires to be the center of a *Tertulia*; and exclusive pretensions undoubtedly contribute to banish from Spanish societies what we call French gallantry. Women are there admired, and even adored, as well as elsewhere; but when they inspire not a lively sentiment, the men seldom pay them those attentions which our politeness prodigally and indiscriminately bestows upon every individual of the amiable sex. It is not in the reciprocal communication of tenderness that manners are softened. The language of mere politeness is too cold for love: that impetuous passion commands and exacts sacrifices, but despises simple respect. On the contrary, it is in the disinterested association of the two sexes that the necessity

and mutual desire of pleasing arises which forms the charm and cement of Society. This is perhaps, the only means wanting to the Spaniards to accomplish the polishing of their manners.

"Their *Refrescos*, the invention of luxury and greediness, contribute no less than the *Tertulias* to facilitate the intercourse of the two sexes. In general, these are only light repasts, prepared for persons from whom visits are received, and are as a prelude to the *Tertulias* but on great occasions, when a wedding, christening, or the birth-day of the head of a family is to be celebrated, the *Refresco* becomes an important and a very expensive affair. All the family acquaintances are invited; and, in proportion as they arrive, the men separate from the women. The latter take their seats in a particular chamber, and etiquette requires they should remain alone until all the company be assembled, or at least until the men stand up without approaching them. The lady of the house waits for them under a canopy, in a place set apart in the hall, which in ancient manners, not yet entirely abolished, was called the *Edicula*, over which is commonly suspended an image of the Virgin. The appearance of the *Refresco*, in length, enlivens every countenance and infuses joy into every heart: conversation becomes animated, and the sexes approach each other. The company are first presented with great glasses of water, in which little sugar-loaves, called *azúcar ponjado*, or *rosado*, square and of a very spongy substance, are dissolved; these are succeeded by chocolate, the favourite refreshment twice a day of the Spaniards, and which is believed to be so nourishing, or at least innocent, that it

OBSERVATIONS on the PIRATICAL STATES. [61]

refused to persons dangerously ill. After the chocolate come all sorts of confectionary.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the profusion with which all these delicacies are distributed. People are not only cloyed with them in the house of festivity, but they put quantities of them into paper, and even into their hats and handkerchiefs; and the servants are speedily dispatched home with the precious savings, which undoubtedly serve to furnish the table of more than one miser for several days. There is something odd in this general rapaciousness; and a stranger might, for the first time, to these kind of festivals, in which intoxi-

cating liquors only are spared, seeks to discover the sober nation and finds it not. It may be imagined that such entertainments must weigh heavily on the economy of many individuals; most people regret the custom which makes them necessary on certain occasions; but, as is the case with all abuses become sacred by length of time, nobody has sufficient courage to be the first to shake off the yoke.

"A ball or card-tables commonly succeed to the Refresco; but it very seldom happens that the entertainment is concluded with a supper. This is always a very frugal repast with the Spaniards, and at which they rarely assemble."

OBSERVATIONS on the PIRATICAL STATES, and the probable Means of civilizing them.

from the First Volume of Letters from Barbary, France, Spain and Portugal, by an English Officer.]

I am frequently in doubt if the life and manners of such people as this deserve much of our time and attention, though full of great lessons for governments and states. Many things might doubtless be found to satisfy the historical curiosity of the antiquarian, but I am looking only for things of utility, or what I may fancy to be such. We might discover here arts, customs, superstitions, which might be traced to Asia, and to the remotest antiquity: so we may, in various parts of Europe. Such may be the custom of presents, their funerals, and respect for the dead, their tools, ornaments, dress, recreations, ceremonies, domestic employments. Though the arts and manners of nations which we have passed and are behind may be more the objects of curiosity than of utility; yet in

the lowest condition of human nature, we may stumble upon something unexpectedly useful, and every state may furnish matter for instructive reflection. We were wishing the other day that our English cooks were to learn here some of their economical and savoury methods of dressing some viands and vegetables, in the steam of the pot; and that our country carpenters and other tradesmen might learn some of their simple ways of working, and of executing great works with so few tools and so little assistance. The most polished nations may find something to learn from the most savage. In the mountains, and in the country, men make their own shoes, furniture, and utensils, which in the towns is the work of separate professions. Many seem to pass their time chiefly between sitting, and smoking,

smoking, and sleeping, all of which they prolong much beyond what is usual in Europe. How so many can be maintained in idleness, and by what labour, of which so little is to be seen in the country, can only be accounted for from their wants being few.

"Sometimes they take fits of riding, which they perform in the other extreme of rude exertion, using the poor horse with a roughness and violence fitter for a wild beast than they wished to tame, with a bridle and spurs of a tremendous and cruel construction, which presently make his mouth and sides run with blood. These riding-fits which they sometimes take, seemingly a-propos to nothing, they consider as a kind of war exercise: the moment any of these fellows gets upon a horse, he thinks of fighting, and begins to go through the motions of it, brandishing and attacking in their way, so that you would think him half mad. Individually they may be considered as tolerably good light-horse, or rather as materials *pour en faire*, if they could be brought to any regularity and uniformity in their movements, in some of which they are singly very dexterous: their methods of attack, with their crooked swords, the variety and frequency of their charges, might be made to have great effect, especially on troops unaccustomed to them. I believe general Seidlitz borrowed many of his excellent ideas of cavalry from Turks and Tartars, such troops as these. They have no idea of any regular drill or exercise. They sometimes fire and throw darts at a mark—generally at an earthen pot or a blown bladder, very near, under fifty yards. But their boar-hunt is a fine manly diversion. Their football, or pallone, as in Italy, is good

exercise. Some jugglers and flower-sellers, who exhibit sometimes to a crowd on a market-day, form the sum of their public diversions.

"The best part of this government is the continuance of the and warlike practice of the prince chief appearing frequently among his people on horseback: it is as become a regular audience or less two or three times a week; a thing so unexpected in such a country. This custom serves to check so many abuses, and to keep so many people in awe, that I suppose this kind of government could not go without it. Under a really great and wise prince it might be made the means of doing much good: arts, industry, public virtue, might thereby perhaps be considerably promoted, all in their own simple and direct manner. If it were possible for uncontrolled power to be steady, uniform, or consistent, in proceedings; if these general orders of the emperor, issued verbally, levees, proceeded from a wise and connected plan, and were firmly carried into execution; they might in time have almost the force of laws, and might extend much farther throughout the country, possessing the great advantages of military orders, in promptitude and obedience; but, alas! no human individual, and still less a succession of them, can probably ever be found equal to such a situation. To do any good seems to require all the wisdom of the most enlightened nation. — How little can be done by an ignorant despot, easy to imagine.

"We do not hear of any one who is fit to succeed Muley Ismael (the present emperor's uncle, who is dying), or who can equal him in address, artifice, extortion, or in the management of the public business.

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ave upon his own shoulders the
hole business of the nation, which
ill not therefore be better nor more
peditionously done: he cannot de-
gate power sufficient for any bu-
ness; he has confidence in no man;
is trusting this uncle so much,
eamed partly from early habits.
his physician, your poor Portu-
ese doctor Don Juan, we hear
ill be in danger if this prince
es; it seems it is not uncommon
ere to put a doctor to death for
etting his patient die—if a prince
a great man.

“ Their money, weights, and
asures you there know with their
ommerce. The ideas of the wisest
ere on those subjects you may be
are barbarously ignorant; their
istory a perpetual variation; some-
imes attempting to borrow Euro-
ean ideas, but without even know-
edge sufficient to understand or
adopt them: indeed to establish any
thing lasting in these matters requires
all the wisdom and stability of the
best government. But few or none
of their customs can be of much
importance to us, where none have
a tendency or lead to virtue, which
indeed would not only be useless
but obnoxious here, and for which
we cannot find there is any term in
their language.

“ The respect they pay to the
memory of their saints might be
well, were it for any thing but fol-
ly, or rather an artful imbecility,
by which those people enjoy a kind
of liberty of doing what they please,
and seem to have great influence:
their folly, which is generally I be-
lieve affected, is considered as a kind
of inspiration; it runs in families
—but you know the particulars.
Were I writing to one at a distance,
and less acquainted with this coun-
try, I might be more circumstan-

tial, but you are neither distant nor
ignorant enough to merit a particu-
lar account of any thing here.

“ You see something like reli-
gion; and priests seem fortunately
always to obtain some influence
over men through all the stages of
society, and more especially, in its
earlier periods, for which indeed it
seems more peculiarly adapted, as a
necessary supplement to the defects
of law and order; and it must con-
tinue to be always a good appendix
to the code whenever it can be kept
within bounds, or reformed and cur-
tailed of superfluous power when
necessary. As the code of laws and
modes of education become more
perfect the necessity for a supersti-
tious and all governing religion
probably diminishes; and the au-
thority of its professors should be
carefully regulated and restrained
within bounds while it is practic-
able, and before they gain a head of
power not afterwards to be control-
led. You know some other nations
have not been so fortunate as ours
in this respect. Here their religion
seems to have yet too much in-
fluence on their manners, opinions,
and conduct; it makes them hate
all the rest of mankind, and occu-
pies too much of their time.

“ Religious sanctuaries here some-
times stop the hand of bloody and
rapacious tyranny, and tend to le-
ssen the effects of private revenge,
as it is usual for people to take re-
fuge there against their enemies,
who are generally obliged to respect
them, and sometimes against the so-
vereign himself, though he does not
always respect them. The effects
of them might be of some benefit,
if they could be made to protect
the innocent and not the guilty, as
is pretended; but we know cases to
the contrary, and it is notorious that
the guilty have been there protect-
ed

ed as in Spain, and that the innocent have been given up to the Superior power of the despot, whenever his interest or his passions required it.

"If one of these saints, by some fortunate chain of circumstances, were to turn out to be a man of genius and information, he might do what he pleased with such a people; he might improve, reform, and new model, the whole nation and its government. The improbability of such a one ever being produced here banishes the idea of speculating upon it. But as we become interested in our own speculations, we cannot help looking forward with a degree of pleasure, and hope to some future period of conquest or colonization of this country again from Europe; and yet upon reflection we may fear it is still far distant. We have not yet, I fear, got near enough to the termination of the long period of superstition and fanaticism, and we must probably wait for that of reason before such events can be produced. Though the Mahomedan conquests and establishment are not perhaps so firm and intimate here as generally imagined, and might be rather easily overturned by certain operations from the north, assisted by colonies from the south; but mankind, during this yet fanatical age, are now here sufficiently qualified and prepared to mix well and intermarry with the natives, nor the natives with them, not even in the countries where they emigrate most to each other, though such mixture is perhaps the only way to secure any conquest or establishment, and to improve the human race. The difficulties generally proceed from their differing in religious opinions. Were it not for the barbarous inveteracy of Mahome-

dism, we might hope in time to see it wear down by the arts of peace and give way to the weight of its own absurdities. Its future history cannot yet well be foreseen; it seems doubtful if it can ever again become sufficiently rational and tolerant to admit of the necessary improvements in arts and government or if it must go on in ignorance and barbarity, and at last decline by its own corruption and inconsistency till supplanted by some new system of fanaticism. There is no giving Mahomedans any ideas of liberty or good government as yet, for they have no notion of sovereignty without despotic power.

"To secure and to civilize the country, I believe it must be done by military colonies similar to those of the Romans: I wish you could search and find out all the internal police, manners, and management of those. Let us suppose such colonization to happen in our time or that we are going to set about it: such suppositions will quicken your diligence. The man who does not frequently build castle plant colonies, and gain battles, the idea, will not probably ever do anything of the kind in reality. If we were to have any hand in their formation, I should probably insist on some which may appear to you singularities—I should imitate Peru and have no state religion, but secure a complete toleration, and protection to all sects—I should have more women, and give them more to say and to do in such colonies than may correspond with your ideas of military or even civil life—I should be for the sex living and acting almost perpetually together, both in public and private, as the first requisite toward civilization, especially in this country; they should neither eat, drink

nor do almost any thing without the presence and assistance of the other. I think, even with us, the sexes retiring so much from each other, another seldom proceeds from any good motive, and has no good ends; here, their separation is the greatest impediment to all the advantages of the species, and one of the many pernicious consequences of the subordination of one sex to the other.

The importance of this great continent or peninsula of Africa is obvious, and its being as yet so little cultivated, or improved is equally surprising; however, many parts of it are known to be capable of every kind of produce, and may yet again supply Europe, &c. with many things better than now by distant colonies.

The native and natural race of man throughout this great continent is probably the black, of two kinds, the woolly-headed on one side of the peninsula, and the long haired on the other, except those of the coast and the northern coast, where they were probably always white to some degree; but these have been frequently mixed and colonized from Europe and Asia, that it is now become impossible to distinguish the indigenous and the different exotics; however, in and about Atlas are the countries I should like most to examine, if it were possible; and I suspect it is not so impracticable, as the inhabitants so wild and barbarous, as generally reported and imagined. We might there discover many objects of curiosity and utility—in those of nature and antiquity—in Roman and Carthaginian remains—in the different languages and races of people—perhaps the Punic language. When the country was better peopled and

more productive, the communication between the northern and southern coasts, and with some of the internal parts, was probably much greater than we yet know or can trace. Carthage possibly drew much of her wealth and greatness from that source. In Tunis, and the country around it, they say a spirit of commerce and industry is still perceptible.

“We do not here perceive any reality in the supposed inferiority of the black race to the white, but often the contrary; some of the best officers, farmers, workmen, of this empire, and I believe of several others, have been of that race. All the different colours seem to be nearly of the same African character, comprehending a variety of tempers and turns of mind as among ourselves; there may be some shades of difference, physical, and hence moral, sometimes perceptible in the humour and temper of mind between the blacks and whites; the black may have rather more of that kind of volatile sensibility, or irritability, which seems to attend the human character as it approaches the sun—warmer, yet weaker: their sentiments, though more ardent, seem to be more transient than ours; and their faculties, as well as formation, may be somewhat different, but not, I think, beyond the power of habit and education to model and assimilate. They may have the advantage in some faculties, and the whites in others, and I doubt not but great characters and a great nation might be formed of these, as well as of other human beings; but the world wants yet more knowledge and experience on this subject, and we should require much more residence and more attention to determine any thing in it: this is certainly one

of the best countries for that purpose; here all the various races and colours of men are nearly on the same footing of estimation, unless they happen to be Jews or Christians, and they may be considered and compared in all the different stations that this state of society affords, from the bashaw or general down to the menial slave: in our islands and colonies we see the blacks only in the state of slavery, which produces always a distinct and similar character.

"The sea-ports are the most essential parts of a country: they might have three or four tolerably good here, by a little assistance given to nature, at Santa Cruz, Mogodore, Woladia; and perhaps Tangier might still be made a pretty good one, by clearing it, and rebuilding the mole, which might be carried much farther out. If the Christian powers had continued to increase and improve their garrisons

and ports on this coast; they might by this time have served as places of trade and friendly intercourse in times of peace, or of asylum, or military schools, in case of war: the people around would have looked on them for the same reasons that the people of all the southern coasts of Spain and Portugal like to have English at Gibraltar.

"But this government can never probably be sufficiently settled to undertake or finish any public work that require much time; hardly one of these emperors have of late been able to finish even a house to live in. This one mounted the throne with the rare advantage of having no competitor, being an only son; an advantage which his successor, whatever he may be, will not likely enjoy: his more savage sons may probably vie with each other for the succession, as usual, and again draw the country in blood, and in all the horrors of a civil war."

State of GOVERNMENT, SOCIETY, and MANNERS in JERSEY.

[From the Second Volume of the same Work.]

"THE numerous beauties of this little island I shall not attempt to describe. The rocky promontories, and extensive amphitheatrical sandy bays of its coast, the internal little shady vales and streams, are all remarkably beautiful. The whole is perhaps too much covered with wood; the divisions of the land too small: the numerous fences planted with trees, together with the roads, occupy probably one-fourth of the island. The sea seems gaining on the west end, near St. Owen's Bay. The natural history and produce would require more attention than

we can spare, and probably describe it. These islands are obviously the tops of marine mountains, and similar to those of the Pyrenees, consisting of a few different kinds of perhaps primitive rock, thrust up in confused heaps or strata masses. Where any strata are perceptible, they are nearly perpendicular to the horizon."

"Of the state of society and government, I shall only give you a few of my usual loose remarks. These islands have been held by the remnant of Normandy, by what is called the feudal system, and by the accidental care and good fortune of

relies here to trace. Their form of government is an old feudal aristocracy, established by king John, in the legislative, the judicial, and at a time, the executive powers, in the same body of people, as was the mode in those times of war and ignorance. They have been considered as belonging not to our legislature, but to the crown, and have generally been under the administration or superintendence of the privy council, which is not I believe allowed to be very well constituted for a court of law; how well calculated to be a legislative body I will not pretend to determine. The most democratic government will perhaps become aristocratic in the degree; the degree and form which is of great importance. When it can be properly divided into an upper and lower part, separate, independent, and nearly balanced, and under the control properly limited of one head, the system may become nearly complete: but here, the two latter are defective. The upper and lower parts, the Peers and Commons, sit together, and the aristocratic part commonly governs, as usual in this form: the yet ill-defined power of the head is divided between a governor and a baily, who generally are deputies. This simulacrum of constitution deceives at first view with some appearance of control and balance, of forms, elections, &c.; but these are chiefly fallacies, and the whole has been too often found to be little better than a monarchical aristocracy. The states legislature consists of twelve jurats, elected by the whole island for one of twelve clergy, and of twelve members called conitables, one elected by each parish for three years, and the lieutenant-baily, who holds the states. The clergy are probably the best informed part of this

legislature, and can have but few interested views. Where there are no places or preferment for them, and their livings being very small, it seems their interest to be popular among their parishioners; they are generally now on the side of the people, and seem to be proportionally disliked by the seigneurs. Their bishop, viz. of Winchester, surely ought to visit them sometimes, and they should have more students at our universities, where there is only a scanty provision of three fellowships, and twelve poor scholarships, for the two islands. The judicial power, or royal court, is only a certain number of the jurats, who, in this capacity, cannot be expected always to forget their political or party spirit; and accordingly they have often used their judicial power to promote their political views and influence, and causes are frequently decided in favour of their own party. As legislators, or as judges, they are placed in a cruel and difficult situation, and if they have been sometimes tyrannical and unjust, their political constitution is perhaps more in fault than they.

“ In order to procure justice and freedom, the efficient government, of whatever form, should be under some control, or it will degenerate into tyranny:—such is man. This aristocracy has been formerly long in the habits of governing without any sufficient restraint; and though a spirit of liberty and opposition has at length found its way hither, and the jurats have lost their great influence in the states, yet they may again recover it, and resume their wonted despotic sway, if the privy council should be too partial to the aristocratic part. Their present situation, full of perpetual struggles between the governing and popular parties, creates violent heats and

animosities, and threatens dangerous confusion, as usual in small places, especially if no umpire of sufficient authority and influence is present to decide the contest, and with wisdom enough to preserve the balance. The restoring and supporting their ancient tyranny can hardly now be intended, as some of them suspect, being a measure so highly unworthy an English government, and could only be effected by such violent means as would in these days disgrace any nation. The only remedy is to mend their constitution, and give them some English laws, which is now much desired by many. Juries, in the way which they themselves propose, and which were anciently in use here as in Normandy, would probably answer well enough for them, viz. in cases where desired by the parties. It may be alledged, that in such small places their decisions would still be only the voice of party; but these, by being generally the opinion of a majority, would probably be nearly and often right, and would be less partial than the judgment of arbitrary and interested magistrates.

"Such a baseless fabric as this old French aristocracy is not now long to be supported, and was only practicable in the hands of wisdom or artifice and experience; but must crumble to pieces if it should repeatedly fall under the guidance of folly, vanity, passion, or inexperience, and still more if under all these together.

"It might be owing to the tyranny, insufficiency, or non-residence of former governors, that their power has been divided: the civil part has been given to a bailly who holds the states, &c. by deputy; and little else besides the military part, remains to the governor.

Unless these two chance to be wise and temperate men, they may be at perpetual war. In the political, there is no supplying want or deficiency of a head: even substitute or contrivance for the purpose can form only a monster which cannot live long. It is better there be always a necessity for a good head, to oblige sovereigns to look out for proper governors, and not indulge them in thinking the fools or favourites sufficient. Besides, we should attend to the change of times and manners for many obvious reasons. Even proper military lieutenant-governors may now perhaps be more easily found than lieutenant-bailies above mediocrity, sufficiently qualified for the head of such a state. The army may now produce as many men of sufficient probity, honour, and general knowledge, as any other line of life. This is not to be easily understood when we have been so backward in giving these people the same kind of government with our other islands by a governor, senate, and assembly.

"In every country and form of rule, there ought perhaps to be complaints and abuses enough to find and maintain an opposition to watch and control upon power; and when opposition is increased to a majority by the increase of abuses they are thus often redressed. The opposition having of late grown to a majority, under every disadvantage, marks that it is high time to change and improve their constitution. Though these poor people may not have so much to complain of as they imagine, or as might be expected under so imperfect a government; though they may naturally magnify their own evils and sufferances; yet they ought surely to have at least some of them redressed.

They might succeed better, perhaps in every sense, with more science and moderation; but these qualities may be more difficult to acquire in proportion to the smallness of the society, and defective of its constitution. This is a government of laws, but of laws, which usually degenerates into tyranny. They can hardly indeed be said to have any laws, except a few orders of council, and the vague and uncertain old customs, which are naturally neglected and forgotten by an arbitrary government. But since colonel Campbell, their lieutenant-governor, in 1761, first encouraged an attention to the reigning magistrates, their minds and views have been gradually opening, and they have caught a little of that spirit of freedom and discussion which surrounds them in Europe; and it is rather surprising, that our government has not yet encouraged their efforts, nor seconded that gentleman's benevolent endeavours, who has been so remiss in granting more of our laws and constitution. However, their legislative seem to be advancing by their intentions; more than for centuries before. The principles and improvements of the age must properly, in time, reach these islands. Though they may yet be considered as children in politics, and unable to govern themselves; though they may not all sufficiently consider the long gradation, necessary to perfection in domestic policy, nor the difficulties, or rather impossibility of adopting, at once, all the laws and constitution of England, which have required the progression of ages to attain the present degree of excellence, and which their state is not yet ripe for; this perhaps will cost them much time and

pains, and must prove the result of gradual experience. However, some of them are sensible of this, and wish it to be gradual. You might begin either by granting them the juries they desire, or by improving their constitution only by a small alteration in its form; by separating the states into two houses, with a governor only; and the other necessary changes would gradually follow of course. To do this in the wisest and most temperate manner, send them proper commissioners first to examine and report.

"Many think the form of government immaterial, if the people are contented. You know I do not think so; but even that excuse for standing still, or for checking the natural human progress, will probably soon be removed; for much of the world seem now to be changing their ideas very fast on these subjects. In this progress, the wisest rulers will give way to some of the inevitable innovations, and will attempt only to limit the degree, and restrain the impetuosity, but not forcibly oppose the carrying of some speculations into practice. If any of them are really great, these will step forward and become the leaders of temperate reformation; they will establish and repair, but not destroy systems, and will become great legislators, and the refounders of lasting nations. The gradual improvement of man, of the society or the species, is an interesting progress, in which the knowledge of his own errors is the first step; and to which the theories, and even hints of speculation, and the facts of experience, are equally necessary and conducive. In this progress, political and legislative knowledge seems to be the most necessary, and hitherto the most deficient. But all

the assistance of such knowledge cannot perhaps be expected till education is better understood, nor till theory is more generally joined with practice, study with experience and travel. I could sometimes wish no man to be admitted as a magistrate, more than a pastor, who had not passed some certain degree or examination at an university, if we did not see that numbers may take that road and bring away very little useful science: and yet some of these may become even ministers of state long before they know on what the prosperity of a nation depends. Such knowledge is not to be found ready for use in books and college lectures, nor in the huge volumes of the law, however necessary these may be, as a foundation for experience to build upon. Hence our political and commercial principles have been so often deficient. It may require yet much more time, and a more general information, to banish all the remains of our monopolizing corporation ideas of commerce and balance of trade, founded on opinions and sentiments unworthy a few pedlar, viz. on a mean jealousy of all the world, and wishing no nation to have a profit or favourable balance but ourselves; and it was shameful to see ministers, not very long ago reasoning from the ideas of the meanest monopolist, desirous that other nations should take our manufactures, and make nothing for themselves that should enable them to pay us; whereas it might easily be shewn that the highest cultivation and industry of the world would proportionally increase the commerce of all nations. From the same kind of narrow principles have proceeded much of our politics of late, endeavouring to engross the trade and dependence of colonies and distant

countries, to our mutual disadvantage. It is to be feared there still some who think we were wrong in permitting to our colonies the good forms of government by which they prospered so fast, and became more independent on our capital, but chiefly by our own folly and rannny they were separated from before their time. Those people would have had us imitate Spain and secure the dependence of colonies by their poverty and depopulation. Will it be believed posterity, that such sentiments prevailed in the first nation of the world during the eighteenth century? Such maxims and events certainly of historical importance and should be held up to posterity in their proper colours. But we hope our public councils will improve, as general knowledge more liberal legislative principles gradually prevail in the world, that the times are nearly past which produced stamp acts, Quebec and such proceedings as lost us an empire. Let us give way, or rather take the lead in the improvements of the age. Mystery and oppression cannot long subsist, nor proceed as hitherto, in these investigating and enlightened times, and will probably be gradually relinquished and banished from the art of governing mankind. How much better to lead than be driven, and bestow in time with a good will what must at length be, as it were extorted by the general voice. Even when a Conway shall be more, though virtue and science shall then drop a tear, other friends to liberty and justice will arise to support and extend their revolutionary principles, and who will lead long-neglected islanders into the general legislature, or to all the benefits of the British laws, and

verna

ment. There is a kind of liberality, which is the highest wisdom, in politics, and though not so much known, may in time prevail. Let us be timely wise, and grant prosperity to the remotest parts of the empire, at present disinterestedly, for their benefit, but which will in time result to the good of the whole. The political heart, that shall freely circulate blood and life to the extremities, will have it returned with double vigour and advantage. Grant them, by degrees, all the freedom, immunities, and good government they desire; you will reap the profit in the course of time, and of their natural progress, without any of the mercantile insidious arts or monopolizing speculations.

"I think I find here most of my political principles confirmed by experience, and on a scale neither too small for fair experiment, nor too large for the eye to take in by comparative views, nor too full of uncertainty from the complication of different causes. In most old establishments, in all unfair modes of government, but especially in aristocracies, there is a natural tendency to keep things as they are, and hence to exclude almost all improvements by which the rulers may chance to lose some power or influence. They are naturally jealous of the merchant, the manufacturer, the rich bourgeois, the parvenus, and of every innovator or improver. Here, they are accordingly jealous even of the commerce that would finally enrich themselves, and of the very learning and the schools that would enlighten and improve all. This is the small working model of a great nation. We see human nature at work as we do bees through the glass pane. There doubtless must always

be a difference of rank among men in society; but on the proper regulation and limitation of that difference will depend much of their progress and political happiness. Whether the people are most happy in slavery or in freedom, was once disputed in the countries that are now the freest and most civilized, and is disputed still in Russia, Poland, the West Indies, &c. That they are more active and industrious with liberty and security, can now hardly be doubted. In every society there is a natural tendency and progression towards an injurious difference, an increasing inequality in rank and riches. The best governments will be known by their contriving just and gentle limits and obstructions to this evil, and that shall raise and support the poor and helpless against the rich and powerful, between whom there is always a secret, but very unequal war and enmity. We may doubt if there be any government yet established, that is completely adequate to this task, but we may presume that our own comes the nearest to it, and may hope it will come nearer still. But I am perhaps too easily led into general reflections, in search of practical truths, and principles of importance. You know I consider the art or science of legislation as yet in its infancy.

"The things that are wanting to make these poor islanders as happy as nature allows, may be few though essential. A mediocrity, rather bordering on poverty, with a purity and simplicity of manners, seem to prevail here. A division of property, uncommonly minute, provides a sort of independent subsistence for a greater number than is almost anywhere to be found on an equal space of territory. The ancient slavish conditions of some

of their tenures should be abolished, as the labour due to the *seigneur*, and the corn rents, &c. These few small alterations, with the trials by jury, some English laws, and perhaps members of parliament, may form nearly the sum of what they want at present; as these would gradually bring the other requisites towards making them more industrious, populous, and more important islands to England. Their poor and parsimonious appearance, and modes of living, of dress, of farming, their utensils, manners, &c. seem all as yet a little too much in the French style. They ought surely, by this time, to have been more like English people. Our government has certainly been the most to blame in this. I doubt we are constitutionally inadequate or unfit for the management of foreign possessions, till they are incorporated in our legislature, and thence all become gradually subject to the same laws. A large proportion of the men here go to sea, while their small possessions are but indifferently cultivated. Under better government, laws, and tenures, this uncommon junction of the trades of sailor and farmer might be separated, and both succeed better; with many other beneficial effects, as more activity, education, &c.

"This island may be considered as a model in some essentials, and worthy the imitation of greater states; as in the military arrangements, and system of defence, which have been so highly improved, and almost formed *de novo*, by the present governor, general Conway, whom these people style their father and defender. The whole of the inhabitants, of all ranks, have been formed into an excellent militia, in which there are many points that shew the very rare degree of milita-

ry science of the institutor, as well as his towers, and the whole systematic defence of the coast. I think the uniform he has given them here, the jacket and long trowsers is the best military dress I have yet seen, and answers all the purposes we want. These, with the artillery part of each corps, and several other regulations, are highly worthy of imitation. To complete the system, a place of strength is wanting; one that should stand a siege of a certain time, and that could be readily supplied and relieved by sea, which is a chief object in every fortification for us, and indeed the only circumstance that can now render a place impregnable, such as Tyre, Bergenopzoom, Gibraltar might be made. A harbour, protected by the fort, might likewise be formed, for frigates at least, and these might be of signal service if stationed, particularly at the beginning of a war. The importance of these islands to England, as advanced posts, &c. need not, I hope, be here demonstrated to you. In the civil wars, you know they remained firmly loyal, and by the annoyance of the parliamentary forces by sea, shewed what mischief they might do us in the hands of an enemy. Charles II. knew the importance, and always obstinately refused, when in the greatest want of assistance, to sell them to France for that purpose.

"It appears that the Druids resorted much to these islands, as well as to Anglesea. The ruins of about fifty of their monuments or temples have been discovered here; and lately, very complete, which is going to be sent to their Governor at Park Place. The Druids were right. These secluded isles were then well suited for study and meditation, and probably for the mysterious

ACCOUNT of the DUMPLERS, in PENNSYLVANIA. [73]

sterious worship, and for safety. This beautiful island, I think, even well adapted for study, and for education, and possesses many advantages for a good school, being the only place we know where French and English are spoken equally well by all ranks above the common and country people. The courts of justice, and law pleadings French; the preaching in both

languages, alternately; a pleasant retired and healthy country; innocence and simplicity of manners; great œconomy, with a mediocrity of wealth and condition, the inhabitants all protestants; little œconomical tours to France with the scholars might be easily made. I know of no place abroad possessing so many advantages for an early education."

ACCOUNT of the DUMPLERS, a religious Sect in PENNSYLVANIA.

from the TRAVELS through the Interior Parts of AMERICA, in a series of Letters, by an Officer.

IN travelling through Pennsylvania you meet with people of almost every different persuasion of religion that exists; in short, the diversity of religions, nations, and languages here is astonishing; at the same time the harmony they are in no less edifying; notwithstanding every one, who wishes well to religion, is hurt to see the diversity that prevails, and would by the most soothing means, endeavour to prevent it; yet, when the misfortune once takes place, and there is no longer an union of sentiments, it is nevertheless glorious to preserve an union of affections; and certainly it must be highly pleasing to see men live though of so many different persuasions, yet to the same Christian principles, and though not of the same religion still to the great end of all, the prosperity and welfare of mankind. Among the numerous sects of religion with which this province abounds, for there are Churchmen, Quakers, Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, Methodists, Moravians, Independents,

Anabaptists, there is a sect which perhaps you never heard of, called the Dumpers. This sect took its origin from a German, who, weary of the world retired to a very solitary place, about fifty miles from Philadelphia, in order to give up his whole time to contemplation; several of his countrymen came to visit him in his retreat, and by his pious, simple, and peaceable manners, many were induced to settle near him, and in a short time adopting his modes, they formed a little colony, which they named Euphrates, in allusion to that river upon whose borders the Hebrews were accustomed to sing psalms.

" Their little city is built in the form of a triangle, and bordered with mulberry and apple trees, very regularly planted. In the centre of the town is a large orchard, and between the orchard and the ranges of trees that are planted round the borders, are their houses, which are built of wood, and three stories high: in these every Dumper is left to enjoy his meditations without

out disturbance. These contemplative men, in the whole do not amount to more than five hundred; their territory is nearly three hundred acres in extent; on one side is a river, on another a piece of stagnated water, and on the other two are mountains covered with trees.

"They have women of their community, who live separate from the men: they seldom see each other but at places of worship, and never have meetings of any kind but for public business; their whole life is spent in labour, prayer, and sleep; twice every day and night they are summoned from their cells to attend divine service. As to their religion, in some measure, it resembles the quakers; for every individual, if he thinks himself inspired has a right to preach. The subjects they chiefly discourse upon are humility, temperance, charity, and other Christian virtues; never violating that day held sacred amongst all persuasions; they admit of a hell and a paradise, but deny the eternity of future punishment. As to the doctrine of original sin, they hold it as impious blasphemy, together with every tenet that is severe to man, deeming it injurious to divinity. As they allow no merit to any but voluntary works, baptism is only administered to the adult; nevertheless, they think it so essentially necessary to salvation, as to imagine the souls of Christians are employed in the other world in the conversion of those who have not died under the light of the gospel.

'Religion, among the Dump-
lers, has the same effect philosophy
had upon the Stoics, rendering
them insensible to every kind of in-
sult; they are more passive and dis-

interested than the Quakers, for
they will suffer themselves to be
cheated, robbed, and abused, with-
out the least idea of retaliation, or
even a complaint.

"Their dress is very simple and
plain, consisting of a long white
gown, from whence hangs a hood
to serve the purposes of a hat, a
coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very
wide breeches, something resem-
bling those the Turks wear. The
men wear their beards to a great
length; some I saw were down to
the waist; at the first sight of them
I could not help comparing them
to our old ancient bards the Drui-
ds, from their reverential appear-
ance. The women are dressed simi-
lar to the men, excepting the
breeches.

'Their life is very abstemious,
and eating no meats; not that they
deem it unlawful, but more con-
formable to the spirit of Christiani-
ty, which they argue has an aver-
sion to blood; and upon those
grounds they subsist only on ve-
getables, and the produce of the
earth.

'They follow with great cheer-
fulness their various branches of bu-
siness, in some one of which every
individual partakes, and the pro-
duce of their labour is deposited in
one common stock, to supply the
necessities of every individual; and
by this union of industry, they have
not only established agriculture and
manufactures sufficient to support
this little society, but superfluities
for the purposes of exchange for
European commodities.

"Though the two sexes live se-
parate, they do not renounce ma-
trimony; but those who are dispos-
ed to it leave the city and settle in
the country, on a tract of land
which the Dumpplers have purchas-

ed for that purpose. The couple are supported at the public expences which they repay by the produce of their labour; and their children are sent to Germany for education. Without this wise policy, the Dumpers would be little better than monks, and in process of time annihilated.

"Although there are so many sects, and such a difference of religious opinions in this province, it is surprizing the harmony which subsists among them; they consider

themselves as children of the same father, and live like brethren, because they have the liberty of thinking like men. To this pleasing harmony, in a great measure, is to be attributed the rapid and flourishing state of Pennsylvania above all the other provinces. Would to heaven that harmony was equally as prevalent all over the globe! if it was, I think you will acquiesce with me in opinion that it would be for the general welfare of mankind."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

The PRESENT STATE of LITERATURE in TURKEY.

[From M. D'OHSSON's General HISTORY of the OTHOMAN EMPIRE.]

FROM the first origin of Mussulmanism the founders of mosques have ever thought it a duty to erect colleges near their temples, whose sole destination was the study of law and theology. These edifices received therefore only those intended to be Oulémas, who, divided into two classes, formed, as they do at present, the magistracy and the sacerdotal order.

"The progress of the Arabs in letters and the fine arts followed that of their arms over the three parts of the ancient continent, and colleges were soon erected for the cultivation of those sciences which contributed so much to the glory of the Greeks and Romans. They taught geography, history, medicine, natural history, metaphysics, astronomy, mathematics, &c. In the Oriental annals are enumerated the magnificent Médressés which the Khaliphs, the Anti-Khaliphs, and the other Mahometan potentates erected at Mecca, Medina, Kiouffé, Baghdad, Damas, in Persia, Africa, Spain, &c. The fall of the Khaliphal monarchy, and that of the dynasties which arose on its ruins, and were successively annihilated, influenced the fate of learning. It exhibited a general languor, and the Médressés were again limited to the study of law and theology, the objects of their primitive institution.

"Such was the state of all the

Mahometan colleges in Asia and Africa near the conclusion of the thirteenth century, when Osman I. laid at Seugutdjik the foundation of a new empire. More attentive to the success of his arms than to the progress of science in his rising monarchy, he was content with maintaining without improvement the plan of the ancient Médressés. His son and successor, Orkhan I. having built at Nice an imperial mosque 731 (1330), erected also a Médressé, which during more than a century was considered as the first of the Mahometan colleges: it was called after his name, Médressé-y-Orkhaniyé, and the direction of it was intrusted to the Scheykh-Davoud-Caiffary, under the title of Muderrifs; but this college, as well as those which were afterwards founded by the princes of his family, and the nobles of the empire, have had no other object than the knowledge requisite for the ministers of religion and law.

"It is true that Mourad I. Mourad II. Mohammed II. Selim I. and Suleyman I. all zealous protectors of the sciences, endeavoured to revive the propitious era of Arabian literature. They wished to impart a similar lustre to the principal Médressés, particularly to those of their own foundation; but their intentions were feebly seconded by their successors, especially since the

fatal

fatal epoch of the imprisonment of the princes of the blood: thus at present these colleges are confined to law and theology.

"These studies are, however, conducted with much order and method: they are divided into ten classes, under the common denomination of *Ilm*, which means science; namely, 1. grammar, *Ilm-Sarf*; 2. syntax, *Ilm-Nahlw*; 3. logic, *Ilm-Mantik*; 4. morality, *Ilm-Adab*; 5. the science of allegories, *Ilm-Meiny*, which supplies the place of rhetoric; 6. theology, *Ilm-Kelam*, or *Ilm-Ilahhy*; 7. philosophy, *Ilm-Hikmeth*; 8. jurisprudence, *Ilm-Fikihh*: the *Cour'ann* and its commentaries, *Ilm-Tefsir*; and, 10. the oral laws of the prophet, *Ilm-Hadifs*.

"These are the principal sciences taught in the *Médressés*, which are the only colleges in the empire. Their number is however considerable, since in all the great cities the chief mosques having each their *Médressé*; many have two, three, and even four, particularly the imperial mosques; that of Sultan-Suleyman has five, of which one is particularly consecrated to the study of medicine. The mosque Sultan-Mohammed is the only one which has eight of them: they are built of stone, and each contains from twelve to thirty chambers or cells, called *Hudjieth*, which are occupied by one or more scholars, according to the number in each college.

"These pupils are called *Softa*, corrupt from *Soukhté*, which signifies any thing burat, and in a figurative sense an object who suffers. They are called also *Muid*, or *Murid*, that is, disciples: and *Danischmend*, whose only meaning is that of a student; the masters, by the title of *Khodjea*, supply the place of professors, *Muderrifs*, who,

derogating from the primitive laws of their institution, neglect this duty, and are satisfied with attending once or twice a month. Formerly, the *Mouphitys* came occasionally to the *Médressés* of Sultan-Bayezid, and gave themselves public lessons to the more advanced *Softas*, considering it a duty, says Ahmed Efendy, to diffuse through the colleges the light of science and religion.

"Those studies which relate to the canonical law are directed by the works of the *Imams-Hanéfys*, except at Mecca, Medina, Cairo, Aleppo, Damas, and Jerusalem. Since in these countries the number of the partizans of the three other rites, reputed equally orthodox, has always been considerable, the ancient *Khaliphs* permitted the study of the private opinions of their founders. They established in some of the *Médressés* of these great cities professors, *Muderrifs*, of these four different sects, who at Mecca and Cairo had each a private college. The Ottoman sovereigns respected these ancient establishments. Suleyman I. erected at Mecca four new *Médressés*, each separately destined to the followers of these four rites. It has been already observed, that the liberty of the following any of these rites is confined solely to private worship, that is, to those religious practices which are imposed individually upon every Mussulman; but that respecting all those points which relate to public worship and jurisprudence, they adhere, throughout the whole empire, to the opinions and laws of the *Imams-Hanéfys*.

"In some of these colleges the *Softas* study together; in others they read in their separate apartments. The vast extent of the Arabian language, the complicated nature of some of its principles, and the

the multiplicity of its classic authors, render these studies tedious and irksome.

"The Turkish, the Persian, and the Arabic, are the only languages with which the Othomans are acquainted. The primitive Turkish, a barren and inharmonious idiom, is that used by the people. The Persian, which is extremely soft, is cultivated only by the poets. The Arabic is unrivalled for richness and majesty, notwithstanding the harsh sounds produced by the guttural letters *ain*, *ghain*, *ha*, *khy*, &c. which are disagreeable when pronounced by the Arabs, but not so when uttered by the Othomans. This language, to gain an intimate knowledge of it, requires an unremitted application of many years. The study of it is indispensable, because the *Cour'ann*, and all the ancient works in theology, philosophy, and law, are written in Arabic, in the *Coureysh* idiom, which hath little resemblance to that multiplicity of dialects used in different cantons of Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Africa. Thus it constitutes a particular study, especially at Constantinople, and in the neighbouring provinces, where the Arabic may be considered as a dead language, since the Turkish is there the only vehicle of conversation.

"This latter tongue, which was very much cultivated under the first Othoman Sultans, but especially under *Suleyman I.* borrowed richness from the Persian and the Arabic; so that this new idiom, which must be distinguished from the ancient Turkish, the speech of the vulgar, may be said to constitute a fourth language, used by the court and by persons of education: in this idiom, equally noble and harmonious, are written all the works of history and science, the edicts of sovereigns, the orders of

ministers, the decrees of tribunals in fine, whatever issues from the imperial chancery, and from the various offices or departments of public affairs.

"These different languages have the same characters, the same alphabet; and though in this alphabet there are properly only three vowels, an application of four months is sufficient to learn to read and write it, the orthography being infinitely more simple, and suited to pronunciation, than the French English, &c. The different characters presented by the Arabian alphabet, which is common to the Turkish and the Persian, differ only from each other in the termination of the letters, in their connexion and punctuation, which do not much increase the difficulty either to a native or a stranger.

"These characters are diversified in ten different ways: each has its denomination and particular use. The most simple, and consequently the most common, is the *Neskh* or *Neskhky*: it is used exclusively for books, whether manuscript or printed. The *Diwany* is employed for missive letters, more particularly for the decrees, *Fermans*, and for whatever is issued from the public offices. The *Siyacath* is confined to the finances. The *Rik'a* is for requests, memoirs, petitions, &c. The *Talik* and the *Diwany-Neskhky* are particularly consecrated to poems, chronograms, fugitive pieces, &c. The *Suluss* *Suluss-djerissy*, and *Neskh-djerissy* are only for mottoes, inscriptions, legends; and the *Djery* for warrants, diplomas, as also for the inscriptions on mosques, mausoleums, or other public edifices. The *Kiufy* is also sometimes used for the inscriptions of temples. The *Neskhky*, and the *Diwany*, are characters the most used by all classes of the people. The clerks, *Keatibs*, are

are the only persons who apply their attention to the other characters: they in general write so well, that the letters might be supposed to be engraved.

The pupils in the Medressés seldom attend to this diversity in the Arabian letters; but to their other studies, the Cour'an and its commentaries, they add the pronunciation consecrated for that reputed celestial volume. The accents, inflections, and pauses in simple reading, and in the psalmody of public prayer, require their peculiar attention.

Many also study the Persian poetry, of which the most esteemed works are the *Pend-Atter*, the *Gulistan*, *Bostann*, *Schewketh*, *Haliz*, *Saib-cœurly*, &c. These are static volumes, which contain only maxims of philosophy and morality. In the three languages are found also epic poems, amorous verses, various other works of poetry, and considerable collections of proverbs, adages, and judicious apothegms. They who have a taste for the sciences apply themselves also to medicine, natural philosophy, astronomy, and mathematics; but as these studies are merely accessory, since they contribute only to the private satisfaction of those who cultivate them, and since their great object is to become either magistrates or ministers of religion, it may easily be conceived that their progress in these abstract and remote sciences cannot be very complete and successful.

Such is the present state of the Medressés, which may be considered as seminaries that produce the *Scheykhs*, *Imams*, and *Muezzinns* of all the Mahometan temples, and the *Muderriss*, the *Cadys*, the *Naibs*, &c. who fill the lower ranks of the judicature: they seldom obtain the first offices; during many

centuries these have been reserved for the most distinguished families among the *Oulémas*, whose children, like those of the other citizens, are instructed in their own houses.

These private studies are regulated on the same plan as is observed in the Medressés. The education of the young nobility, and of those who apply to politics, in less extensive: oriental history and philosophy are the objects which most occupy their attention. There are few who study metaphysics, geography, mathematics, and the principles of government: these sciences are neglected, because government pays no serious attention to them; and they are beheld by the people with a careless indifference.

Learning was formerly more cultivated by the Othomans, because the Sultans were well informed themselves, and encouraged an acquaintance with the sciences, both by their own example, and the wisdom of their laws. If all the monarchs from *Osman I.* to *Ahmed I.* though bred in arms, and instructed in the art of government, were not equally distinguished on the throne by their virtues and warlike talents, almost all of them were eminent for their erudition and love of letters. In their court, and near their persons, they had only men of intelligence: they disputed with the most learned of the *Oulémas*, and frequently proposed to them very embarrassing questions. They wrote, both in prose and verse, with much taste and eloquence.

But from the time that the hereditary princes were doomed to a close imprisonment, all the energies of the mind and heart have been weakened, and the throne has no longer been adorned with the genius

genius of the Osmons, the Mobammeds, and the Selims.

"The influence of this custom, or rather of this arbitrary law of the seraglio, the source of all the evils with which this vast empire is afflicted, imparts sterility to the understanding, and suspends, both with regard to the sovereign and his subjects, all improvement in the arts and sciences. From this first cause an immense number of others are derived, which contribute to produce the same effects: popular prejudices, or rather a superstitious respect for ancient customs, the want of an intimate intercourse with Europeans, the slow progress of printing, the dislike of foreign languages, the neglect of procuring translations of the valuable European works, the aversion to travel out of their own country, the not sending ministers to foreign courts, in fine, the feeble impression which objects naturally make upon minds that have only an imperfect idea of their importance.

"To these general causes may be added the consequences which are continually derived from the vices of administration: the greatest of them all is the instability of employment. The minister and public officer who has been elevated by favour or intrigue, and who trembles every moment lest some artifice should deprive him of his station, attends strictly to his more immediate duties; and sacrificing his zeal to his security, he regards with a careless eye those objects which are unconnected with his situation. They who are the best instructed, who see the defects under which their country labours, and who are convinced of the necessity of a reform, are contented with lamenting its distresses in silence and inaction. No one has courage to come forward to

mention a reform, to propose an improvement; but if a plan be presented to them, they listen to it attentively, make judicious objections, appear anxious to put it in practice, only so far however as not to expose themselves to invidious intrigue or to public censure. When an officer indulges his zeal, and can persuade the first personages of the state to subscribe to his opinion, particularly the Grand-Vizir and the Mouphty, then there is no impediment to the execution of any plan though it might seem to wound the prejudices of the people. In the case the amiableness of their dispositions, much more than the imperious impulse of necessity, make them submit to be conducted by a foreign hand.

"At the conclusion of the late reign, a mathematical school was proposed to them, and was immediately established. They were taught the use of the bayonet, of machine for the construction of masts, of a new foundry for cannon of a new corps of artillery, &c. which they adopted with eagerness. It was insinuated to them, that new forts were necessary at the entrance of the Black Sea: they instantly devoted considerable sums to this purpose. If these establishments have not been attended with adequate success, if they have not been followed by many others equally advantageous, it must be attributed to private causes, which are beyond my province to investigate; but these do not prove the want of a titude in the nation, or of disposition in the minister to be instructed to adopt new systems, and to rise above popular prejudices.

"If some young Mussulmen distinguished families would visit for instruction the principal cities of Europe, they might, at their

to Constantinople, operate a sensible revolution, both in letters and in the public administration. Even foreigners, acquainted with the language and manners of the country, would wear the oriental dress, conciliate the dignity of the sultans and the self-love of the officers who might co-operate with

them, and recommend themselves by their talents, but especially by a prudent and modest deportment, there is no doubt, by gaining the confidence of ministers, they might persuade them, without difficulty, to adopt new maxims, and secretly to direct many useful and important plans."

The STATE of FEMALE LITERATURE in ENGLAND in the Sixteenth Century.

From the Fourth Volume of Dr. KIPPIS's Edition of the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.]

IT has been remarked by Mr. Wotton, that no age was so productive of learned women as the sixteenth century. Speaking of the flourishing condition of learning in that century, he says, it was so very flourishing, that the fair sex seemed to believe that Greek and Latin added to their charms; and that Plato and Aristotle untranslated were frequent ornaments of their closets. "One would think by the effects, that it was a proper way of educating them, were there are no accounts in history of so many great women in any one age, as are to be found between the years fifteen and sixteen hundred." Erasmus, also, describing those times, says, "*Scena rerum humanarum vertitur: monarchi literas neglectant, & foeminae libris indulgent. — bellum est eum sexum ad prisca exempla sese postliminio recipere.*" The scene of human affairs is changed; the monks are ignorant of literature, and women are fond of books." — It is a pleasing circumstance, that the female sex should at length have recourse to the ancient examples." Learning was then held in such high estimation, that several

great men were desirous that their daughters should be possessed of it, as well as their sons. The examples of king Henry the Eighth, in the education of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and of sir Thomas More with regard to Mrs. Roper, are thought to have chiefly contributed to the introduction of this custom. There can be no doubt but that the conduct of persons so illustrious would have much effect upon the sentiments of our countrymen, and be productive of imitation. But, besides this, there was a concurrence of other causes; such as the recent origin of printing; the curiosity hence excited in the human mind; the admiration with which the ancient writers, so lately brought to light, were contemplated; and the distinguished honour that arose from literary pursuits. In short, the general spirit of the age nourished the principle of training up women in learning. Nor was a slight degree of learning deemed sufficient for them. They were rendered complete mistresses of the Greek and Latin, as well as of the modern languages. Their reading was not

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confined to the classic authors, but comprehended the fathers of the church. They could write Greek epistles, and compose Greek verses. It should be remembered, however, that the literature of the women of that period extended comparatively but to a few persons, and those only of considerable rank, the generality of the female sex being in a state of ignorance. There was by no means that diffusion of knowledge, that cultivation of mind, that taste for books, which we now meet with in almost every company of ladies. Neither do we find that the learned women of the sixteenth century produced such works as have continued to be read much by posterity. The most important production of any of sir Anthony Cook's daughters, was lady Bacon's translation of bishop Jewel's Apology; and yet, who but an antiquary would now seek for it, or give himself the trouble of perusing it? Not a single poetess, deserving to be mentioned, arose in this country till the seventeenth century. The duchess of Newcastle, Mrs. Katherine Philips, and Mrs. Behn, appear to have been the first who could, in any degree, merit that appellation. If we come down to later times, we shall be sensible that, independently of poetry, the learned women of the sixteenth century have been far exceeded by the ingenious ladies of the present age, both in the general and extensive utility of their writings, and in the elegancies of composition. We pretend not to enumerate all those, whose works will be read and admired by succeeding generations; but it is impossible, whilst we are treating on such a subject, to forget the names of a Cockburn, a Rowe, a Montagu, a Carter, a Chapone, a More, and a Barbauld. We are speaking of prose works only, since

otherwise we could not avoid adding to the catalogue a Seward and a Williams. Neither does novel-writing come under our immediate view, to which so many, perhaps too many female authors, apply themselves, though none with a success equal to that of a Burney.

"There is a remark to be made concerning the difference between the literature of the ladies of the sixteenth century, and that of the women of more recent times. The former entered deeply into the study of the ancient languages, whilst the latter besides acquiring a skill in the modern tongues, especially the French and the Italian, have paid their principal attention to the cultivation of general knowledge. Some of them, however, have been no small proficient in the learning of antiquity. Mrs. Carter stands without competition, at the head of her sex in this respect; having displayed her accurate acquaintance with the Greek writings and philosophy, in a manner highly honourable to herself, and advantageous to the world. How admirably Mrs. Barbauld hath entered into the spirit of the Latin classics, is apparent from the uncommon propriety and beauty of her mottoes. Mrs. Montagu, in her admirable Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakspeare, hath shewn that, amongst the other qualifications necessary to constitute a critic of the first order, such as a penetrating mind, a fine taste, and a correct and elegant style, she is well acquainted with ancient literature and rich in the stores of various knowledge.

"Another circumstance observable in the learned ladies of the sixteenth century is, that they were most eminent for their piety. Religion was deeply impressed upon their minds, and, agreeably to the

fashion

of the times, religion was almost the sole topic of their writings. It is pleasing to reflect, that the best female authors of the present day are not inferior to them in serious and virtuous principles and conduct. Those who have the happiness of a personal intimacy with

Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Carter, Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Chapone, and Miss Hannah More, will know that we speak the truth; to which may be added, that these ladies are unaffected in their manners, and that they do not esteem themselves above the ordinary duties of domestic life.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION of Lord SHAFTESBURY'S WORKS.

[From the same Work.]

IT now remains that we consider Lord Shaftesbury as a writer: and in this character such different representations have been given of him; he has been so much applauded, and so much condemned, that it will be necessary to be somewhat copious on the subject. And that we may the more effectually attain our purpose of forming a just estimation of him in his literary capacity, we shall pursue his works in the order assigned to them by himself; after which we shall make a general survey of him as an author, and attend particularly to his style and composition.

"The first piece which occurs in the *Characteristicks*, is his "Letter concerning Enthusiasm," with regard to which we have but few remarks to make. We have before seen that his view in publishing it was laudable, as his design was to prevent French prophets and their adherents from being persecuted: and it will scarcely now be denied that it was better to treat them with contempt than severity. As to the tract itself, we do not think that it is entitled to any high degree of applause. It is written with vivacity, and sometimes with humour; but, on the whole, it is a desultory performance, and there are in it several

exceptionable passages. There is but little precision in it; nor does it convey much philosophical information on the subject of enthusiasm. However, on its first appearance, it greatly excited the public attention, both at home and abroad.

"The next treatise is the "Sensus Communis: an Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour." This work is more considerable in point of extent than the former one, but is nearly entitled to the same character. The noble author, in our opinion, is far from being specific in his ideas. Some of the sentiments here advanced had been occasionally thrown out in the *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*; but in the present tract he enters into a larger defence of the application of raillery to subjects of speculative enquiry, and among the rest to matters of religious opinion. His advocates have asserted, that unjust representations have often been given of the positions maintained by him upon this head. This assertion we acknowledge to be true; but, at the same time, we are convinced, that Lord Shaftesbury, by the inaccurate and unguarded manner in which he hath written, hath laid himself fairly open to animadversion and censure. Many persons have expressed

great disapprobation of his ideas concerning the use of wit and humour. To expose his lordship's notions in this respect, is the business of the first of Dr. Brown's Essays on the Characteristics. The doctor contends, with great ingenuity, that ridicule is a species of eloquence; that reason alone is the detector of falshood, and the test of truth; that ridicule can never pretend to this character; that it is one of the most powerful engines, by which error can be maintained and established; and that its proper object is folly of conduct and chiefly affectation. What Dr. Brown maintained was not admitted without controversy. Several writers appeared in defence of the earl of Shaftesbury, and amongst others, the reverend Mr. Charles Bulkley, an ingenious and learned dissenting minister of the city of London. In a work which was ascribed to the late Mr. Ramsay, the painter, the author attempted to shew that ridicule is of two kinds, and that it may be applied to opinions as well as to manners: and we cannot avoid expressing our concurrence with the writer in this view of the subject. The usual objects of ridicule are, indeed, certain improprieties and peculiarities of character and conduct, and to assert, in general, that it is the test of truth, is advancing a false position. Reason is undoubtedly the genuine and proper test of truth. Nevertheless, ridicule may in some cases be justly applied to opinions. There are tenets so flagrant and absurd, that it is not easy to refrain from viewing them in the light of humour and raillery; and perhaps the best way of exposing them, may be to display them in that light. That some of the doctrines of popery (not to mention other doctrines) cannot stand this

mode of trial, has more than once been evinced, and particularly appears in Tillotson's Rule of Faith. We confess, however, that ridicule when applied to grave and important subjects, is a very dangerous weapon; that it ought to be adopted with the utmost discretion, and that it hath often been made use of in an improper manner.

"In the third work, the *"Siloquy; or, Advice to an Author,"* the earl of Shaftesbury rises in his literary character; for there are no many things in the performance which are liable to much censure. Dr. Brown speaks of this treatise in terms of high applause. "Here," says the doctor, "bating only a few accidental passages, which will be occasionally pointed out hereafter, we shall have little more to do than to approve and admire; the whole dissertation being, in its general turn, one continued instance of its author's knowledge and refined taste in books, life, and manner. I could dwell with pleasure on the beauties of this work, if indeed it needed an explanation. But the noble union of truth and eloquence which shines through the whole, it supercedes, so it would disgrace any attempt of this kind. To the work itself therefore, I recommend the reader." Perhaps this eulogium is carried higher than the truth and justice will warrant. The writer of the present article, upon a late re-perusal of the *"Advice to an Author,"* did not find himself struck with that admiration of which he experienced in his young days. There appeared to be many things in it of a desultory, not to say of a trifling nature. It contains, however, a variety of excellent matter; and what the earl has advanced in recommendation of self-examination, and in

ence of critics and criticism, is particularly valuable. In this treatise those passages occur, which are supposed to cast a censure on the philosophy of Mr. Locke, and for which the earl of Shaftesbury hath often been condemned."

"The second volume of the *Characteristics* opens with the "Inquiry concerning Virtue," for the introduction of which preparations had been made by many sentiments occasionally delivered in the former treatises. On the whole, it is a very valuable performance, being finely written, and containing an excellent display of the nature, tendency, and effects of virtuous and benevolent dispositions and actions. Here, if any where, lord Shaftesbury must be allowed to appear to great advantage. We do not mean, however, to assert that the work is perfect, or that it is not in some respects liable to censure, or, at least, to just criticism. Though, from its first appearance it was much admired, and continued long to be held in admiration, it was, nevertheless, early the subject of animadversions. It was attacked by Dr. Bernard de Mandeville, in his "Fable of the Bees," as founded on chimerical principles. But the attack of such a writer was an honour, not a discredit to the work. Dr. Fiddes, in the preface to his "General Treatise of Morality, founded upon Principles of Reason only," has vindicated the "Inquiry" against Mandeville's censures: and has pointed out the truth and beauty of the sentiments advanced by lord Shaftesbury. Another writer, who distinguished himself in defence of his lordship, was the ingenious professor Hutcheson, of Glasgow. Indeed, this gentleman may be considered as having founded in some degree, his system of morals on that

of our noble author; or, at least, there was such a coincidence in their ideas, that they must ever be ranked as supporting the same principles, and engaged in the same cause. Several writers, however, of characters far superior to that of Mandeville, and totally abhorrent of his sentiments, have expressed their dissatisfaction with some parts of the "Inquiry concerning Virtue."

"In the "Inquiry concerning Virtue," the earl of Shaftesbury appeared in the close, the logical, and the didactic form. But in the "Moralists, a philosophical Rhapsody," he assumes a higher tone, and figures in a new character. Here he presents himself in the mode of dialogue, and is the emulator of the ancients, and particularly of Plato, in the boldest poetic manner of that eminent philosopher. Whatever may be thought of some things in the "Moralists," and especially of the rapturous kind of language into which his lordship is frequently carried, it is, we think, on the whole, a work of great and extraordinary merit. Dr. Brown had asserted, that the noble author hath strangely attempted to ridicule and dishonour religion in every shape. But, Mr. Bulkley has justly observed, that this assertion is so far from being true, that the whole treatise we are speaking of is written in defence of a Deity and a Providence; and that the cause of pure, genuine, and perfect theism is maintained in it with such strength of judgment, such superiority of reason, such invincible force of argument, such a commanding eloquence, and such a sublime strain of piety, as cannot but naturally and justly recommend it to the strictest attention of all who interest themselves in that highest and most momentous subject. With regard to the mode of composition

adopted in the "Moralists," bishop Hurd ranks it among the best of the kind which we have in our language. "There are," says the bishop, "in English three Dialogues, and but three, that are fit to be mentioned—all of them excellently composed in their way, and it must be owned, by the very best and politest of our writers. The dialogues I mean are, the "Moralists" of lord Shaftesbury; Mr. Addison's "Treatise on Medals;" and the "Minute Philosopher" of bishop Berkley." According to Dr. Hurd, the sole fault of these applauded persons is, that they suffered themselves to be misled by modern practice, and with every ability to excel in this nice and difficult composition, have written beneath themselves, only because they did not keep up to the ancient standard. An essential defect in his opinion, runs through them all. "They have taken," he adds, "for their speakers, not real, but fictitious characters; contrary to the practice of the old writers; and to the infinite disadvantage of this mode of writing, in every respect." Perhaps the bishop has here carried the matter somewhat too far. However, without disputing the propriety of his general sentiments upon the subject, one thing is plain, that the earl of Shaftesbury is regarded by him as amongst the first of our authors in the dialogistical form of composition. But the most complete eulogium on the "Rhapsody," is that which is given by lord Monboddo: nor hath this learned writer satisfied himself with bestowing upon it some general praises, but hath favoured the public with a large and elaborate analysis of it, from which its excellence will more fully be displayed."

"Concerning the third volume of the Characteristics, we have little

to say. It is entitled, "Miscellaneous Reflections on the preceding Treatises, and other critical Subjects:" and is a kind of defence and explanation of what had gone before. This volume abounds with pleasantry, and contains a number of ingenious remarks; but we cannot regard it as deserving of any great applause. It is written, on the whole, in a desultory manner, and there are in it many exceptionable passages, especially with respect to revelation. The ingenious author of "Pompey the Little," in one of his introductory chapters, has humorously reckoned the "Miscellaneous Reflections" among the nothings."

"On the whole of the earl of Shaftesbury's character as an author much has been said to his praise and much to his disadvantage. Mr. Bulkley and others have bestowed upon him the highest commendations. With these persons must be joined lord Monboddo, who, speaking of the Rhapsodist in particular is not afraid to pronounce it not only the best dialogue in English out of all degree of comparison, but the sublimest philosophy, and if we will join with it the Inquiry—the completest system both of Morality and Theology, that we have in our language, and, at the same time, of the greatest beauty and elegance for the style and composition."

"Several of the authors who have distinguished themselves by their direct opposition to many of the sentiments which occur in the Characteristics, have, nevertheless, mixed no small degree of applause with their censures. "I have again perused, with fresh pleasure, and fresh concern," says Mr. Balguy, in his Letter to a Deist, "the volumes of Characteristics—I heartily wish the noble

able author had been as unprejudiced in writing, as I was in reading. If he had, I am persuaded his readers would have found double pleasure and double instruction. It seems to me, that his lordship had little or no temptation to pursue any singularities of opinion by way of distinction. His fine genius would sufficiently have distinguished him from vulgar authors, in the high road of truth and good sense; on which account his deviations seem the more to be lamented. The purity and politeness of his style, and the delicacy of his sentiments, are, and must be acknowledged by all readers of taste and sincerity. But nevertheless, as his beauties are not easy to be overlooked, so neither are his blemishes. His works appear to be stained with so many gross errors, and his fine thoughts are so often mingled with absurdities, that however we may be charmed with the one, we are forced to condemn the other." Mr. Balguy hath farther observed, with regard to the "Inquiry concerning Virtue," which is the immediate object of his animadversion, that though he cannot agree in every particular contained in it, he finds little more to do than to tell how much he admires it; and that he thinks it indeed, in the main, a performance so just and exact, as to deserve higher praises than he is able to give it.

"Dr. Brown's encomium on the Advice to an Author," we have already mentioned. But with regard to the Characteristics in general, his commendations are more restricted; for he observes, that the earl of Shaftesbury hath mingled beauties and blots, faults and excellencies, with a liberal and unsparing hand. At the same time, the doctor applauds that generous spirit of

freedom which shines throughout the whole."

"Another direct antagonist of the earl of Shaftesbury, Dr. Leland, has observed, that no impartial man will deny him the praise of a fine genius. "The quality of the writer," continues the doctor, "his lively and beautiful imagination, the delicacy of taste he hath shewn in many instances, and the graces and embellishments of his style, though perhaps sometimes too affected, have procured him many admirers. To which may be added his refined sentiments on the beauty and excellency of virtue, and that he hath often spoken honourably of a just and good Providence, which ministers and governs the whole in the best manner; and hath strongly asserted, in opposition to Mr. Hobbes, the natural difference between good and evil; and that man was originally formed for society, and the exercise of mutual kindness and benevolence; and not only so, but for religion and piety too. These things have very much prejudiced many persons in his favour, and prepared them for receiving, almost implicitly, whatever he hath advanced.

"There are writers, and those too of no mean name, who have spoken concerning lord Shaftesbury as an author, in the language of general contempt and indignation. In this number we are sorry to reckon the admirable Jortin; who in the case before us, has, we think, departed from that candour of expression, which might have been expected from a man of so liberal a mind. He calls his lordship a conceited, fantastical, and half-learned writer. The eminent poet Gray is not less severe. "You say," addressing himself to Mr. Stonehewer,

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"you cannot conceive how lord Shaftesbury came to be a philosopher in vogue; I will tell you. First, he was a lord; secondly, he was as vain as any of his readers; thirdly, men are very prone to believe what they do not understand; fourthly, they will believe any thing at all, provided they are under no obligation to believe it; fifthly, they love to take a new road, when that road leads no where; sixthly, he was reckoned a fine writer, and seemed always to mean more than he said. Would you have any more reasons? An interval of above forty years has pretty well destroyed the charm. A dead lord ranks but with commoners: vanity is no longer in the matter, for the new road is become an old one. The mode of freethinking is like that of ruffs and farthingales, and has given place to the mode of not thinking at all. Once it was reckoned graceful, half to discover and half conceal the mind; but now we have been long accustomed to see it quite naked. Primness and affectation of style, like the good breeding of queen Anne's court, has turned to hoydening and rude familiarity."

"Dr. Johnson, as we are informed by sir John Hawkins, bore no good-will to lord Shaftesbury; "neither did he seem at all to relish the cant of the Shaftesburian school, nor inclined to admit the pretensions of those who professed it, to tastes and perceptions which are not common to all men; a taste in morals, in poetry, and prose writing, in painting, in sculpture, in music, in architecture, and in government! A taste that censured every production, and induced them to reprobate every effort of genius that fell short of their own capricious standard."

"The grand point in which our

noble author has rendered himself justly obnoxious to the friends of religion, is his having interspersed through the *Characteristicks* a number of insinuations that appear to be unfavourable to the cause of revelation. There have not, however, been wanting many among his admirers, who have thought that he ought not to be reckoned among the deistical writers. The author of "*Animadversions upon Dr. Brown's three Essays on the Characteristicks*," observes, that it is "imprudent, to say no worse, in some sincere advocates for Christianity, to reject the friendly advice and assistance of so masterly a writer as the lord Shaftesbury, and to give him up to the deists, as a patron of infidelity." But it is matter of fact and not considerations of prudence or imprudence, that must determine the question. In support of his lordship's having been a believer in our holy religion, may be alleged, his preface to *Whichcot's Sermons*, and his *Letters to a Student at the University*; in both which works he constantly expresses himself in such language as seems to indicate that he was really a Christian. And with regard to the "*Letters*" it may be remarked, that they were written in 1707, 1708, and 1709, not many years before his lordship's death. Nevertheless, there are in the *Characteristicks* so many sceptical passages, that he must be considered as having been a doubter at least, if not an absolute disbeliever, with respect to revelation. But if we must be ranked amongst the deists, we agree with the observation of one of his biographers, that he is very different deist from numbers who have appeared in that character; his general principles being much less exceptionable.

"The insinuations that have been
throu

shown out by the earl of Shaftesbury, to the prejudice of the scrip-
tures, have been frequently animad-
verted upon, and fully confuted.
Occasional strictures on his writings
occur in Berkley's "Minute Philo-
sopher," in Warburton's "Divine
Legation of Moses," and in a mul-
titude of other works. Bishop War-
burton has entered pretty copiously
into the question, whether ridicule
be a test of truth. In the produc-
tions of Mr. Baiguy, Dr. Brown,
and Dr. Leland, lord Shaftesbury's
direct and principal antagonists,
will be found a complete answer to
whatever is justly exceptionable in
the Characteristics; and a particular
consideration of that part of his
lordship's scheme which represents a
regard to future rewards, as derog-
ating from the dignity and excel-
lency of virtue, as well as of his ob-
jections to the New Testament, be-
cause it does not inculcate, as po-
sitive duties, the love of our country
and private friendship.

"That a man of lord Shaftesbury's excellent character, and whose principles were, in various respects, so favourable to piety and virtue, should, in any degree, have been hostile to revelation, has been matter of regret to many of his admirers; and they have endeavoured to account for so disagreeable a circumstance. Mr. Huntingford has favoured us with some anecdotes and observations upon the subject, which we insert with peculiar pleasure. From undoubted authority it is related, that the preface prefixed to Dr. Whichcot's volume of Sermons, was dictated by lord Shaftesbury to his sister the lady Elizabeth, who with her own hand wrote it as he proceeded in pronouncing it. From the sentiments contained in this preface, there is every reason to believe what bishop Butler used to as-

sert, that had lord Shaftesbury lived in the present century, when Christi-
anity is more perfectly understood,
he would have been a good Christi-
an. The intolerant doctrines of the
church, which in the last century
were unfortunately too prevalent,
and the intemperate zeal of those
ministers who signalized themselves
by enforcing those doctrines, gave
great offence to the benevolent
mind of this philosopher; and the
transition, from a dislike of such
teachers, to disapprobation of the
system, which he erroneously con-
ceived to inculcate and encourage
persecution and spiritual pride, was
easy and natural. And hence it
seems to have arisen, that the let-
ters in which Mr. Locke recom-
mended Christianity to his lord-
ship, were of no avail. It is to
be lamented that these letters are
not now to be found; though many
years have not elapsed since they
were read by two gentlemen, who
were so affected by the strong and
pressing terms in which Mr. Locke
expressed his sentiments, that they
could not abstain from tears. Per-
haps however these letters might
have less effect on his lordship's
mind, from a degree of dislike with
which he considered Mr. Locke's phi-
losophy respecting the human mind,
and its being void of natural ten-
dencies to what is right and fit. Mr.
Locke does not seem to have been
so thoroughly read in ancient phi-
losophy, or indeed ancient learning
of any kind, as lord Shaftesbury
was; and it is said that disputes on
the real excellence of such learning
were sometimes carried on between
them with a degree of warmth; in-
so-much that Mr. Locke, in a great
measure, lost the affection of lord
Shaftesbury. No man seems to have
studied the Greek philosophers to
more effectual purpose than the au-
thor

thor of the *Characteristics*; for he has not only caught their manner of investigating the subject, not only explained the magnanimous principles on which the best school founded its system, but has left indisputable marks of a mind deeply impressed with a love of rectitude."

"There is a tradition, that, amongst other difficulties which occurred to the earl of Shaftesbury with regard to the truth of the Christian revelation, he was startled at the idea of its containing the doctrine of the eternity of hell torments; that he consulted some eminent churchmen, whether the New Testament positively asserted that doctrine; and that, upon being assured that it did, he declared himself incapable of assenting to a system of religion which maintained a tenet so repugnant to all his views of the benignity of the great Governor of the universe. If his lordship had lived in the present day, he would have found a number of divines who would have given him quite a different answer. They would have informed him, that, in their opinion, Christianity holds out no doctrine of so dreadful a nature; and that, at the very utmost, it only denounces the final extinction of the impenitently wicked; so that such, if there be any such, who after all, shall remain incorrigibly corrupt and abandoned, will, at length, no longer exist in the creation of God.

"The style of lord Shaftesbury's compositions is a point upon which various and contradictory sentiments have been entertained. For a considerable time he was deemed one of our most polite and elegant writers; and how highly he was thought of in this respect, has appeared from several of the passages already cited."

"On the re-perusal of the *Characteristics*, we have been clearly convinced that the noble author was almost always excellent in the disposition of his words, but that in the choice of them he is frequently liable to censure. A striking instance of his nicety, not to say fastidiousness, with regard to composition, is displayed in the difference between the surreptitious edition of his *Inquiry concerning Virtue*, and the corrected one, as it now stands in his works. It affords a curious and useful example of the *Limae Labor*; the art of polishing language, breaking long sentences, and working up an imperfect draught into a highly finished performance. There is one disagreeable circumstance in reading lord Shaftesbury's compositions, which is, that he adopted the fashion which at that time prevailed, of writing many of our words in a contracted form. This was then supposed to contribute to the ease and politeness of style; but it was far from producing such an effect; and accordingly, it is now wisely rejected by our best authors.

"The fate of lord Shaftesbury as an author, may furnish useful instruction to those who build their expectations on literary fame. For a considerable time he stood in high reputation as a polite writer, and was regarded by many as the standard of elegant composition. His imitators, as well as admirers, were numerous, and he was esteemed the head of the school of the sentimental philosophy. Of late years, he has been as much depreciated as he was heretofore applauded; and in both cases the matter has been carried to an extreme. At length, it is to be hoped, that he will find his due place in the ranks of literature, and that, without being extravagantly

ely extolled, he will continue to read, and in some degree to be admired. This tribute, at least, is due to his "Inquiry concerning Virtue," and to his "Moralists;" and in a great measure to his "Address to an Author."

"But whatever becomes of lord Shaftesbury's character as a writer, he was excellent as a man. This appears from every testimony that remains concerning him. "It must be owned," says bishop Warburton, "that this lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man and a wri-

ter. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a lover of his country." There is a passage in one of the earl of Shaftesbury's letters to Robert Moleworth, esq. which is worthy of notice. "I am persuaded," says his lordship, "to think no vices will grow upon me: for in this I have been ever sincere, to make myself as good as I was able, and to live for no other end." The man who could speak thus concerning himself is entitled to the best applause, the applause of the heart."

ESSAY on MUSICAL CRITICISM.

From the Third Volume of Dr. BURNLEY's General History of MUSIC.

AS music may be defined the art of pleasing by the selection and combination of agreeable sounds, every hearer has a right to give way to his feelings, and be pleased or dissatisfied without knowledge, experience, or the fiat of critics; but then he has certainly no right to insist on others being pleased or dissatisfied in the same degree. I can very readily forgive the man who admires a different music from that which pleases me, provided he does not extend his hatred or contempt of my favourite music to myself, and imagine that the exclusive admiration of any one style of music, and a close adherence to it, all wisdom, taste, and virtue depend.

"Criticism in this art would be better taught by specimens of good composition and performance than by reasoning and speculation. But there is a certain portion of enthusiasm connected with a love of the arts, and which bids defiance to

every curb of criticism; and the poetry, painting, or music that leaves us on the ground, and does not transport us into the regions of imagination beyond the reach of cold criticism, may be correct, but is devoid of genius and passion. There is, however, a tranquil pleasure, short of rapture, to be acquired from music, in which intellect and sensation are equally concerned; the analysis of this pleasure is, therefore, the subject of the present short essay; which, it is hoped, will explain and apologize for the critical remarks which have been made in the course of this history, on the works of great masters, and prevent their being construed into pedantry and arrogance.

"Indeed, musical criticism has been so little cultivated in our country, that its first elements are hardly known. In justice to the late Mr. Avison, it must be owned, that he was the first, and almost the only writer, who attempted it. But his judgment;

judgment was warped by many prejudices. He exalted Rameau and Geminiani at the expense of Handel, and was a declared foe to modern German symphonies. There have been many treatises published on the art of musical composition and performance, but none to instruct ignorant lovers of music how to listen, or to judge for themselves. So various are musical styles, that it requires not only extensive knowledge, and long experience, but a liberal, enlarged, and candid mind, to discriminate and allow to each its due praise: "Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri." A critic should have none of the contradictions and narrow partialities of such as can see but a small angle of the art; of whom there are some so bewildered in fugues and complicated contrivances that they can receive pleasure from nothing but canonical answers, imitations, inversions, and counter-subject; while others are equally partial to light, simple, frivolous melody, regarding every species of artificial composition as mere pedantry and jargon. A chorus of Handel and a graceful opera song should not preclude each other: each has its peculiar merit; and no one musical production can comprise the beauties of every species of composition. It is not unusual for disputants, in all the arts, to reason without principles; but this, I believe, happens more frequently in musical debates than any other. By principles, I mean the having a clear and precise idea of the constituent parts of a good composition, and of the principal excellencies of perfect execution. And it seems as if the merit of musical productions, both as to composition and performance, might be estimated according to De Piles' steel-yard, or test of merit among painters. If a complete musical

composition of different movements were analysed, it would perhaps be found to consist of some of the following ingredients: melody, harmony, modulation, invention, grandeur, fire, pathos, taste, grace, and expression; while the executive part would require neatness, accent, energy, spirit, and feeling; and, in a vocal performer, or instrumental, while the tone depends on the play of power, clearness, sweetness; brilliancy of execution in quick movements, and touching expressions in slow.

"But as all these qualities seldom united in one composer or player, the piece or performer comprises the greatest number of these excellencies, and in the perfect degree, is entitled to pre-eminence: though the production of a performer that can boast of any of these constituent qualities cannot be pronounced totally devoid of merit. In this manner, a composition, by a kind of chemical process, may be decomposed as well as any other production of art or nature.

"Prudent critics, without seldom venture to pronounce their opinion of a composition, decisively till they have heard the name of the master, or discovered the sentiment of a professor; but here the author is often at the mercy of prejudice, or envy. Yet the opinion of professors of the greatest integrity is not equally infallible concerning every species of musical merit. To judge minutely of singing for instance, requires study and experience in that particular art. Indeed we have long suspected some very instrumental performers of not sufficiently feeling or respecting good singing. Rapid passages not executed seem to please them infinitely more than the finest melody, or tender expression, of notes, which the sweetest voice, the greatest art, and most exquisite

They frequently refer all excellence so much to their own performance and perceptions, that the adventitious qualities of fingers who imitate a hautbois, a flute, or violin, are rated higher than the colouring and ornaments that are peculiar to vocal expression; which instrumental performers ought to feel, respect, and to imitate, however impossible it may be to equal them: approximation would be something, when more cannot be obtained. Of composition and the genius of particular instruments, whose opinion, but not of composers and performers, who are likewise possessed of propriety and candour, can be trusted? There are, alas! but too many professors who approve of nothing which they themselves have not produced or performed. Old musicians complain of the extravagance of the young; and these again of the dryness and inelegance of the old.

And yet, among the various styles of composition and performance, the partial and capricious tastes of lovers of music, and the different sects into which they are divided, it seems as if the following criteria would admit of little dispute.

"In church music, whether jubilation, humility, sorrow, or consolation are to be expressed, the words will enable the critic to judge; but the degree of dignity, gravity, force, and originality of the composition, few but professors can judge in detail, tho' all of the general defect.

"In hearing dramatic music little attention is pointed by the audience to any thing but the airs and powers of the principal singers; and yet, if the character, passion, and importance of each personage in the piece are not distinctly marked and supported; if the airs are not contrasted with each other, and the part of

every singer in the same scene specifically different in measure, compass, time, and style, the composer is not a complete master of his profession.

"Good singing requires a clear, sweet, even, and flexible voice, equally free from nasal and guttural defects. It is but by the tone of voice and articulation of words that a vocal performer is superior to an instrumental. If in swelling a note the voice trembles or varies its pitch, or the intonations are false, ignorance and science are equally offended; and if a perfect shake, good taste in embellishment, and a touching expression be wanting, the singer's reputation will make no great progress among true judges. If in rapid divisions the passages are not executed with neatness and articulation; or in adagios, if light and shade, pathos, and variety of colouring and expression are wanting, the singer may have merit of certain kinds, but is still distant from perfection.

"Of perfect performance on an instrument, who can judge accurately but those who know its genius and powers, defects and difficulties? What is natural and easy on one instrument, is often not only difficult but impracticable on another. Arpeggios, for instance, which are so easy on the violin and harpsichord, are almost impossible on the hautbois and flute. And the rapid iteration of notes which give the violin player such little trouble, are impracticable on the harpsichord with the same finger. Those instruments of which the tone and intonation depend on the player, as the violin, flute, hautbois, &c. are more difficult than harps and keyed-instruments, where the player is neither answerable for the goodness of the tone nor truth of intonation.

However,

However, there are difficulties on the harpsichord of another kind, to ballance the account, such as the two hands playing two different parts in dissimilar motion at once, and often three or four parts with each hand. Of a good shake, a sweet tone, and neat execution, almost every hearer can judge; but whether the music is good or bad, the passages hard or easy, too much or too little embellished by the player, science and experience can only determine.

"In chamber music, such as cantatas, single songs, solos, trios, quartets, concertos, and symphonies of few parts, the composer has less exercise for reflection and intellect, and the power of pleasing in detached pieces by melody, harmony, natural modulation, and ingenuity of contrivance, fewer restraints, and fewer occasions for grand and striking effects, and expression of the passions, than in a connected composition for the church or the stage. Many an agreeable lesson, solo, sonata, and concerto has been produced by musicians who would be unable to compose a *Te Deum* for voices and instruments; or to interest and satisfy an audience during a single act of an opera. We never have heard of Corelli, Geminiani, or Tartini attempting vocal melody, and the music merely instrumental of the greatest vocal composers is often meagre, common, and insipid. There are limits set to the powers of every artist, and, however universal his genius, life is too short for universal application.

"It was formerly more easy to compose than play an adagio, which generally consisted of a few notes that were left to the taste and abilities of the performer; but as the composer seldom found his ideas fulfilled by the player, adagios are now made more chantant and in-

teresting in themselves, and the performer is less put to the torture of embellishments.

"In 1752, Quantz classed quattros at the head of instrumental music, calling them the touch-stone of an able composer; adding, that they had not yet been much in fashion. The divine Haydn, however, has since that time removed all kind of complaint on that account, having produced such quattros for number and excellence, have never been equalled in any species of composition at any other period of time.

"In composing and playing a solo, the least complicated of music in parts, much knowledge, selection, invention, and refinement are necessary. Besides consulting the genius of the instrument and power of the performer, new, interesting and shining passages must be invented, which will at once please and surprise the hearer, and do honor to the composer and performer. A who can judge of the originality of the composition, its fitness for the instrument, or degree of praise to the performer, but those who have either studied composition, practised the same instrument, heard an infinite variety of music, and great performers of the same kind?

"The famous question, therefore, of Fontenelle: "*Sonate, veux tu ?*" to which all such remarks have not ears capable of vibrating to the sweetness of well-modulated sounds, would never have been asked by a real lover or judge of music. But men of wit of all countries being accustomed to admiration and reverence in speaking of subjects within their competence, forget, or hope the world forget, that a good poet, painter, physician, or philosopher, is no more like

a good musician without study of science, and good ears, than another man. But if a lover and a connoisseur of music had asked the same question as Fontenelle; the sonata would answer: "I would have you listen with attention and delight to the ingenuity of the composition, the neatness of the execution, sweetness of the melody, and the richness of the harmony, as well as to the variety of refined tones, lengthened and polished into passion.

There is a degree of refinement, delicacy, and invention, which lovers of simple and common music can no more comprehend than the Asiatics harmony. It is not understood and felt by such as quit the plains of simplicity, to penetrate the mazes of art and consequence, climb mountains, dive into shells, or cross the seas in search of extraneous and exotic beauties, in which the monotonous melody of popular music has not yet been embellished. What judgment and

good taste admire at first hearing, makes no impression on the public in general, but by dint of repetition and habitude. A syllogism that is very plain to a logician, is incomprehensible to a mind unexercised in associating and combining abstract ideas. The extraneous, and seemingly forced and affected modulation of the German composers of the present age, is only too much for us, because we have heard too little. Novelty has been acquired, and attention excited, more by learned modulation in Germany than by new and difficult melody in Italy. We dislike both, perhaps only because we are not gradually arrived at them; and difficult and easy, new and old, depend on the reading, hearing, and knowledge of the critic. The most easy, simple, and natural is new to youth and inexperience, and we grow nice and fastidious by frequently hearing compositions of the first class, exquisitely performed.

INSTRUCTIONS for the BARRISTER in extracting TESTIMONY from VIVA VOCE Evidence.

[From the Postscript to DEINOLGY.]

LET us begin to examine our witness; first, however, let us have you a clear and comprehensive idea of the points to be examined, of the outline of the facts of your case, of the place and time in which every circumstance is disclosed, or to be disclosed, probably existing in the case, and themselves to fill that outline, of the consistence or inconsistency of the testimony given, or to be given, with all the collateral circumstances which may come out in evidence. If you are so far master of

your case, and you know how to digest your materials into questions adapted to your purpose, and properly arranged, you may begin to examine. By this time, I think, you will be ready to confess, that I had good reason for recommending to you to make yourself familiar with geometry. Without the habit of thinking logically or geometrically, you will feel that it is impossible that you should acquire that facility and dexterity in framing and arranging your questions, which is necessary to enable you to conduct

conduct an examination with effect.

"I will suppose you thus far qualified to enter upon this sort of business, and that you are to conduct an original examination, for the purpose of establishing the facts of your case, out of which the right to be insisted upon on behalf of your client is to arise. Begin with leading your witness to the point from whence he is to set out: take care to keep him in his road; see that he drops nothing by the way; if you find that he has left a chasm in his evidence, remember to put proper questions to him to fill it up; if parts of his evidence should require explanation, put him upon giving the proper explanations; your business will be to take care that your witness deliver a clear and a connected testimony; and above all, to observe that the thread of his narration be not broken; for then all will be confusion and thick darkness.

"As these rules are observed or neglected, you will see one advocate dexterously leading an ignorant witness into his subject, and carrying him through a long examination in a clear and luminous order, without difficulty, or even hesitation on the part of the witness; and another, after labouring for an hour to get him from the alehouse, the *terminus a quo* of every vulgar narrator, finding himself entangled, the cart before the horse, unable to proceed, with all that has been said perfectly unintelligible. I remember to have heard of a person in a judicial character, who was so teized by the pressure of that sort of confusion, as to break out, after many vain efforts to disentangle himself into this exclamation;— "Either I am the dullest fellow ever lived, or thou art the most incomprehensible rascal I ever

heard!"—"I don't know how it may be," replied the witness, with a provoking *sang froid*, "but I was behind the tub, as I told you before." And after the explanation the thing remained as inexplicable as before.

"Perhaps you are next to examine your adversary's witness. Cross-examination, in its proper sense, means sifting and trying the testimony given on the adverse part. This is a very delicate operation; it requires a piercing eye, quick apprehension, great sagacity, and infinite address. The advocate must see in an instant, the whole effect of the testimony which he is about to sift; its bearings upon every part of the case; his own case as well as that of his adversary; its strong and its weak places: he should know the mechanism of the human mind, be able to trace the passions through all their workings: he must be able to discern the character of the witness, read his thoughts in his countenance, and anticipate them: an able and judicious advocate, who has laid his foundation well, and practised in his business, and sufficiently instructed by his brief, will generally catch all this, as it were intuitively: but if he happens not to have so clear and comprehensive a view of every thing as he wishes, he will carefully reconnoitre the ground before he attempts an attack: he will observe two general rules; he will never ask a question, without having a good reason to assign for asking it; and he will never hazard a critical question, without having good ground to believe that the answer must be in his favour.

"How often may a close observer of the business at Nisi Prius, see facts and circumstances, which were essential to the adversary's

had been left short, or entirely forgot in the original examination, might out or clenched by a supercilious or an unguarded cross-examination? I remember to have heard of an advocate of some eminence who was very subject to this familiarity of random cross-examination, and who when he had damaged his client's cause by an injudicious question, used to exclaim with great complacency; I thought so—I am very glad the truth is come out: having left himself nothing to say, but to fold up his brief and walk out of court.

A judicious advocate, when he has discovered in what part the witness is most vulnerable, will not be too eager to make his thrust in cross-examination: he will first consider whether the blot in the testimony be a proper subject for cross-examination, or for observation upon the evidence; using it in the latter way, he has the advantage of taking it with all its immodifications; whereas the proposing a question upon it, puts the witness on his guard, and enables him to introduce qualifications and explanations, and thereby to set himself right, and to avoid the whole force of the observation, which in its original state, it was exposed to.

Cross-examinations are not uncommonly used as the means of introducing observations and criticisms upon the evidence in the shape of questions to which no answer is to be given, nor is any expected. It appears to me to be an irregular and a mischievous practice; it is misplaced, not sufficiently guarded, and too much detached; observations seldom have any effect at the time, and they fail of their effect in the proper place, being benumbed by the dullness of repetition.

“ If these very loose hints were attended to, cross-examinations would become always harmless, and might happen sometimes to be useful. They would certainly be very much reduced in their length; but I propose to reduce them within a still narrower compass.

“ By a strange abuse of cross-examination, the English bar are in the habit of examining the adversary's witness to new matter, under the colour of cross-examining. I have a third golden rule, which will correct this very bad practice, never attempt to prove by your adversary's witness, what you are prepared to prove by your own. There is a sort of triumph in forcing your adversary to prove your case, and so destroying him by his own evidence: but it very rarely happens, that the attempt succeeds, and the failure, which will happen nine times in ten, is by no means a matter of indifference to your cause. If the witness denies the fact you wish him to prove, you are then to set out with having your case denied upon oath, which you might have avoided: and if you happen to have but one witness on your part, you bring upon yourself the puzzle, which one witness against one necessarily introduces: but your adversary's witness may do worse; he may admit your case and clog it with such circumstances as shall render it of no use to you. Many a defence has been cut up by the roots in that way. Once in a thousand times good use may be made of an examination of this kind. The fact may be so notorious, and so capable of proof, and so incapable of explanation, that to deny it, or to attempt to explain it, would blast the witness's credit entirely; but this so rarely happens, and the hazard of disclosing your case too

G soon

soon, and putting it in your adversary's power to anticipate it, is so great, that I adhere to my general rule. By way of illustration, I will relate a circumstance which happened in the memorable case of the prosecution of a man of fashion, some few years ago, for a rape. There was an application to the court of King's-Bench to admit the party accused to bail. Upon that occasion, some of the leading circumstances of his defence were disclosed in an affidavit, which was laid before that court. The noble judge who presided in that court, and who should have been immortal, observed, that the party accused must have great confidence in his innocence to venture to disclose so much of his defence, before the trial. When the trial came on, the counsel for the prisoner had the mortification to find themselves stripped of almost the whole of their defence. All the circumstances which had been disclosed in the affidavit, were now interwoven into the prosecutor's evidence, and made a part of the accusation. One of those circumstances was, that on the morning which succeeded the fatal night, when the deed was done, the lady had made up, distributed in the family, and herself worn wedding favours. This seemed a circumstance not to be explained by one who had complained of having been ravished. The lady in giving her evidence, after stating the horrors of the night, threw into her narration, that they had had the cruelty and barbarity to add insult to dishonour, by compelling her to make up, distribute, and wear their detestable favours. In any view of this case, it was highly injudicious to disclose such circumstances. If the party accused was guilty of the crime imputed to him, these circum-

stances, whatever might be the complexion of them, must have been capable of explanation; and when explained, might be made consistent with guilt. In this case, there could be no hope of deriving any advantage from them to the party accused, but from their being first disclosed at the trial when, on the sudden, it might have been difficult to have given the explanation.

"If the party accused was innocent, and there was a wicked combination to accuse him, would the conspirators hesitate to add misapprehensions to their false testimony, denying or proceeding yet more fully and effectively, by anticipating, qualifying, and explaining away every thing which they were thus apprised, was meant to be insisted upon, by way of defence.

"I have claimed for the English bar the undoubted right of sitting to the very bottom the testimony of the most upright witnesses. I claim it for them upon this principle, that human testimony is in its own nature uncertain. Philosophers doubt whether any two men perceive the same object exactly in the same manner. Most undoubtedly men of unquestionable integrity very often perceive the same object in very different manners. They must relate what they have perceived in very different manners. To which of these such witnesses are we to give implicit credit, because he is a man of unquestionable integrity? we must sift and try the testimony of both by such tests as collateral circumstances happen to furnish.

The necessity of doing it in this case is apparent: but if two men of integrity may differ in their perceptions and consequently, in the testimony, it follows that even a man of integrity may be mistaken.

it becomes equally necessary that the testimony of every man of integrity whether actually opposed or not, should be open to all possible examination and trial; and therefore, let the witness who is *exceptione major*, not feel himself offended, if he is questioned with all the strictness which the strongest grounds of suspicion could suggest to his judgment warrant. He has nothing to do but to keep himself calm, and give direct answers. A countryman, with his Yes and No, never fails to disconcert the most captious examiner of a witness at the bar can furnish. But if witnesses will have favourite notions and opinions, will be anxious to defend them, will put themselves in a posture of defence, and parry the assaults that are made against them, they must not complain if they find themselves in difficulties; the fault is on their own side.

The claim to an unlimited freedom of examination being thus inadmissible, and the exercise of it absolutely necessary, it follows that the advocate is unequal to his duty, if he does not know how to execute it; but in executing it, let him take care not to contract the very bad habit of exercising his talent without a careful discrimination of facts. Milton did well to arm Gabriel with a spear of so divine a temper, that its touch was the test of truth: but if he had made Ithuriel try it upon the angel Gabriel, as well as upon the fiend, he would have made him do a very impertinent thing.

When an advocate teases a fair witness unnecessarily, he disgraces himself, and endangers his cause. If you doubt his accuracy, try it by circumstances, but treat him with respect; let your countenance mark that you neither surmise nor dissatis-

faction, nor any other emotion, which may discover to him that you entertain doubts.

“ Indeed I ought to lay it down as a fourth golden rule, that the advocate, who has the conduct of viva voce examination must be master of himself, and acquire a perfect command of his countenance on the most trying occasions. Many a cause has been ruined by the advocate not being able to conceal that he was thunderstruck by some circumstance coming out unexpectedly. There was one gentleman at the English bar some years ago, who was perfectly proof against this sort of impression. I have been told of a very decisive circumstance coming out against him, that the person who sat next to him, whispered in his ear, You are undone: he answered, with a countenance, in which not the least emotion could be traced—Hush, the chance of war!—He succeeded. This gentleman had the double advantage of reading the distresses of others in their countenances, as he concealed his own.

“ I have told you how a fair witness should be treated; let us go to the other extreme, and suppose you were to cross-examine a determined villain, it will be your duty to surround him, to press him, to distress him, and to expose him: but let it be done fairly. Think of him as of a determined villain, but address him as a witness under the protection of a court of justice, not yet demonstrated to be other than an honest man. Let the evidence you draw from him, make the impression of his character.

“ It is impossible to state a case in which a witness should be treated roughly. If you attempt it, every one feels offended in the person of the witness. You make your work

[100] . ANSWER to the QUESTION, What is a VERB?

more difficult; the witness shuts himself up, considers you as his enemy, and stands upon his defence: whereas an open countenance, and an easy, insinuating address, unlocks his breast and disarms him of his caution, if he has any.

“Loose as these hints are, if you will give yourself the trouble to attend to them, I think I may promise you, that you will have an ad-

vantage over those who examine random. I even persuade myself that you might acquire a considerable degree of dexterity in this important branch of your profession; but let me entreat you to take care not to acquire this dexterity at the expence of common honesty, as Hill used to say, There is more reason for this caution than good men would think.”

ANSWER to the QUESTION, What is a VERB?

[From Mr. PICKBURN'S Dissertation on the English Verb.]

“**W**HAT is a Verb? The definitions given of it by learned men are very different: I shall particularly consider two of them. Dr. Beattie, p. 373. defines it to be “a word, necessary in every sentence, signifying the affirmation of some attribute, together with the designation of time, number, and person.” According to this definition, neither infinitive modes, nor gerunds, nor supines, nor participles, are verbs; for they neither contain an affirmation, nor signify time, nor are limited either to number or person.—Bishop Lowth says, “a verb is a word which signifies to be, to do, or to suffer.” This definition I think a very good one. It includes nothing more than what is essential; and is, therefore, equally applicable to the verb in all languages, and in all its various forms.

“If affirmation be essential to verbs, I think it possible for a tolerably copious language to be formed with only one verb in it; for infinitives, participles, adjectives, &c. may be so united to nouns by the copula, or verb is, alone, as to express almost any idea which we can have occasion to communicate. But if the circumstances of time, person,

and number, be essential to verbs, the question whether there may not be languages in the world without a single verb in them; and then we shall we say to the former part of Dr. Beattie's definition, that a verb is a word necessary in every sentence? The professor's definition is a very good description of a simple verb, in any of those highly improved and polished languages in which we are conversant; and I presume it was only intended for such. But I cannot help suppose there may be languages spoken by rude uninformed savages, which are not yet in so high a state of cultivation as to be possessed of verbs so curiously contrived, and artificially constructed, as to answer that description.

“All languages in their commencement must have been extremely simple. If children were situated as to hear no human voice but their own, they would undoubtedly soon learn to communicate their thoughts to each other by sounds, as well as by signs; but their first efforts of speech would be very imperfect. Probably nouns, or the names of things, and adjectives expressing their qualities

verbs denoting their actions, could be first invented.

Dr. Adam Smith, in a very famous treatise on the Formation of Languages, printed in 1781, at the end of his Theory of Moral Sentiments, observes, p. 459. "Verbs must necessarily have been coëval with the very first attempts towards the formation of language. No affirmation can be expressed without the assistance of some verb. We never speak but in order to express our opinion that something either is or is not. But the word denoting the event, or this matter of fact, which is the subject of our affirmation, must always be a verb." This observation is undoubtedly just, so far as it respects the copula, or verb of existence, *is*. But this was not the meaning of the ingenious author; as, in p. 469. he adds, "there is in every language a verb, known by the name of the substantive verb; in Latin, *sum*; in English, *am*. This verb denotes not the existence of any particular event, but existence in general. It is, upon this account, the most abstract and metaphysical of all verbs; and, consequently, could by no means be a word of early invention." But, though the doctor says it could by no means be a word of early invention, yet he acknowledges (in my humble apprehension, not very consistently), that it is in every language, and consequently in languages which are in their earliest infancy. If it was not of early invention, there was a time when conversation was carried on without it: and if such a language ever did exist, why may not such a one now exist?

When I controvert an opinion supported by such respectable authority, it becomes me to speak with confidence. But the more attentively I consider this subject, the more

clearly it appears to me, that the verb substantive, or copula, *is*, is not only the most necessary, but the most simple of all verbs; for it contains nothing more than an assertion, or affirmation, that a thing exists; and no proposition can be more simple than this, that a thing is, or is not; exists, or does not exist. The idea conveyed by it is coëval with thought itself; for what can we think about, unless we think that something is, or exists? And it is so simple, that it is incapable of any division, or explanation; and as fully comprehended by the rudest savage, as by the most enlightened philosopher.

"The copula, or verb of existence, *is*, appears, therefore, to have been coëval with language itself. But we have not the same evidence to convince us that that must necessarily have been the case of any other finite verb; for the copula, *is*, containing only an affirmation, is much more simple than a verb which unites in one word both an attribute and an affirmation. Since, therefore, people, in their first attempts to express their ideas by words, would scarcely think of any thing more than what was absolutely necessary, it is probable they would be some time before they invented any other word containing in itself an assertion or affirmation: for they would not very early think of contriving words so complex in their nature, as to include in them both the name of an action and an assertion.

"I conjecture that the first mode of expressing actions or passions would be by participles or verbal nouns, i. e. words signifying the names of the actions or passions they wanted to describe: and these words, connected with their subject by the copula is (a word, as we have shewn coëval with speech itself), might

in these rude beginnings of language, tolerably well supply the place of verbs, e. g. from observing the operations of nature, such words as *rain* or *raining*, *thunder* or *thundering*, would soon be invented; and, by adding the copula *is*, they would say, *thundering*, or *thunder*, *is*, or *is not*; *rainin*, or *rain*, *is*; which, by the rapidity of pronunciation, might in time form the verbs *rains*, *thunders*, &c. The observation of their own actions, or the actions of the animals around them, would soon increase their stock of ideas, and put them upon contriving suitable expressions for them. Hence might arise such words as these: *sleep*, or *sleeping*; *stand*, or *standing*; *run*, or *running*; *bite*, or *biting*; *hurt*, or *hurting*; and by joining these to substantives, by means of the copula *is*, they might form such sentences as — *lion is sleeping*, or perhaps *lion sleep is*, *stand is*, &c.; which would soon be contracted into *lion sleeps*, *stands*, *runs*, *bites*, *hurts*, &c. Thus our little insulated family might become possessed of verbs including an attribute and an affirmation in one word.—But these are not such verbs as Dr. Beattie pronounces to be necessary in every sentence; for they are not yet limited either to time, number, or person.

“The next step would probably be a distinction between actions in their progressive and in their finished state; i. e. actions going on in their presence, and perceived by their senses; and such as were ended, and consequently only known to them by memory, by report, or by their effects: and they might perhaps apply such words as *raining*, *thundering*, *sleeping*, &c. to the former kind of actions; and such as *rained*, *thundered*, *slept*, &c. to the latter.

And by joining the copula *is* to these words signifying perfect actions, in the same manner in which they had joined it before to the words signifying imperfect ones, and afterwards contracting them into single words, they might soon acquire a verb expressing a finished action and an affirmation in one word. This improvement would probably suggest to them the idea of making such further alterations, in, or additions to, their verbs, would make them significant of the grand divisions of time.

“But still their verbs would have neither person nor number, and would probably remain in that state till the invention of pronouns. Even this, requiring some degree of abstraction, would probably not happen very early; for, in their first efforts to express themselves, they would be more likely to say, “*Thomas loves William and Henry*,” than “*I love thee and him*.” However, in process of time, pronouns would no doubt be introduced: and they might perhaps make such alterations in their verbs, as to accommodate them to their numbers and persons, though such an accommodation does not seem absolutely necessary; for, if custom authorizes it, I do not know that there would be any more inconvenience or ambiguity in saying, “*I love*, thou lovest, he loves,” than there is in saying “*We love*, ye love, they love.” Languages may therefore exist which do not vary their verbs to express either number or person. And further, I think it possible that there may be languages so constructed as not to admit any variation in the verbs, even to express time; for the verb only contains, in itself, an assertion and an attribute, the time of it may be fixed by adverbs and other adjuncts. I conclude, the

that a definition applicable to the verb in all languages, and in all its forms, cannot comprehend in it any thing more than what bishop Lowth has expressed by saying, "A verb is a word signifying to be, to do, or to suffer."

"Perhaps it may be said, that what I have here advanced, on the origin of verbs, is in a great measure fancy and conjecture. I grant it. And I further admit, that in

different countries they may probably have originated in different ways, and arrived at very different degrees of perfection. All I aim to prove is, the possibility that languages may exist, the verbs of which do not possess all the properties belonging to verbs in the highly polished languages of Europe; and that a general definition should include nothing but what is essential to the verb in all possible cases."

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

Mr. ANDERSON'S ACCOUNT of a BITUMINOUS LAKE or PLAIN
in the Island of TRINIDAD.

[From the Seventy-ninth Volume of the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS.]

"A Most remarkable production of nature in the island of Trinidad, is a bituminous lake, or rather plain, known by the name of Tar Lake; by the French called La Bray, from the resemblance to, and answering the intention of, ship-pitch. It lies in the leeward side of the island, about half-way from the Bocas to the south end, where the mangrove swamps are interrupted by the sand-banks and hills; and on a point of land which extends into the sea about two miles, exactly opposite to the high mountains of Paria, on the north side of the Gulf.

"This cape, or head-land is about fifty feet above the level of the sea, and is the greatest elevation of land on this side of the island. From the sea it appears a mass of black vitrified rocks; but, on a close examination, it is found a composition of bituminous scoriæ, vitrified sand, and earth, cemented together; in some parts beds of cinders only are found. In approaching this cape, there is a strong sulphureous smell, sometimes disagreeable. This smell is prevalent in many parts of the ground to the distance of eight or ten miles from it.

"This point of land is about two miles broad, and on the east and west sides, from the distance of about half a mile from the sea, falls with a gentle declivity to it, and is

joined to the main land on the south by the continuation of the mangrove swamps; so that the bituminous plain is on the highest part of it, and only separated from the sea by a margin of wood which surrounds it, and prevents a distant prospect of it. Its situation is similar to a savannah, and, like them, it is not seen till treading upon its verge. Its colour, and even surface present at first the aspect of a lake of water; but I imagine it got the appellation of Lake when seen in the hot and dry weather, at which time its surface to the depth of an inch is liquid; and then from its cohesive quality it cannot be walked upon.

"It is of a circular form, and suppose about three miles in circumference. At my first approach it appeared a plane, as smooth as glass, excepting some small clumps of shrubs and dwarf-trees that had taken possession of some spots of it; but when I had proceeded some yards on it, I found it divided into areolæ of different sizes and shapes, the chasms or divisions anastomosing through every part of it; the surface of the areolæ perfectly horizontal and smooth; the margin undulated, each undulation enlarged to the bottom till they join the opposite. On the surface the margin or first undulation is distant from the opposite from four to six feet

the same depth before they
 elese; but where the angles of
 areolæ oppose, the chafins or
 ramifications are wider and deeper.
 Then I was at it, all these chafins
 were full of water, the whole form-
 ing one true horizontal plane, which
 rendered my investigation of it diffi-
 cult and tedious, being necessitated
 to plunge into the water a great
 depth in passing from one areola to
 another. The truest idea that can
 be formed of its surface will be
 from the areolæ and their ramifica-
 tions on the back of a turtle. Its
 appearance is that of pit-coal, the
 colour rather greyer. It breaks into
 small fragments, of a cellular ap-
 pearance and glossy, with a number
 of minute and shining particles in-
 terspersed through its substance; it
 is very friable, and, when liquid, is
 of a jet black colour. Some parts
 of the surface are covered with a
 thin and brittle scoria, a little ele-
 vated.

"As to its depth, I can form no
 idea of it; for in no part could I
 find a substratum of any other sub-
 stance; in some parts I found cal-
 cined earth mixed with it.

"Although I smelt sulphur very
 strong on passing over many parts
 of it, I could discover no appear-
 ance of it, or any rent or crack
 through which the steams might
 issue; probably it was from some
 parts of the adjacent woods: for
 although sulphur is the basis of this
 bituminous matter, yet the smells
 are very different, and easily distin-
 guished, for its smell comes the
 nearest to that of pitch of any thing
 I know. I could make no impres-
 sion on its surface without an axe:
 to the depth of a foot I found it a
 little softer, with an oily appearance,
 and small cells. A little of it held to
 a burning candle makes a hissing

or cracking noise like nitre, emit-
 ting small sparks with a vivid flame,
 which extinguishes the moment the
 candle is removed. A piece put in
 the fire will boil up a long time
 without suffering much diminution:
 after a long time's severe heat, the
 surface will burn and form a thin
 scoria, under which the rest re-
 mains liquid. Heat seems not to
 render it fluid, or occupy a larger
 space than when cold; from which,
 I imagine, there is but little alter-
 ation on it during the dry months,
 as the solar rays cannot exert their
 force above an inch below the sur-
 face. I was told by one French-
 man, that in the dry season the
 whole was an uniform smooth mass;
 and by another, that the ravins con-
 tained water fit for use during the
 year; but neither can I believe: for
 if, according to the first assertion, it
 was an homogeneous mass, some-
 thing more than an external cause
 must affect it, to give it the present
 appearances: nor without some
 hidden cause can the second be
 granted. Although the bottoms of
 these ramified channels admit not
 of absorption, yet from their open
 exposure, and the black surface of
 the circumjacent parts, evaporation
 must go on amazing quick, and a
 short time of dry weather must soon
 empty them; nor from the situa-
 tion and structure of the place is
 there a possibility of supply but from
 the clouds. To shew that the pro-
 gress of evaporation is inconceiv-
 ably quick here, at the time I visited
 it, there were, on an average, two-
 thirds of the time incessant torrents
 of rains; but from the afternoon
 being dry, with a gentle breeze (as
 is generally the case during the
 rainy season in this island), there
 evidently was an equilibrium be-
 tween the rain and the evaporation;
 for in the course of three days I
 saw

saw it twice, and perceived no alteration on the height of the water, nor any outlet for it but by evaporation.

"I take this bituminous substance to be the bitumen asphaltum Linnæi. A gentle heat renders it ductile; hence, mixed with a little grease or common pitch, it is much used for the bottoms of ships, and for which intention it is collected by many; and I should conceive it a preservative against the borer, so destructive to ships in this part of the world.

"Besides this place, where it is found in this solid state, it is found liquid in many parts of the woods; and at the distance of twenty miles from this about two inches thick, round holes of three or four inches diameter, and often at cracks or rents. This is consequently liquid, and smells stronger of tar than when indurated, and adheres strongly to any thing it touches; grease is the only thing that will divest the hands of it.

"The soil in general, for some distance round La Bray, is cinders and burnt earths; and where not so, it is a strong argillaceous soil; the whole exceedingly fertile, which is always the case where there are any sulphureous particles in it. Every part of the country, to the distance of thirty miles round, has every appearance of being formed by convulsions of nature from subterraneous fires. In several parts of the woods are hot springs; some I tried, with a well graduated thermometer of Fahrenheit, were 20° and 22° hotter than the atmosphere at the time of trial. From its position to them, this part of the island has certainly experienced the effects of the volcanic eruptions, which have heaped up those prodigious masses of mountains that terminate the province of Paria on the north; and

no doubt there has been, and probably is, a communication between them. One of these mountains opposite to La Bray in Trinidad, about thirty miles distant, has every appearance of a volcanic mountain: however, the volcanic efforts have been very weak here as no traces of them extend above two miles from the sea in this part of the island, and the greater part of it has had its origin from a very different cause to that of volcanos; but they have certainly laid the foundation of it, as is evident from the high ridge of mountain which surrounds its windward side to protect it from the depredation of the ocean, and is its only barrier against that over-powering element and may properly be called the skeleton of the island.

"From every examination I have made, I find the whole island formed of an argillaceous earth, either in its primitive state, or under its different metamorphoses. The basis of the mountains are composed of schistus argillaceus and talcum thomargo; but the plains or low lands remaining nearly in the same moist state as at its formation, the component particles have not experienced the vicissitudes of nature much as the more elevated parts consequently retain more of the primitive forms and properties. An argillaceous earth is formed from the sediment of the ocean, from the situation of Trinidad to the continent, its formation is easily accounted for, granting first the formation of the ridge of mountain that bound its windward side, and the high mountains on the continent that nearly join it: for the great influx of currents into the gulf of Paria from the coasts of Brazil and Andalusia must bring a vast quantity of light earthy particles

les from the mouth of the numerous large rivers which traverse the parts of the continent; but the currents being repelled by these ridges of mountains, eddies and smooth water will be produced where they meet and oppose, and therefore the earthy particles would subside, and form banks of mud, and by fresh accumulations added, would soon form dry land; and from these causes it is evident such a tract of country as Trinidad must

be formed. But these causes still exist, and the effect from them is evident; for the island is daily growing on the leeward side, as may be seen from the mud-beds that extend a great way into the gulf, and there constantly increase. But from the great influx from the ocean at the south end of the island, and its egress to the Atlantic again, through the Bocas, a channel must ever exist between the continent and Trinidad."

ACCOUNT of the CULTIVATION of LAC, by Mr. ROBERT SAUNDERS, Surgeon, at Boglepoor in Bengal.

[From the same Work.]

AS lac is the produce of, and a staple article of commerce in Assam, a country bordering on and much connected with Thibet, some account of it may not be an improper supplement to the above remarks.

"Lac is, strictly speaking, neither gummy nor resinous substance, though it has some properties in common to both. Gums are soluble in water, and resins in spirits; lac admits of a very difficult union with either, without the mediation of some other agent.

"Lac is known in Europe by the different appellations of stick lac, seed lac, and shell lac. The first is the lac in pretty considerable lumps, with much of the woody parts of the branches on which it is formed adhering to it. Seed lac is only the stick lac broke into small pieces, garbled, and appearing in a granulated form. Shell lac is the purified lac, by a very simple process to be mentioned afterward.

"Many vague and unauthenticated reports concerning lac have reached the public; and though

amongst the multiplicity of accounts the true history of this substance has been nearly hit on, little credit is given in Europe to any description of it hitherto published. My observations, as far as they go, are the result of what I have seen, from the lac on the tree, the progress of the insect now in my custody, and the information of a gentleman residing at Goalpara on the borders of Assam, who is perfectly conversant in the method of breeding the insect, inviting it to the tree, collecting the lac from the branches, and forming it into shell lac, in which state much of it is received from Assam, and exported to Europe for various great and useful purposes. The tree on which this fly most commonly generates is known in Bengal by the name of the biher-tree, and is a species of the rhamnus. The fly is nourished by the tree, and there deposits its eggs which nature has provided it with the means of defending from external injury by a collection of this lac, evidently serving the twofold purpose of a nidus and covering to the ovum

ovum and insect in its first stage, and food for the maggot in its more advanced state! The lac is formed into complete cells, finished with as much regularity and art as a honey-comb, but differently arranged. The flies are invited to deposit their eggs on the branches of the tree, by besmearing them with some of the fresh lac steeped in water, which attracts the fly, and gives a better and larger crop.

"The lac is collected twice a year, in the months of February and August.

"I have examined the egg of the fly with a very good microscope: it is of a very pure red, perfectly transparent, except in the centre, where there were evident marks of the embryo forming, and opaque ramifications passing off from the body of it. The egg is perfectly oval, and about the size of an ant's egg. The maggot is about the one-eighth of an inch long, formed of many rings (ten or twelve) with a small red head; when seen with a microscope, the parts of the head were easily distinguished, with six small specks on the breasts, somewhat projecting, which seemed to be the incipient formation of the feet. This maggot is now in my custody, in the form of a nymph or chrysalis, its annular coat forming a strong covering, from which it should issue forth a fly. I have never seen the fly, and cannot therefore describe it more fully, or determine its genus and species. I am promised a drawing of the insect in its different stages, and shall be able soon to add to a botanical description of the plant a drawing of the branch, with the different parts of fructification and lac on it. The gentleman to whom I owe part of my information terms the lac the excrement of the insect. On a more

minute investigation, however, may not find it more so than the wax or honey of the bee, or silk the silk-worm. Nature has provided most insects with the means secreting a substance which generally answers the twofold purpose of defending the embryo, and supplying nourishment to the insect from the time of its animation till able to wander abroad in quest of food. The fresh lac contains within its cells a liquid, sweetish to the taste and of a fine red colour, miscible with water. The natives of Assam use it as a dye, and cotton dipped in this liquid makes afterwards a very good red ink.

"The simple operation of producing lac is practised as follows. It is broken into small pieces, and picked from the branches and sticks when it is put into a sort of canvas bag of about four feet long, and above six inches in circumference. Two of these bags are in constant use, and each of them held by two men. The bag is placed over a fire, and frequently turned till the lac is liquid enough to pass through its pores, when it is taken off the fire, and squeezed by two men in different directions, dragging it along the convex part of a plantain-tree prepared for the purpose; while this is doing, the other bag is heating to be treated in the same way. The mucilaginous and smooth surface of the plantain-tree seems peculiarly well adapted for preventing the adhesion of the heated lac, and giving it the form which enhances its value so much. The degree of pressure on the plantain-tree regulates the thickness of the shell, and the quality of the bag determines its fineness and transparency. They have learned of late, that the lac which is thicker in the shell than it usually to be, is most prized in Europe.

lac furnishes us with the greatest quantity of lac in use; and it may be generally known, that the tree on which they produce the best and largest quantity of lac is not common in Bengal, and might be employed in propagating the fly, and cultivating the lac, to great advantage. The small quantity of lac collected in these provinces affords a precarious and uncertain crop, because not attended to. Some attention at particular seasons is necessary

to invite the fly to the tree; and collecting the whole of the lac with too great an avidity, where the insect is not very generally to be met with, may annihilate the breed.

“The best method of cultivating the tree, and preserving the insect, being properly understood in Bengal, would secure to the Coss possessions the benefit arising from the sale of a lucrative article, in great demand and of extensive use.”

GRAY'S INFERENCES deducible from an Attention to the EXTERNAL CHARACTERS of SERPENTS.

[From the same Work.]

I shall make no further remarks on the external characters of serpents; the principal inferences to be deduced from those I have already made, are the following.

1st, That a broad head, covered with small scales, though it be not a certain criterion of venomous serpents, is, with some few exceptions, a general character of them.

2^{dly}, That a tail under one-third of the whole length, is also a general character of venomous serpents; but, since many of those which are not venomous have tails of short, little dependance can be placed upon that circumstance alone. On the other hand, a tail exceeding one-third of the whole length, is a pretty certain mark that the species, to which it belongs, is not venomous.

3^{dly}, That a thin and acute head is by no means to be considered peculiar to venomous serpents; though a thick and obtuse one is only to be found among those which are not venomous.

4^{thly}, That carinated scales

are, in some measure, characteristic of venomous serpents, since in them they are more common than smooth ones, in the proportion of nearly 4 to 1; whereas, smooth scales are, in those serpents which are not venomous, more common, in the proportion of nearly 3 to 1.

“Upon the whole therefore it appears, that though a pretty certain conjecture may, in many instances, be made, from the external characters; yet, in order to determine, with certainty, whether a serpent be venomous or not, it becomes necessary to have recourse to some certain diagnostic. This can only be sought for in the mouth; I shall therefore next consider, how the fangs, with which the mouths of venomous serpents are furnished, are to be distinguished from common teeth.

“To those who form their ideas of the fangs of venomous serpents, from those of the rattle-snake, or even from those of the English viper, it will appear strange, that there should be any difficulty in distinguishing

distinguishing those weapons from common teeth; and indeed the distinction would really be very easy, were all venomous serpents furnished with fangs as large as those of the fore-mentioned species. But the fact is, that in many species the fangs are full as small as common teeth, and consequently cannot, by their size, be known from them; this is the case with the *coluber laticaudatus*, *lacteus*, and several others. I cannot, however, better demonstrate that the distinction, between the venomous fangs and common teeth, is not very obvious, than by shewing how very vague, and erroneous Linnæus's ideas about them were; nor can I better prove the want of information on this subject than by observing that, erroneous as the ideas of Linnæus were, no one, that I know of, has yet attempted to furnish more correct ones.

"Linnæus thought the fangs might be distinguished by their mobility; this, at least, may be fairly inferred, from his never mentioning them in the *Museum Regis*, without adding the epithet *mobilia*, except in one instance (the *coluber aulicus*); and, in that very instance, the want of mobility in the supposed fangs appears evidently to raise doubts in his mind, whether they are really fangs or not. His words are, "*Dentes, five tela, duo, rigida, parva, non mobilia.*" These doubts, respecting the above mentioned species, I am not able to remove, as I am not sure that I have ever seen it. But with regard to mobility, considered in general as a character of venomous fangs, I must assert, not only that I have never found it so, but also, that I have never been able to discover in them any thing which I thought could properly be called mobility. I have,

indeed, sometimes found some of them loose in their sockets; but then I have found others, in the same specimen, quite fixed. The same thing was observed both by Dr. Nicholls, and by the Abbé Fontana, in the common viper, even during life. The loose fangs may be such as have not yet been firmly fixed in their socket, or they may have been loosened by some accident; for I suspect that the fangs may at any time loosened, and even displaced, by a small degree of violence; and that, perhaps, may be one reason why there is always a certain number of small fangs, near the base of the full grown ones, ready to enlarge and take their place, they should be, by any accident torn out.

"Linnæus seems also to have thought that the fangs might be known by their situation. In the introduction to the class *amphibia* in the *Systema Naturæ*, he says they are, "*Dentibus simillima extra maxillam superiorem collocata*;" and in the description of the *Crotalus Dryinas*, in the *Aménitates Academicæ*, he says, "*Dentes duo canini uti in reliquis venenatis serpentibus non in maxilla hærent, his enim vulnerando, non autem ictus infligendo utitur.*"

"These two quotations shew that Linnæus thought the situation of the fangs different from that of the common teeth; the last all shews that he thought their mode of action influenced by it. Whether the difference in situation may be found by accurate dissection, it is foreign from my present purpose to enquire; I am, however, very certain that common examination will not discover any difference, in that respect, between the fangs of venomous serpents and the teeth of others.

"But the most singular opinion of Linnæus, respecting the venomous fangs, was, that they were sometimes fixed in the base of the jaw. Of this he has given two instances in the *Museum Regis*. One in the description of the *coluber ferus*, of which he says, "*Hastæ mobiles solitariae versus basin maxillæ interius adhaerent.*" The other in that of the *coluber gladiator*. His words there are, "*Tela mobilis ad basin maxillarum affixa, vix vulnerare valeat hostes, solum veneno inficere.*"

"Linnæus's opinion respecting the use of the fangs, in the last mentioned species, appears to me very clearly expressed. But I have quoted both descriptions, merely to shew that Linnæus thought the fangs were sometimes placed in the base of the jaw; an idea for which I have never been able to discover any foundation. The first of the two species in question I have never seen; of the *stolatus* I have examined several specimens, and am convinced it is not venomous.

"I shall not dwell any longer on the false notions which have been entertained, respecting the fangs of venomous serpents, but shall proceed to shew how, in my opinion, they may be most easily and most certainly, distinguished from common teeth.

"With respect to their size, I have already observed that it is very various, consequently no certain judgment can, in all cases, be made from that circumstance. In some species they are so large, that their size alone sufficiently distinguishes them from common teeth; but in others they are so small, that it is very difficult to discover them.

"The size of the common teeth also varies very much, in different species. In the *Coluber mystrioides* they are remarkably large, especially those which are situated

near the apex of the upper jaw; which circumstance probably helped to lead Linnæus into the erroneous opinion he entertained, that this serpent was venomous. But in many species the teeth are so small, that it is impossible to discover, merely by looking into the mouth, that the animal has any. Yet in that case they may be very easily detected, by drawing a pin (or any other hard substance) with a moderate degree of pressure, along the edge of the jaw, from the apex to the angle of the mouth, when they will be felt to grate against the pin, like the teeth of a saw.

"Although the size of the venomous fangs is very various, their situation is, I believe, always the same; namely, in the anterior and exterior part of the upper jaw, which situation I consider as the only one, in which venomous fangs are ever found. But as in those serpents which are not venomous, common teeth are found in that part of the jaw, it is plain that we cannot, by situation alone, distinguish one from the other. They may however, be distinguished with great ease, and I believe with great certainty, by the following simple operation. When it is discovered that there is something like teeth in the forementioned part of the upper jaw, let a pin be drawn, in the manner already described, from that part of the jaw to the angle of the mouth (which operation may, for greater certainty, be tried on each side). If no more teeth are felt in that line, it may I believe be certainly concluded, that those first discovered are what I have distinguished by the name of fangs, and consequently, that the serpent is a venomous one. If, on the contrary, the teeth first discovered are found not to stand alone, but to be only a part of a complete row, it may as certainly

tainly be concluded, that the serpent is not venomous.

"In the upper jaw, both of venomous serpents and others, besides the teeth already spoken of, there are two interior rows; consequently, the distinction I have endeavoured to establish might be expressed in other words, by saying, that all venomous serpents have only two rows of teeth, in the upper jaw, and all others have four. I think it better, however, to leave the interior rows out of the question, as, in many species, the teeth of which they are composed are so small, as to make it very difficult to discover them. Indeed, in two species of anguis, I can hardly be sure that I have discovered them; but as, in every other species, I have never failed to do so, I presume I may, with very little risk of error, assert, that all serpents whatever are furnished with them; and that those only, which are not venomous, have the exterior rows.

"What I have said sufficiently shews that Linnæus's ideas respecting venomous serpents, were such as did not permit him to separate them from the others; if the method I have proposed shall be found to render the distinction of them sufficiently clear and easy, it naturally follows, that they should be made generically distinct. Some other reforms might also be made in Linnæus's class of amphibia, the consideration of which I do not mean, at present, to enter further into. But, before I conclude, I think it necessary to notice an inaccuracy of Linnæus, of a different kind from those I have already pointed out.

"In the preface to the *Museum Regis*, and in the Introduction to the class amphibia, in the *Systema Naturæ*, Linnæus says, that the proportion of venomous serpents to others, is one in ten; yet, in the *Sys-*

tema Naturæ, of which the total in species is one hundred and thirty-one, he has marked twenty-three as venomous, which is more than one in six. How came to be so much at variance with himself, I know not; but the latter mentioned proportion seems to me to be not far from the truth; as I find that I have examined one hundred and fifty-four species of serpents, of which number twenty appear to be venomous.

"I have already mentioned, that the coluber stolarus and the myezizans, though marked by Linnæus as venomous serpents, certainly are not so; and that I suspect the same may be said of the leberis, and diplas. I have also observed, that the boa contortrix, coluber crastes, and laticaudatus, none of which are marked in the *Systema Naturæ*, are all of them venomous; to these last may be added the coluber fulvus.

"If Linnæus's species were accurately examined, I have no doubt but more errors, of both kinds, would be found; for it may be observed, that though I have examined a greater number of species than Linnæus, not above half the number are of those described by him; consequently there remain more than one-third of his species which I have never seen. The number I have examined, however, seems to me sufficiently great to warrant the inferences I have drawn from that examination. That few exceptions to them might be found by the examination of a greater number, is very possible; but, these observations shall tend to rectify the false notions which have been entertained respecting venomous serpents, and to render the distinction between them and others more clear, I trust they will be thought not totally useless."

EXPERIMENTS on the CONGELATION of QUICKSILVER in England, by Mr. RICHARD WALKER, in a Letter to HENRY CAVENISH, Esq. F. R. S.

[From the same Work.]

Now beg leave to trouble you with the particulars of my experiments relative to the congelation of mercury; to which I shall give an account of a few experiments relating to the production of artificial cold, made since my last letter was written.

Exp. 1. On December 28th a favourable opportunity offered of beginning some experiments on the congelation of mercury, which I was desirous of effecting completely; how far I have succeeded will appear in the sequel.

For this purpose I prepared a mixture of diluted vitriolic acid (reduced by water till its specific gravity was to that of water as 1,596) and strong fuming nitrous acid of each equal parts. I prepared this mixture of acid because it has been found by Mr. McNab, of Hudson's Bay, to be capable of producing much greater cold, when the temperature of the materials at which it is very low, than the nitrous acid alone; the former sinking a thermometer to $-54^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$, the latter never lower than -46° .

The glass tube of a mercurial thermometer, with its bulb half filled with mercury, was provided, and occurring to me as a convenient method of ascertaining when the mercury was congealed; for if, after being subjected to the cold of a frigorific mixture, the thermometer should be taken out and immersed, and the mercury found to be completely suspended in that part of the bulb now uppermost, no doubt can remain of the success

of the experiment; an hydrometer, with its lower bulb half an inch in diameter, and three-fourths full of mercury, was likewise provided, in case any accident should happen to the other.

"It may be proper to premise here, that in all experiments of this kind I remove each vessel, when the liquor it contains is sufficiently cooled, out of the mixture in which it is immersed for that purpose, immediately previous to adding the snow or salts with intention to generate a still further increase of cold; and likewise prefer adding the snow or powdered salts to the liquor, instead of pouring the liquor upon these: it is necessary also to stir about the snow or salts, whilst cooling in a frigorific mixture, from time to time, otherwise it will freeze into a hard mass, and frustrate the experiment.

"A half-pint glass tumbler, containing two ounces and a half of the above-mentioned diluted mixture of acids, being immersed in mixtures of nitrous acid and snow, untill the liquor it contained was cooled to -30° , was removed out of the mixture and placed upon a table; snow, likewise previously cooled in a frigorific mixture to -15° , was added by degrees to the liquor in the tumbler, and the mixture kept stirring, until a mercurial thermometer sunk to -60° , where it remained stationary; the hydrometer was then immersed in the mixture (the thermometer glass having been broken in the course of the experiment), and stirred about in it for a short time,

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and on taking the hydrometer out, and gently shaking it, I perceived the mercury had already acquired the consistence of an amalgam, and after immersing it again for a few minutes, and then taking out and inverting it, I was gratified for the first time with the sight of mercury in a state of perfect congelation. I applied my hand to the inverted glass bulb; this soon loosened the solid mercury, which, on shaking the hydrometer, was distinctly heard to knock with force against the glass; it was then immersed a second time, and when taken out was found adhering to the glass as before. I now inverted the glass again, and kept it in that situation until the whole of the mercury melted, and dropped down globule after globule into the stem of the hydrometer. The interval of time from taking the mercury out of the frigorific mixture in a solid state, the last time, to its perfect liquefaction, was not noticed; but, upon recollection immediately afterwards, was supposed to be not less than three or four minutes. In a succeeding experiment this circumstance was attended to, and the frozen mercury, weighing seven scruples, was not entirely melted under seven minutes, the temperature of the air $+30^{\circ}$.

"The experiment which follows I consider the most extraordinary, because it proves beyond a doubt, that mercury may be frozen not only here in summer, but even in the hottest climate, at any season of the year, by a combination of frigorific mixtures, in the way described in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxxvii. p. 285. in which attempt to freeze mercury, made April 20, 1787, the temperature of the air and materials being $+45^{\circ}$, I certainly reached (without the as-

sistance of snow or ice) the point of mercurial congelation; but had the no satisfactory proof that any part of the mercury was absolutely congealed.

"Exp. 2. On December 30. three ounces of a mixture composed of strong fuming nitrous acid two parts, and strong vitriolic acid and water each one part, were cooled in a half pint tumbler immersed in frigorific mixture, till the temperature of the diluted mixture of acid was reduced to -30° . The tumbler was then removed out of the mixture, and vitriolated natron (Glauber's salt) in very fine powder, previously cooled to -14° by a frigorific mixture, added by degrees the liquor in the tumbler, stirring together until the mercury in the thermometer sunk to -31° . The hydrometer used in the former experiment, with its lower bulb three fourths full of mercury, was now immersed and stirred about in the mixture for a few minutes, when on taking it out, and inverting I had the satisfaction to find the same proof of the mercury being frozen as in the former instance. It was immediately shewn to the gentlemen present, who expressed likewise their entire satisfaction. Nearly four ounces of the powdered mercury was added; but, I believe, so much was added after the greatest effect was produced. I had no nitrous ammonia by me, otherwise I should have used upon this occasion, instead of vitriolated natron alone, a mixture of these two salts in powder in the proportion of seven parts of the former to eight of the latter. The temperature of the room in which these experiments were made was $+30^{\circ}$ each time, and the mercury taken from a jar contained several pounds.

"Exp. 3. By an experiment now purposed

purpose on January 10. last, at which Dr. Bourne was present, I have found that mercury may be congealed tolerably hard, by adding fresh fallen snow, at the temperature of $+32^{\circ}$, to strong fuming nitrous acid, previously cooled to between -25° and -30° , which may be very easily and quickly effected by immersing the vessel containing the acid in a mixture of snow and nitrous acid.

"I use the fuming nitrous acid upon all occasions, because that does not require to be diluted, cold being immediately produced on the smallest addition of snow.

"Exp. 4. On January 12, at Dr. Thomson's request, I repeated the experiment of freezing mercury, at the Anatomy school in Christ church, in the presence of the honourable Mr. Wrennan, the rev. Dr. Hoare, Dr. Sibthorp, junior, Dr. Thomson, the rev. Mr. Jackson of Christ church, and Mr. Wood of this place, a gentleman well known for his inventiveness in mechanics.

"For this purpose were provided a spirit thermometer graduated very low, and a mercurial thermometer graduated to -76° , two thermometer glasses, with bulbs very near, but not quite, an inch in diameter each, one filled with mercury nearly to the orifice of the tube, which was left open, the other with its bulb half filled, and an hydrometer with its lower bulb (considerably less than either of the others) likewise half filled with mercury; the temperature of the room at this time $+28^{\circ}$.

"A pan, containing nine ounces of the mixture of acids prepared as in the first experiment, was placed in a larger pan, containing nitrous acid, and this, in a frigorific mixture of nitrous acid and snow, contained in another pan much larger.

When the nitrous acid in the second pan was cooled by this mixture to -18° , and the mixed acids in the smallest pan nearly as much, snow at somewhat between $+20^{\circ}$ and $+25^{\circ}$, the temperature of the open air at that time, was added to the nitrous acid in the second pan, until the spirit thermometer sunk to near -43° ; then the thermometer, with its bulb half filled, was immersed a sufficient time, and when taken out, the mercury in it was found congealed, and adhering to the glass. The pan containing the mixed acids, and which had been removed whilst the snow was added to make the second mixture, was now replaced in it, in order to be cooled; and the mixture of acids was reduced to the temperature of -34° , snow previously cooled to -18° was added, keeping the mixture stirred until the mercurial thermometer sunk to -60° ; its temperature by the spirit thermometer was then found to be -51° .

"The three glasses containing the mercury to be frozen were now immersed in this mixture, and having been moved about in it for a considerable time, during which the spirit thermometer rose scarcely one degree, were then severally taken out and examined.

"As the examination of the frozen mercury was more immediately under the inspection of Dr. Thomson, I shall transcribe here that gentleman's account of the phenomena:

"When the freezing mixture was supposed to have produced its effect, the bulb which was completely filled was taken out, and broken on a flat stone by a moderate stroke or two with an iron hammer. This bulb was eleven or twelve lines in diameter.

"The solid mercury was separat-

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ed into several sharp and brilliant fragments, some of which bore handling for a short time before they returned to a fluid form. One mass, larger than the rest, consisting of nearly one-third of the whole ball, afforded the beautiful appearance of flat plates, converging towards a center. Each of these plates was about a line in breadth at the external surface of the ball, becoming narrower as it shot inwards. These facets lay in very different planes, as is common in the fracture of any crystallized ball, whether of a brittle metal or of the earths, as in balls of osseous stalaclite. The solid brittle mercury in the present instance bore a very exact resemblance; both in colour and plated structure, to sulphurated antimony, and especially to the radiated specimens from Auvergne, before they are at all tarnished.

“ Instead of a solid center to this ball, it seemed as if there had been a central cavity, of about two lines in diameter, a considerable portion of which was evident in the fragment just described, at that part to which the radii converged. It is indeed possible, that this may have been merely the receptacle of some part of the mercury remaining fluid at the center. The hollow within was shining, but its edges were neither soft nor mouldering; on the contrary, they were sharp and well defined: nor was the brilliancy of the radii attributable to any exudation of mercury as from an amalgam.

“ In the two smaller bulbs, which were only half filled, the mercury preserved its usual lustre on the surface in contact with the glass, as well as on that surface which it had acquired in becoming solid. The latter was occupied by a conical depression, the gradations

of which were marked by concentric lines.

“ One of these hemispheres was struck with a hammer, as in the former instance, but was rather flattened and crushed than broken. The other, on being divided with a sharp chisel, shewed a metallic splendour on its cut surface, but not equalling the polish of a globe of fluid mercury.

“ Thirteen ounces of snow in the whole were found to have been added to the mixed acids; but some was added to lower its temperature after the glasses containing the mercury were taken out, and the spirit thermometer had risen a few degrees.

“ This was a day remarkably favourable for such an experiment. My thermometer exposed to the open air stood, at three quarters past eight this morning, at 6° , which is a very extraordinary degree of cold here; but this experiment was not begun till noon.

“ Exp. 5. On January 14, I froze mercury at the Anatomy school again, in the presence of the rev. the dean of Christ church, the rev. Dr. Horsby, and Dr. Thomson.

“ Four ounces now of the mixture of acids, prepared as in the first experiment, were cooled in a tumbler to -20° , which required somewhat more than an equal weight of snow, cooled nearly to the same temperature, to produce the greatest effect. This was somewhat less than in the last experiment, the spirit thermometer sinking to lower than -4° , owing chiefly to the weather having become much warmer, the temperature of the open air being now $+36^{\circ}$. The mercurial thermometer immersed in this mixture sunk to -5° , when it became stationary; then rose

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thermometer glasses, one half filled with mercury, and the other filled to a considerable height up the tube, after being immersed some time, were examined. Upon breaking the shell of glass from the former of these, the mercury was found in a perfectly solid state; but its upper surface, which was highly polished, and of the colour of liquid mercury, instead of being only slightly depressed, as had been seen in every other instance which afforded an opportunity for inspection, now formed a perfectly inverted hollow cone. This great depression, as well as the concentric circles mentioned in a former instance, I suppose, might be owing to a rotatory motion accidentally given to it whilst congeling. The solid mercury was beaten out, but having been suffered to lie some time on the table for inspection, very quickly melted into liquid globules. The flexibility of solid mercury was clearly to be observed in this beautiful specimen; for the external surface, particularly the upper thin rim of the concave part, was evidently bent by the first gentle stroke of the hammer. The globe of mercury in the other glass, which was very small, exhibited nearly the same phenomena, as in the instances before mentioned.

"It happened in these experiments of mine, contrary to what has generally occurred to others, that the mercury never sunk lower than -60° , seldom so low, in the thermometer, and but little below the point of mercurial congelation in the tubes of the thermometer glasses filled nearly up to the orifice, with a view to shew the contraction of mercury in becoming solid by its great descent in the tube. On reflecting on this circumstance afterwards, it occurred to me, that the further descent of the mercury in these ex-

periments was prevented not solely by the mercury freezing in the tube, the cause commonly assigned, but rather by the quick formation of a spherical shell of solid mercury within the bulb, by the sudden generation of cold.

"Dr. Beddoes expressing a desire to exhibit solid mercury at his lecture before his class, I undertook to freeze some at the Laboratory on March 2th last, and now resolved to satisfy myself respecting the cause which prevented the lower descent of the mercury in my former experiments. In this, as well as the former, the mercury in a thermometer graduated to -60° , and likewise in a thermometer glass, filled nearly to the orifice which lengthened its scale to near -25° , sunk only a few degrees below the point of mercurial congelation, and then remained stationary. After waiting some time, I took the thermometer out of the mixture, and observed the bulb apparently full, and the short thread of mercury above unbroken. I now embraced the lower part of the tube with my hand a few seconds, resting it upon the upper part of the bulb; and upon taking it away, I found that the whole of the mercury had subsided into the bulb, which it did not now quite fill, a small space at the top of the bulb remaining empty. I then took out the thermometer glass, and applied my hand to the tube; but the mercury remained stationary until I sunk my hand so as to communicate heat to that part of the bulb which is immediately connected with the tube, when the thread of mercury dropped entirely into the bulb. It was now immersed again for a short time, then taken out, and the shell of glass beaten off, which exposed a globe of solid mercury, nearly an inch in diameter. This

bore several very smart strokes with a hammer before it began to liquify, but was not perfectly malleable.

" In the course of these experiments, several fragments of the solid mercury were thrown into mercury in its ordinary liquid state, and were found to sink with considerable celerity.

" In continuing my researches respecting the means of producing artificial cold, I have found that phosphorated natron produces rather more cold by solution in the diluted nitrous acid than the vitriolated natron.

" At the temperature of $+50^{\circ}$, four parts of the diluted nitrous acid (prepared by mixing strong nitrous acid with half its weight of water) required eight parts of that neutral salt in fine power to be added, in order to cause the thermometer to sink to -6° ; and again, by the addition of five parts of nitrated ammonia in fine powder, the thermometer sunk so low as -16° , in the whole sixty-six degrees.

" A mixture of this kind made the thermometer sink from 80° (the temperature of the materials before mixing) to 0° .

" I was directed to the trial of this salt, by the like remarkable sensation of coldness without pungency, which, with its other similar properties to ice, first induced me, whilst pursuing the subject of cold, to try the effect of dissolving the vitriolated natron in the mineral acids.

" Equal quantities, by weight, of phosphorated natron and vitriolated natron, were evaporated separately over a gentle fire, until each was reduced to a perfectly dry powder. I then weighed them, and found the residuum of the phosphorated natron somewhat lighter than that of the vitriolated natron; from

whence it is probable the former contains the greatest quantity of water of crystallization.

" I have found, that each of the neutral salts which produce any remarkable degree of cold by solution in the mineral acids, viz. phosphorated natron, vitriolated natron, and vitriolated magnesia, lose this property entirely, when deprived of any means of their water of crystallization.

" A short time after I had first succeeded in freezing water in summer, by one mixture composed of three different salts in water (having been induced to try the effect of such a method, from the consideration that water, already saturated with one kind of salt, will dissolve a portion of another, and after the addition of a third, or even more), I met with the account of an experiment made by M. Homberg, related in one of the earlier volumes of the Philosophical Transactions, in which it is said he produced an extraordinary degree of cold, by pouring a pound and a half of distilled vinegar upon two pounds of a powder composed of equal parts of crude sal ammoniac and corrosive sublimate, and shaking them well together. I immediately (July 30, 1786) prepared a mixture of this kind in smaller quantity, and found it produced only thirty degrees of cold, the temperature of the air and materials before mixing being 63° ; which is no more than I have found may be effected by solution in water of crude sal ammoniac alone, previously dried and powdered.

" By a trial made with great accuracy, I find, that even the mixture composed of diluted vitriolated acid and vitriolated natron is quite to any useful purpose may be required in the hottest country; for, by adding eleven

of the salt in fine powder to eight parts of the vitriolic acid diluted with an equal weight of water, the thermometer sunk from 80° , the mean temperature of the hottest climate, and to which these materials were purposely heated before mixing, to rather below 20° .

"Vitriolated natron, added to the marine acid undiluted, produces very nearly as great a degree of cold as when mixed with the diluted nitrous acid. At the temperature of 50° , two parts of the acid, require three parts of the salt in fine powder, which will sink the thermometer to 0° ; and if three parts of a mixed powder, containing equal parts of muriated ammonia and nitrated kali, be added afterwards, the cold of the mixture will be increased a few degrees more.

"The frigorific mixture above described, composed of phosphorated natron and nitrated ammonia dissolved in the diluted nitrous acid, being the most powerful, it will probably be found most convenient for freezing mercury, when snow is not to be procured. The materials for this purpose may be previously

cooled in mixtures made of marine acid with vitriolated natron, muriated ammonia, and nitrated kali, in the proportions mentioned above, this being much cheaper than those made with diluted nitrous acid, and very nearly equal in effect.

"In my last paper I mentioned a freezing mixture, made by dissolving a powder composed of equal parts of muriated ammonia and nitrated kali in water, and therein directed six parts of the mixed powder to be added to eight parts of water; but I have found since, that the best proportions are, five parts of the former to eight of the latter, by which I have sunk the thermometer from 50° to 11° .

"Having now prosecuted my subject relative to mixtures for generating artificial cold without the use of ice, from a possible method proposed by Dr. Watson (Essays, vol. iii. p. 139.), for freezing water in summer in this climate, and carried it on to a certain method of freezing, not only water, but even mercury, in the hottest climate, I now intend to take my leave of it."

OBSERVATIONS ON the ANIMAL and VEGETABLE POISONS of AFRICA.

[From Lieut. PATERSON's Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the HOTTENTOTS,]

AS the subject of poisons is one of the most interesting branches of natural history, I am induced to add to the preceding pages a few facts which came under my own observation while I resided in Africa and the East Indies, where it is well known that both the animal and vegetable kingdoms abound with a variety of productions unfriendly to the human frame.

"The vegetable poisons of Africa have been already noticed; but I have been less copious in the remarks on the poisonous snakes of that country. To these, therefore, I shall first and principally call the attention of the reader; and being but little conversant in zoology, I shall, in my description, retain the names by which they are distinguished in their native regions.

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"The horned snake, is the most poisonous of these reptiles: it is of a greivish colour, and about eighteen inches long: its head, which is very flat, is large in proportion to the size of the body, with small scales, which the inhabitants call horns, rising over its eyes.

"This serpent, so truly formidable from the mortal nature of its bite, particularly abounds in the country of the Boshmen and Niniqua Hottentots, who use its poison in preference to that of all others, for poisoning their arrows. The Boshmen, indeed, who have no cattle of their own, and depend entirely on their bows for subsistence, seem to have been furnished by nature with this poison as their only defence against their numerous enemies. Impelled by hunger, they often quit the mountains and plunder the Dutch peasants of their cattle; and were it not for these poisonous weapons they would be unable to withstand or escape from the parties which in these cases are sent against them; but thus armed, several of the Dutch have been killed, and many have barely escaped with life from their wounds.

"The usual mode of preparing this poison, is by bruising the whole snake till it becomes of the consistency of a gum: a small quantity of this substance is then tied on the point of the arrow with small sinews: two or more barbs are formed in the arrow to prevent its quitting the flesh.

"This poison is sometimes mixed with others, to form a preparation called rot poison, which, as I was informed by a peasant of the country, produces a mortification without much pain. The wife of a Dutch peasant travelling to the Cape, was attacked in the night by a party of Boshmen, who came to

steal her cattle; she received wound from an arrow on her shoulder; and so rapid was the effect of the poison, that before she reached the Cape, her breasts came off, and a cure was impossible. This and many other instances have been related to me by the country people. I shall not attempt to vouch for the truth of them; but they are generally believed at the Cape. Many Hottentots die of the bite of poisonous serpents; but I have seen several who had recovered; though from what I could learn, they had no mode of cure but the actual cautery.

"The koufe band or garter snake, is another of the poisonous reptiles of that country: It is particularly dangerous to travellers, it resembles the soil so much in colour, that it is not readily perceived. The koufe band is small, and seldom exceeds eighteen inches in length. I imagine it to be the cobra Manilla of the East Indies. The tribe is said to occasion almost instant death. But as all snakes have a considerable portion of their poisonous quality by repeating the bite, there may be times when the poison is not so strong, or so mortal. I had an opportunity of seeing a farmer at the hot baths near the Cape, who had been bitten by a koufe band in the foot. For some time after the circumstance happened, he found great benefit from bathing the wounded part with water, mixed with a large quantity of salt. When I saw him he had been lame for two years. Whenever he took much exercise it occasioned a swelling in the leg, which the warm bath afforded a temporary relief.

"The yellow snake which differs only in colour from the capella, or hooded snake of India

frequently found here. Though extremely poisonous, their size and bright yellow colour renders it easy to avoid them. They are from four to eight feet in length. The yellow snake is mostly found in rat-holes. After eating these animals which form the chief part of its food, it takes possession of their holes: this renders it dangerous for travellers to lie down in any place where there are traces of this destructive reptile.

"The Hottentots procure the poison of this snake by dissecting the bag from its mouth, and dipping arrows, which they afterwards tie in the points of their arrows, in the liquid it contains.

"The puff adder, which has its name from blowing itself up to near a foot in circumference, is of a greyish colour, and about three feet and a half in length: it is considerably thicker than any I ever saw in that country: its head is large and flat; the poison-teeth about an inch long, and hooked. The puff adder is extremely dangerous to cattle. In one of my excursions in the country, a horse of mine was bit by one of them in the mouth, while grazing, and survived the wound but two days.

"The spring adder is a very dangerous, but uncommon snake; it is jet black, with white spots from three to four feet long, and proportionably thick. When colonel Gordon (now commander in chief at the Cape) was in that country, in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-five, he mentioned to me a circumstance of his having met two bare boys chased by a spring adder, which seemed to be gaining ground upon them, when he shot it through the middle.

"The night snake, which is more beautiful than any of the

others, is from eighteen to twenty inches long, and very thin: it is belted with black, red, and yellow; and when near, at night, has the appearance of fire. The Hottentots call it killmen.

"These six species of serpents, about the Cape of Good Hope, I had the opportunity of seeing; and brought home specimens of most of them, preserved in spirits, for further inspection. I however regret much that as my chief object was the collection of plants, I had it not in my power to remain long enough in any one place to make such experiments on their several poisons as might have enabled me to have given a clear account of their effects from my own observation. There are, I have no doubt, many other snakes in that country with which we are as yet unacquainted. One which is called the *spong slang*, or *spitting snake*, has been mentioned to me by the inhabitants of the country, who say it will throw its poison to the distance of several yards; and that people have been blinded by them; but this never came under my own inspection.

"The black or rock scorpion, is nearly as venomous as any of the serpent tribe. A farmer who resided at a place called the *Parle*, near the Cape, was stung by one in the foot, during my stay in the country, and died in a few hours.

"Doctor Syde, one of the Cape physicians, informed me that several people had been brought to him stung by scorpions, and that he found oil to be the best antidote he ever tried. The natives of India hold the part wounded as near to the fire as possible, for a considerable time, which, they say, produces a perfect cure.

"I shall here add a few observations which occurred to me while serving

serving in the southern army in the East Indies, respecting some of our soldiers who were bitten by snakes in that campaign.

"The southern countries of Indostan abound with the small snake called the covra Manilla, which is well known to be very poisonous. The bramins tell us that they can administer complete relief in the most desperate cases; but their mode of practice has hitherto been kept a secret from Europeans. Colonel Fullarton, however, procured a small box of their pills from the reverend Mr. Swartz, a missionary at Tanjore; and at the siege of Carrore we had an opportunity of proving the effects of them. One of our sepoy was bitten, and so ill that we despaired of his life. The colonel gave him one of the pills, which seemed to act as a very strong opiate for some time, and threw him into a delirium; in two days, however, the man was perfectly recovered.

"We had also a second proof of their utility, though the man did not appear to be so ill as on the former occasion. I was witness to a third case, where we could not procure these pills. A servant of lieutenant Smith, in the same regiment with myself, was bitten. The lieutenant gave him nothing but brandy and hot Madeira wine, and kept him in a state of intoxication for twenty-four hours; the next day the pain was gone, but the man continued indisposed for some time.

"A soldier in the seventy-eighth regiment, after a wound from a serpent, was so ill that his whole body was discoloured, and he was considered as incurable by all the surgeons in the army. In this case we could not have recourse to the Bramin's pills; and it was thought that nothing but the strength of his constitution could have saved him.

"Another circumstance, respecting the bite of snakes, which happened near Bengal, will not, I flatter myself, be deemed unworthy attention: when a brigade was encamped, the houses had not been inhabited for some time before. Soon after they went in, there were four men found dead in the morning for which fact they were totally unable to account. The disaster, however, was soon discovered to proceed from the bite of snakes. On searching they found vast numbers of these animals in the holes of mud-walls; the greatest part of which they killed. They were then advised to lay a quantity of onion and garlic about their rooms, the insects; and after that, no further traces of them were perceived.

"It is much to be wished that any certain remedy for the bite of those poisonous animals could be discovered, and such as might be carried in the traveller's pocket when proceeding on a long journey. Botanists, or naturalists, are more exposed than any other class of men as they are constantly wandering in the fields among shrubs and grass where they cannot discover the reptiles so readily as those who confine themselves to beaten paths. It is seldom they can carry a bed with them; and when lying on the ground they are in danger of turning themselves on those venomous creatures who often creep near the human body for the sake of warmth. It is not uncommon for them to enter into beds, as I have myself observed in the East Indies.

"Though there are few countries in the world which abound more with deleterious vegetation than the country adjacent to the Cape of Good Hope, yet the principal danger, to the traveller, results from the animated part of creation.

eration; he can always avoid the one, when he cannot apprehend the other. I am only acquainted with four of the former kind, which are commonly employed as instruments of destruction.

"The first is a large bulbous plant, *amaryllis disticha*, which is called mad poison, from the effects usually produced on the animals which are wounded by the weapons impregnated with it. The natives prepare this poison in the following manner: they take the bulbs, about the time when they are putting out their leaves, and cutting them transversely, extract a thick fluid, which is kept in the sun till it comes quite of the consistence of gum. It is then put up for use; and the method of laying it on their arrows has been already described.

"The hunters employ this species of poison chiefly for the purpose of killing such animals as are intended for food, such as antelopes and other small quadrupeds. After they are wounded, they can, and do in general, run for several miles; and it frequently happens that they are not found till the next day, notwithstanding the poisonous substance having penetrated the muscular parts.

"When the leaves of this plant are young, the cattle are very fond of them, though they are instantly fatal; the farmers therefore are very cautious not to suffer them to enter into the tracts which are suspected of producing this plant.

"The second is a species of euphorbia, which is found in that part of the country which is inhabited by Bosmen, and in the Great Antiqua Land. The gum of this is also used for arrows; but the plant is more commonly used for poisoning the water where the ani-

mals resort to drink; and a stranger who travels in that country, must be very careful in examining the spring before he drinks.

"This plant grows from about fifteen to twenty feet in height, sending out many branches full of strong spines. The natives cut off as many of the branches as they think necessary for the destruction of the animals they intend to poison. They generally conduct the water a few yards from the spring into a pit made for the purpose; after which they put in the euphorbia, and cover the spring, so that the creatures have no choice: and in that country water is very scarce; sometimes it is twenty miles from one spring of water to another.

"The only animal I ever saw poisoned by this means, was a zebra; it had scarcely proceeded half a mile from the water before it dropped; and I was assured by the natives that none escaped which drank of such water, though they declared the flesh was not injured by the poison.

"The third vegetable poison proceeds from a species of rhus, which is only found near the Great River, or Orange River; and is said to be very dangerous. When this poison is extracting, the operators cover their eyes, as the least drop touching that organ would certainly deprive them of sight. It is sometimes used for arrows.

"The fourth is the only poison really useful to the European inhabitants; it is a small shrubby plant, producing a nut, called by the Dutch, wolf gift, or wolf poison, which they use for poisoning the hyenas.

"The method of preparing this, is by taking the nuts and roasting them as they do coffee, after which they pulverize them: they afterwards

[124] ON the BUXTON and MATLOCK WATERS.

wards take some pieces of meat, or a dead dog, which they stuff full of the powder, and throw them into the fields. The voracious hyenas meet- ing with any thing of this kind, devour it, and in general are found dead the following day."

The NATURAL HISTORY of the BUXTON and MATLOCK Waters in a Letter from Dr. DARWIN, to Mr. PILKINGTON.

[From the First Volume of PILKINGTON'S View of the present State of Derbyshire.]

"SEVERAL philosophers have supposed, that the warm springs of this country acquire their heat from the chemical decomposition of pyrites; and it was affirmed by the late Mr. Tifflington, which has been lately cited in an ingenious work of Mr. Kirwan on mineralogy, that the warm water about Matlock owed its heat to the blue marle, which is mixed with pyrites, and is found in thin strata above and below the beds of lava or toad-stone; for an account of which see Mr. Whitehurst's valuable book on the Theory of the Earth. But it has since been observed, that though warm water was found sometimes in these beds of pyrites and marle; yet that no smell or taste then attended it; which must have occurred, if the pyrites had been in a state of decomposition. And secondly, that cold water was found in these beds oftener than warm.

"The arguments in favour of another opinion appear to me to be much more conclusive, viz. that the water of these springs is raised in vapour by subterraneous fires deep in the earth; and that this vapour is condensed under the surface of the mountains in the vicinity of the springs.

"1. The heat of these springs has been invariable perhaps for many centuries, certainly as long as we have had good thermometers; which

shews that the water, which it arise from, is in a boiling state some part of the earth. For boiling water acquires a certain degree of heat, viz. 212, the steam which arises from it, (where it is confined,) must always be of the same degree of heat. Now the interior parts of the earth, a few feet below the surface, being always both in winter and summer of 48 degrees of heat, it follows, that if the steam-water, after it is condensed, flows through a given distance of the earth; it will become cooled to 212 to some degree of heat above 48; proportional to the distance between the mountain, in which it is condensed, and the place of its escape. And thus may for many ages preserve an uniformity of the degree of heat; which could not happen if it was produced by chemical combinations of materials near the surface of the earth.

"2. In the very dry summer 1780, when all the cold springs in this part of the country either totally ceased, or were much diminished; I was well informed on the spot both at Matlock and Buxton, that the warm springs had suffered no observable decrease of their warmth. Whence I conclude, that the sources of these warm springs were at much greater depth beneath the surface of the earth than the cold ones: and that on that account

must first have been raised in the form of steam from those great depths.

Another circumstance shews, that the source of many of these waters is situated beneath the origin of the cold springs; even after the steam, which produces them, is condensed into water: which is that we hear continues always the same both in winter and summer, wet seasons and in dry, which shews, that no cold water from the fountains, or springs in consequence of rain, is mixed with these sources of warm water.

Indeed one of the springs at Matlock had much common cold water mixed with it, lower down in its course towards the Derwent, which occasioned it to be neglected; a miner, Mr. Mather, proposed a year to Mr. Simpson, the proprietor, an ingenious device to separate them; which was by fixing a pipe into the mouth of the spring to raise the hot water, before its issue above the place, where the cold springs enter into it; and thus to push back the cold water into an underground lough, where it was said to discharge itself; and thereby losing a part of the warm water, to preserve the remainder unaltered; which I believe has so far succeeded.

3. The rocks of limestone in this part of the country abound with perpendicular clefts, in which abound the ores of zinc, lead, and iron. And it is hence probable, that not only the steam of water at the bottom, (which produces these hot springs,) but that those metals themselves, and the fluor or barytes, which attends them, in former ages been raised in those subterraneous fires, which heated the continents and islands of the primeval ocean.

4. The existence of central

fires in the earth in the early ages of the world is demonstrated by the elevation of the solid parts of the globe above the ocean; and the shattered condition of its strata; with the immense masses of lava then produced; which go under the names of roadstone, basaltic, moorstone, porphyry, and granite, as are so well explained in Mr. Whitehurst's, and in Dr. Hutton's theories of the earth. The present existence of central fires seems probable from the many volcanoes, which are spiracula, or chimneys, belonging to those great fires; and it is probable, that by the escape of elastic vapours from these is owing the small extent of modern earthquakes, compared with those of remote antiquity, of which the vestiges remain all over the globe. Another argument for the present existence of immense subterraneous fires, is that the great earthquake at Lisbon produced undulations on the lakes of Scotland; and was felt in the mines of Derbyshire; (Phil. Transactions, which could not easily happen, but by a percussion on one side of a confined fluid lava; which would be propagated to the other, as striking the gentlest blow on one side of a bladder distended with water is felt by the hand placed on the other side. To which may be added, that in some mines, the deeper you descend the warmer you perceive them. Morinus in a tract de locis subterraneis, p. 131. says, that in some mines of Hungary, which are 500 cubits deep, the heat becomes troublesome, when the miners get below 480 feet of depth. And Mons. De Luc, on going 1359 feet perpendicular into the mines of Hartz in July, 1778, on a very fine day, found the air at the bottom a little warmer than at the top of the shaft. (Phil. Trans.)

“ 5. Because there are springs of

of hot water in all countries, where open volcanoes evidently exist: whence from analogy we may conclude the hot springs in countries where open volcanoes have existed, but are now not open, are owing to the same cause acting in a less powerful manner.

" 6. Add to this, that if those waters had been heated by the chemical decomposition of pyrites, some of them at least would probably have retained a strong chalybeate taste, or sulphureous smell: or that they would all of them have been impregnated with some similar material; which on the chemical analyses of these waters of Buxton and Matlock, does not appear to be the fact.

" 7. I come now to another circumstance, which very much corroborates the above theory of the production of the springs from the steam raised from deep subterraneous fires, and not from the decomposition of pyrites. The strata of the earth in this part of Derbyshire consist of beds of limestone and of lava (or toadstone) which lie reciprocally one upon the other; in many parts of the country, there are three beds of each, which are very many yards thick. See Whitehurst's Theory of the Earth. Now if we suppose the steam rising from subterraneous fires to be owing partly to water slowly subsiding upon those fires, and to limestone gradually calcined by them; it must happen, that the steam rising through the perpendicular clefts in the superincumbent rocks must be replete with calcareous gas (or fixed air); with some phlogisticated air.

" Dr. Priestley from 5 ounces of lime stone obtained 1160 ounce-measures of air, nine tenths of which was fixed air, and the other tenth phlogisticated air. From 4 ounces of white spar he obtained 830 ounce-measures of air, the first portion of

which has but one fourth of fixed air which however varied in the course of the experiment, being once the fourths, then one half, then the third of fixed air. Vol. vi. p. 22

" If this steam so impregnated condensed in lime-stone strata, fixed air in this hot steam will saturate itself again with calcareous earth. Now this is what precisely happens to the waters at Matlock which are replete with calcareous particles; and appears by the copious deposition of tupha, or calcareous incrustations, along the channels in which they flow. For general it happens, that springs of water wear themselves valleys from the sources, as is done by the waters at Buxton; but those springs at Matlock have produced rocks at mountains of a sponge-like calcareous stone between their fountains and the Derwent, with which all the houses at Matlock are constructed and many of the stone fences.

" It may seem extraordinary that fixed air, or, calcareous gas which is known to precipitate lime from water, should render limestone more soluble in water. This however is evinced by the experiments of Mr. Cavendish, who added lime-water, which had been rendered turbid by means of calcareous gas, more of the same gas which enabled the water to dissolve the precipitated limestone. Which however is consistent with other chemical phenomena, as one portion of alkali added to a solution of iron in an acid precipitates the iron, which is redissolved by the addition of a greater portion of alkali. Water by a large quantity of calcareous gas will thus in closed vessels super-saturate itself with lime; which will gradually precipitate in the form of limestone, when exposed to the air, by the evaporation of the superfluous gas.

" In the beginning of October 1803, I was present with my friend Mr. Edgeworth at the opening of some of the springs of Matlock about 200 yards above their usual places of appearance. We found them both at these new openings at about one degree of heat, or somewhat more, warmer than at the places of their usual exit. The upper spring, which could be best seen, issued from some cracks or fissures in the upper surface of a bed of roadstone, and between it and blue marle, which lies over it: under which marle it seems to have been condensed; and thence to have super-saturated itself with calcareous particles. I examined this marle by means of acids, and found it to be calcareous; except some shining bits of whitish pyrites, which had no appearance of being in a state of decomposition.

" On the contrary the steam, which produces the water of Buxton, is probably condensed in the substance of the roadstone or lava; and not in a stratum of marle or limestone, like the Matlock water; and hence the great difference of their contents. As one edge of these strata of lime-stone and lava, where there are springs, is always elevated higher than the other; it would be easy by attending to the inclination of these strata to discover, on which side of the bath is situated the mountain, in which the steam is condensed; which probably may not be more than a mile or two from the eruption of the springs; because in opening the springs at Matlock at a place about 200 yards above the wells, the water (though already collected into a kind of vein) was cooled more than a degree; and this cooling must proceed much faster, where the water is diffusely and thinly spread between two contiguous strata. And further, as the

progress of this water must warm in some degree the surface of the earth, beneath which it passes after its condensation; and particularly at the place of its condensation; it is not improbable, but its course might be detected by observations made in rimy mornings, or when snow has lain long on the ground, by their melting or disappearance of it first in that part; or perhaps by the earlier vegetation of the grass or trees on those parts of the surface. A Mr. Taylor, who once kept this bath, produced early vegetables by conveying a stream of the warm water under a border of his garden. If this source should ever be discovered by mining, I suppose the water by being received nearer the place of its devaporation, would be found of a greater degree of heat from 82, its present heat, up to 212, or the heat of boiling water.

" I cannot conclude this part of the subject without observing the analogy between the production of cold and of hot springs; they are both produced from vapour; that, which produces cold springs, is brought to the summits of mountains by the atmosphere; and being there devaporated slides down between the strata, which compose the hill; and burst out through some of these strata below. That, which forms hot springs, is condensed under the same strata of the mountains, over which slides the cold water devaporated from the atmosphere; in these respects exactly imitating, if large things may be compared with small, an old-fashioned alembic, and its superincumbent refrigeratory. Without the existence, of mountains, or elevations of ground, neither hot nor cold springs could have existed; nor indeed without their having been shattered in their elevation; for some of the strata of the

the earth being deficient at the summits of mountains gives access to the dews to slide between the first and second; or between the second and third strata; and thus form cold springs below. And the perpendicular clefts or cracks in these mountains give access to the streams raised from below for the production of warm springs.

"The contents of the waters of Buxton and Matlock much countenance the theory above delivered, for if steam be raised from subterraneous furnaces, where limestone is probably in a state of calcination, much calcareous gas (or fixed air), and some phlogisticated air, would arise with the aqueous steam; these are found in the Buxton water in the loose state of bubbles, according to the analysis of doctor Pearson, and in this the Buxton water resembles the waters at Bath; which are said by Dr. Priestley to possess similar kinds of air. Exp. v. 2. p. 223. And as these airs seem to be the principal ingredients of both these waters, there is reason to believe, both from this circumstance, and from their success in relieving similar diseases, that their medicinal powers are very similar. At the same time, as the waters at Bath are said to contain a very minute quantity of iron, those of Buxton may be better adapted to some inflammatory habits; and as there is a chalybeate spring at Buxton near the other, it would be easy occasionally to render these waters still more similar to those of Bath by adding a small portion of the chalybeate water to that of Saint Anne's well at the time of drinking it; and thus doing that by art at Buxton which at Bath is done by nature.

"In the Buxton water the fixed air is found in loose bubbles, because it does not meet with any cal-

careous earth, or limestone to combine itself with: in the Matlock water the contrary occurs; it has no loose air-bubbles, because the fixable air is combined with lime, and thus this water is replete with calcareous earth in subtile solution and in this respect, I suppose, resembles the Bristol water.

"The incrustations, which are deposited from these calcareous hard waters, were once supposed to contribute to produce the gravel and stone in the kidneys and bladder: this opinion particularly prevailed about half a century ago in Paris where it was said, that a certain district of that city, supplied with water which incrustated the pipes through which it passed, was much afflicted with the stone in the bladder. Mons. Condamine, an ingenious and active philosopher, on a minute inquiry found the assertion to be totally devoid of truth. Since that time the waters of Carlsbad which incrust wherever is thrown into them like those of Matlock, have been much frequented by patients with gravel and stone, and it is said with advantage. (Philos. Transact. Since the great light thrown on the subject by the chemical accuracy of Bergman and Scheele (whose premature deaths are a loss to mankind,) the use of these waters may be better understood. By their experiments it appears, that the stone concretions in animal bodies consist of saccharine acid and air, and that this acid has a greater affinity than any other to calcareous earth. Now as the saccharine acid is perpetually generated in the stomach during the digestion of our aliment; it is probable, the salutary effects of the calcareous waters, such as Matlock and Bristol, may be owing to the saturating the superabundance of this saccharine acid; and that the

may prevent the tendency which some of our fluid secretions possess, of producing calculous, and perhaps gouty and bilious concretions; and prevent the increase in size of those already formed. On the same principle they may tend to render purulent matter less acrimonious; as they are supposed to be of advantage in pulmonary and serous ulcers. Certain I am, that the cold springs also, which are replete with calcareous matter, as St. Edmund's and other wells about Derby, are salubrious to the drinking of them; as the daily experience of the inhabitants who use them, evinces. And I am acquainted with one person, who has drank of the spring water very much loaded with this kind of earth for his only nourishment for the last five years, using but two pints a day of it; and ended in a perfect state of health.

There is another disease in which the waters of Matlock and of St. Edmund are celebrated, the diabetes. It is so great a quantity of sugar is generated by the powers of digestion, that the urine becomes loaded with sugar. A patient of this kind in the infirmary at Stafford, who had drank about thrice the quantity allowed to other patients, made about sixteen and sometimes eighteen pints of water a day; and by my calculation some of this was evaporated. Mr. Hagues of that place, and I procured about an ounce of very pure sugar from every pint of the urine. An account of this case; and a theory of diabetes is published in a pamphlet "on the Inverted System of the Lymphatic System as a Criterion between Pus and Urine," Cadell, London. In this dissertation therefore it is probable the use of these calcareous waters is to be ascribed to their affinity to the saccharine acid, which in those cases

would seem to be in great abundance.

"So far have I performed my promise to you in writing down, what has occurred to me concerning the natural history of the waters of Buxton and Matlock: to enter minutely into the medical history of these, and of Kedleston water, and other mineral waters of this country would require a volume, and take up much more of my time and attention than I could at present contrive to bestow upon it. But I cannot leave this account of calcareous or hard waters without adding; that I suppose, from the great affinity between calcareous earth and saccharine acid, may be explained a circumstance, the theory of which has never been understood, and therefore the fact has generally been doubted; and that is, that hard waters make stronger beer than soft ones. I appeal to the brewers of Burton for the fact, who have the soft water of the Trent running on one side of their brewhouses; and yet prefer universally the hard or calcareous water supplied by their pumps. I suppose there may be some saccharine acid in the malt, (which is not all of it equally perfectly made into sugar by the vegetable digestive power of the germinating barley,) which by its attracting the calcareous earth of hard waters may produce a kind of mineral sugar; which like the true sugar may be convertible into spirit: for a similar purpose, I suppose, lime is used by the sugar-bakers in refining their sugar, though the theory of its effects is unknown to them.

"There are other sources of water in Derbyshire, which should be mentioned. The waters of the Hamps and Manifold sink into the earth near Weirton mills, and rise again in Ilam gardens. The sub-

I terraneous

terraneous cavities, in which these streams pass, seem to have been made in the early ages of the world, (as all the caverns of this county, as Peak-hole, Elden-hole, Pool's-hole, and Thor's house near Wetton mill.) by long regions of earth rising to let out the confined vapours from concealed volcanoes; and opening, as it were, their jaws; which, when the sides subsided again, did not exactly fit each other; and thus left long subterraneous cavities.

"The sulphur waters of Kedleston are celebrated for curing the same diseases as those of Harrogate, but are considerably weaker; and may therefore be better adapted to feeble constitutions. These sulphureous wells abound with marine salt, and contain some Epsom salt; to which they all of them owe their purgative qualities. I am well informed, that the salt springs in Cheshire, if they are left to rest a few weeks without being pumped, acquire a similar sulphureous smell; and suspect, that these sulphur wells may be classed with other salt springs, of greater or less degree of saturation; but that some of their ingredients are in a state of decomposition.

"The bishop of Llandaff, (to whom the public is so much obliged for making chemistry both useful and agreeable) mentions in his ingenious observations on Harrogate waters, that one of the springs arises in a bed of shale; some parts of which are softer than other parts, as in a state of decomposition: about a mile eastward of the Kedleston bath is a stratum of shale, which is seen on the sides of the hollow way in Quarndon town; and, where it is there exposed to the air, seems of a soft kind. Whence there is reason to suspect, that the waters being previously impregnated with vitriolic acid from shale may be necessary to

the production of these sulphureous waters. The Kedleston water is weaker than that of Harrogate, respect to the quantity of marine salt it contains; I suppose about two ounces of bay salt added to a gallon of this water renders it of every respect as efficacious as Harrogate water, in those diseases commonly termed scorbutic, and worm-cases, particularly ascarides.

"At Heage there is a water, I am informed, with a very austere taste, which is worth inquiry; it is probably either a chalybeate dissolved in vitriolic acid, like that of Somersham near Cambridge; or an aluminous water, like that of Wil-Holt in Leicestershire. The springs, which abound with vitriolic acid, sometimes produce morasses, which have a remarkable property of preserving flesh-meat; I have been told there are such morasses the wilds of the Peak; in which dead game, and even large pieces of mutton have been buried one year and found nearly unchanged the next. In countries abounding with coal there are generally chalybeate springs; of these, those which sooner loose their iron when exposed to the air, are generally preferred for medical purposes; of this kind is that of Quarndon near Kedleston, in these waters the iron is dissolved by means of calcareous gas, or fixed air as shewn by Mr. Lane; which is a volatile acid, and when exposed to the air soon escapes; and the iron is then deposited in a calciform state like ochre. A dark-coloured stratum of similar appearance to that seen on the sides of the hollow road near the chalybeate spring at Quarndon covers the collieries at Bedworth near Coventry. There is a similar shale also appears on the sides of the turnpike road at Hulland near Ashburn; it is probable there are co-

PRESENT STATE of the GLACIERS of SAVOY. [131]

both these parts of the country, which from their situations would be valuable acquisitions; and for coal; if properly managed, is not very expensive; as the incumbent strata are generally soft materials.

I shall conclude this long letter mentioning an artificial spring of water, which I produced by boring the Derwent in Full-street in Derby.—As the copious spring, called St. Alkmund's well, rises but half a mile from this part of Full-street, and about six feet higher in respect to level; I supposed the stratum of marle might be continued to this place, though covered with houses, and some feet of drift. On clearing an old well, which was about four yards deep, it contained very bad water, the surface of the marle appeared. The old well was then walled round with bricks, and water-clay, so that the bottom was kept perfectly dry. A hole about two inches diameter was then bored about 15 yards deeper; and then some sand was

brought up mixed with the marle; and a spring gradually arose; and by driving a wooden pipe into the hole, and afterwards putting a leaden pipe through this, the water arose about two feet above the surface, though not up to the level of St. Alkmund's well, as I had expected; it has now for five years continued to flow; and I think rather increases in quantity, and perhaps in purity. A more particular account of this well is related in the Philosophical Transactions.

“ I mention it in this letter, because I suppose there are many situations in which water might be thus procured by boring a perpendicular hole near the edges of valleys, or a horizontal one into the sides of mountains, for the convenience of watering cattle or for flooding grounds, and for the purposes of agriculture. And I suppose the springs in marly countries are preferable to river-water, as they are always loaded with calcareous earth.”

ENQUIRY into the PRESENT STATE of the GLACIERS of SAVOY.

from the enlarged Edition of Mr. COXE's Travels in SWITZERLAND.]

IN regard to your question, “ Whether the glaciers are in a state of increase or diminution ? ” I declined on a former occasion to enter minutely upon a subject which required much accurate observation and repeated experimental investigation; yet I ventured to make one remark, which I intended to prove the occasional increase and diminution of the glaciers contrary to the opinion of philosophers, who maintain,

that they continue always the same; and of others, who assert, that they are continually increasing.

“ The borders of the glacier of Montanvert are mostly skirted with trees: towards its base a vast arch of ice rises to near a hundred feet in height; under which the Arveiron rushes with considerable force, and in a large body of water. As we approached the ice, we passed through a wood of firs; those trees which

which stand at a little distance from the arch are about eighty feet high, and are undoubtedly of a very great age. Between these and the glacier the trees are of a later growth; as is evident from their texture and inferior size. Others, still smaller, have been overturned and enveloped in the ice. There seems to be a kind of regular gradation in the age of these several trees, from the largest which are standing, to the smallest that lie prostrate.

" These facts justly lead to the following conclusions:—that the glacier once extended as far as the row of tall firs; that, upon its gradual dissolution, a number of trees shot up in the very spots which it formerly occupied; that, since that period, the ice has again advanced; and has overturned the trees of later date, before they had grown to any considerable height.

" To these circumstances, the following fact may be added. Large stones of granite are usually found at a small distance from the extremities of the glacier. These stones have certainly fallen from the mountains upon the ice; have been carried on in its progress; and have tumbled into the plain upon the dissolution or sinking of the ice which supported them. These stones, which the inhabitants call moraine, form a kind of border towards the foot of the valley of ice, and have been pushed forward by the glacier in its advances: they extend even to the place occupied by the larger pines.

" As several writers upon Switzerland have, in contradiction to these facts, endeavoured to prove, that the snow and ice are continually accumulating in the Alps, I shall here throw together a few additional remarks, that may tend to confirm the contrary opinion.

" The inferior glacier of Grindelwald was so considerably diminished since my first expedition in 1776, that the spot which its extremity then occupied was, in 1780, removed at least four hundred paces from its former site. In the valley of Chamouny, the Murailles Glace, which I described as forming the border of the glacier of Bosson, no longer existed; and young trees had shot up in the place which were then covered by the glacier of Montanvert.

" The advocates, however, of the increase of the glaciers, add to these facts, yet deny that any judgment can be formed concerning the state of the more elevated regions, from what passes in the vallies, where the sun has power in bringing the fruits of the earth to maturity. They assert that it appears both from theory and fact, that more snow falls, and more ice is annually formed in the Alps than is annually dissolved.

" To judge from theory; and to argue, that the cold occasions the mass of ice already formed on the mountains to augment it still further; and in regard to experience, it is evident that within the memory of the present generation, many mountains have been covered, many passages and habitations invaded, and many passages irrecoverably obstructed by the ice.

" In considering the arguments drawn from theory, we may observe, that the causes which tend to the diminution of the ice, are less powerful than the augmentations of the cold, which is supposed to occasion its indefinite increase. These causes are principally 1. rain and fleet in the less elevated regions; 2. evaporation; 3. descent of the snow and ice, both processes slow and gradual; 4. heat of

atmosphere; 5. mean temperature of the earth.

"1. The rain and sleet, which during summer upon the Lower Glaciers, not only thaws the ice, but increases those rills that collect on the surface, excavate channels, descend into the clefts, and assist in melting them.

"2. Evaporation is a still more powerful cause; as it acts at all heights and in all seasons.

"3. The descent of the snow and ice, as distinguished by precipitous and gradual. The precipitous, or continual fallings of consolidated snow, termed by the natives *avalanches*, are detached either by their own weight, softened from the hold by the heat of the sun or the warm air which blows from the north, or overthrown by the violent hurricanes that are extremely common in the Upper Alps. When these masses are precipitated into a colder air, though they may sometimes indeed resist the influence of heat, and form valleys of ice, yet they are more usually dissolved. These avalanches are most common on the Upper Glaciers; whereas the gradual descent of the ice is chiefly confined to the Lower Glaciers, and is a very powerful agent in lessening the aggregate mass.

"4. All the Lower Glaciers, or masses of ice, rest on an inclined plain, are arched or hollow, and are undermined and weakened by the torrents, which are constantly passing, as well from the Upper Glaciers, as from their own interior surface.

"The natural tendency of a heavy body in such a position is to descend; and its progressive motion is accelerated in proportion to its own weight, and the greater inclination of its basis. This progressive motion, which acts, though impercept-

ibly, yet gradually and uniformly carries the ice into those cultivated plains and vallies, where the sun ripens the fruits of the field, and where a period is necessarily put to its further increase.

"If you require a proof of this imperceptible descent, the answer is obvious. It is to be collected from the facts which I have already enumerated; namely, from the trees which are occasionally overturned by the ice in its progress, and by the moraine of stones which is observed at the bottom of the Lower Glaciers. These stones being similar to the mountains of the Upper Alps, and essentially different from the rocks below, must have been conveyed by the ice in its descent from the Upper Glaciers.

"4. The heat of the atmosphere, or the efficacy of the sun's rays on the outward surface of the Glaciers, is too evident to require any proof, even to those who have never been in the Alps.

"Another cause of a thaw, derived from the heat of the atmosphere, which will not be expected by those who have not visited these icy regions, is the warm winds which blow by night as well as by day in the Upper no less than the Lower Glaciers. These warm winds are, during summer, so common in these parts, that I never crossed a glacier without feeling, in some particular positions, a warmth similar to the air of a hot bath.

"5. But as these two causes only operate in summer; and as the sun's rays do not produce sufficient effect in the highest parts, we must have recourse to the mean temperature of the earth, which seems to be the greatest and most powerful agent in preventing an indefinite augmentation of ice and snow. This mean

temperature, termed by some philosophers the internal heat of the earth, is always above the freezing point, as is evident from the heat of the springs which issue from the bowels of the earth. In winter therefore, or in those high regions of the globe where the cold is usually below the freezing point, when any spot of ground is covered with only a thin coat of snow, it may be so far cooled, to a certain depth, by the influence of the external air, as not to be capable of dissolving any part of the superincumbent snow. But when the mass of snow is of such a thickness as to protect the surface of the ground from the effects of the atmospherical cold, the mean temperature, which is always above the freezing point, will be sufficient to melt the contiguous surface of snow, and to occasion a constant thaw, which supplies those currents of water that flow, at all seasons, from the Upper and Lower Glaciers.

"In regard to the argument de-

rived from experience, it is sufficient to observe, that while I admit the facts which prove the progress of the ice, it by no means seems to follow that its sum is perpetually increasing. For the advocates who support this opinion, while they scrupulously enumerate the places which have been invaded by the ice, do not take any notice of those parts no less numerous, from which the ice has retired.

"During my second expedition into the Alps, I also made this point of controversy a particular object of my researches; and on enquiring from the chassieurs, and other persons who frequent the mountains, the greatest part were of opinion that the collection of ice and snow even in the elevated regions, was by no means in a continual state of accumulation; but that while it gains in some places, it diminished in others; and that upon an average the aggregate mass was nearly the same."

ACCOUNT of a singular SPECIES of VOLCANO.

[From M. DE NON's Travels in SICILY and MALTA.]

"AN Agrigentine, named Gubernatis, with whom I had become acquainted, and to whom I was indebted for great part of my information respecting that city, conducted me one day to one of the most interesting curiosities of the country, and which has hitherto been neglected by all modern travellers: it is a volcano of a peculiar species, not resembling any other, either in its eruptions, the matter it emits, or the form it assumes.

"This phenomenon is situated between Aragona and Girgenti, six miles from the latter and four from

the former. It was known to Solinus and Fazello, who have both mentioned it. In the time of the latter, the place was called Maytharuca; its present name is Macaluba. For several ages past it manifested itself so obscurely, and with so little noise, that it was forgotten and no longer known to any but the possessor of the estate it lies in. In the last year, on the 29th of September, 1777, at sunset, a column of thick smoke issued from the centre, which continued rising till six in the morning of the next day, when, by a terrible explosion, it opened into

a mountain

mouth, from whence it shot forth into the air, with a tremendous noise, a column of fine potters earth, which rose to the height of above fifty feet, some say twice as high; and spreading into the form of a mushroom, divided and covered part of the orifice from which it had proceeded, while the remainder returning back to its centre, occasioned its fall, a deep and rumbling noise, which was soon followed by a small explosion. These throes continued at intervals of every six minutes; and an hour and a half after, recommenced with more violence than ever, so that in the six hours elapsed, there were four distinct eruptions, which covered with clay a space of two hundred and fifty feet in diameter. The soil was not dried by it above three feet, the matter being so attenuated, as to spread in falling, and flowing like a rain, on the neighbouring eminences, filling up their cavities. The mouth having been filled by this matter, there remained no more appearance than before of a volcano. These eruptions happened seven months before I visited the place. The proprietor of the ground, who had been an eye witness of them, was so good as to accompany me, and to communicate to me all the particulars I have related. We examined the place together, but could discover nothing but a cavity scarcely perceptible, covered with a crust, dried and cracked by the heat of the sun. Upwards of sixty apertures; from four to six inches in diameter, manifested the constant exertions of subterraneous power, by a perpetual ebullition of salt water, mixed with an almost impalpable clay, rising every instant from these apertures, the matter subsiding and settling, like coffee boiling in a kettle. Each mouth little craters were formed in shape of cones, which

the fluidity of the matter prevented from rising to above six or seven inches, and from these craters flowed little fluid lavas, which insinuated themselves into, and were lost in the chinks; the whole absolutely forming the representation, in miniature, of a volcano, with all its wonderful phenomena.

"I was so anxious to examine it, that approaching too near and hastily, my feet broke the crust, and I was ready to sink into the clay. I proceeded with more caution therefore to another aperture, and laid myself on the ground, in order to present a greater surface, and have a near view. I applied my ear to the orifice, and heard no internal noise, but a ticking exactly like that produced by small sparks drawn from the conductor of an electrical machine. I found that this noise was occasioned by the explosion of the air bubbles which were continually dilating, and that the noise of the dilatation was stronger than in ordinary water, in proportion to the weight and density of the matter whence they proceeded. These bubbles were sometimes powerful enough to make an explosion four inches above the mouth. The air that evaporated from it had the smell of a brick kiln newly opened. I applied my tongue to the fluid matter, and found nothing but the taste of sea-salt, only a little acrid.

"I closed one of the apertures perfectly tight with my hand, and felt the pressure of the air repelling it; the matter now escaped more abundantly from the adjoining mouths, and the air swelled under my hand, so that in lifting it, it was followed by a noise like that of the air pump after a slight stroke of the piston; which evidently proves a general communication of all the apertures. Another proof is,

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that

that on our advancing to the centre, the weight of four persons pressing on the crust, made the matter issue more plentifully at once from every crater. I still proceeded to examine some new ones; in some of which I found marks of a bituminous mire, and in all of them a marine salt elaborated by the sun, and spread over the surface of the earth. I introduced my hand into one of the holes, and found the matter tepid like the water of a warm bath. I tried to sound the depth of it with my cane of six feet long, which entered without the least resistance, and gave no signs of a bottom. I then tried a second time the thickness of the crust, and finding it but six inches at the apertures, began to perceive the danger of making observations on this phenomenon, less dreaded, but more dangerous than any of the kind; for remaining some time in the same place, I distinctly perceived that the repeated pressure of the foot moistened a fresh, and diluted this crust, which if it happened to give way must inevitable precipitate us into a hot mud, where we should meet with unavoidable and dreadful death. We finished our examination of this place therefore with the greatest precaution. I remarked, that this volcano not only threw forth moistened earth, but stone, and a species of baked earth of little consistence, which the air destroys and separates into flakes. I observed likewise different sorts of talc, some in leaf like crystal, and found iron ore and marcasite, with the efflorescence of copper; and on examining the lands adjoining to the volcano, met with the same productions. In some places too there was a crust rendered hard and solid by time, and small mouths producing the same effects, and this at a great distance from those of the eruption of 1777. I picked up a salt there,

not to be attenuated by time. Since notwithstanding the antiquity of the other eruptions, whose date is unknown, there is little or no vegetation in all the space in which their apertures are found. This rock, stone, and talc, and these minerals which do not partake of the nature of the clay they are found in, prove that under the bed of this fluid earth, there is a rock, below which lies the principle of this phenomenon. The air bubbles, the odour they exhale, the tepidity of the water, and above all, the spouting and noisy eruption of last year leave no room to doubt of the cause being volcanic.

“If I might be allowed to hazard any conjecture of my own concerning the cause of a phenomenon with which we are so little acquainted, I should say that the subterranean fire that reigns throughout this part of the island, from Siacca hither, meets in this place with some salt springs, which sublimizing a light earth, leaves here more readily than elsewhere, a passage for the air, produced by the fire; that this passage of the air continually lifting, mingling, and attenuating more and more this earth by its continual heat, it becomes at length so elaborated and light, to give way to the power that raises it, and that immediately after the volcanic evaporation, this hummocky matter, falling back on itself, assumes in its turn the power it has lost on the volcano; and that hence in short, as at the stoves of Sciacc and in the country round Palermo where a great deal of sulphur is fabricated, we can discover only the principles of a volcano, the materials of which apparently are not sufficiently abundant, or completely renewed often enough, to produce the great effects of Vesuvius and *Ætna*.”

MODE of CULTIVATING and GATHERING MANNA at CARINI.

[From the same Work.]

A Great quantity of excellent manna is collected at Carini, which oozes from a sort of ash-tree, the leaf of which in shape bears some resemblance to that of the acacia, and the bark in its texture to that of the ebon-tree. I had before found manna trees at Termini and Palermo; but they appeared to me so young, that I took them for nursery plants. I found here, however, that youth is the period of abundance with this tree, in which, as soon as it is seven or eight years old, and has grown to the height of eight feet, they begin to make horizontal incisions in the bark, from whence flows the manna. This operation is repeated every two days, from the fifteenth of July, until the rains or fogs of autumn suspend the circulation, or adulterate the quality of this glutinous gum. These incisions are made one above the other, from the surface of the earth to the top of the tree, and the operation is daily repeated as long as the season permits. The liquor first appears like a white froth extremely light, pleasing to the palate, and of a very agreeable flavour. The heat of the sun coagulates this frothy juice, and gives it the form of stalactites. This is what they call lachrymatory or cane manna; the dearest and finest sort. It remains almost white, and the glutinous and more highly coloured liquor that now distils from it, is received on leaves of the Indian fig, placed for that purpose at the foot of the tree. This too becomes at length congealed by the sun, and being then taken up in lumps, forms what is called fat manna, which is heavier, more purgative, and of

much less value. It is this part of it alone, which, when fresh, possesses that faint and disagreeable taste so disgusting in manna; for that incane, eaten off the tree, is of an agreeable flavour, and an excellent stomachic. The latter is detached from the bark by bending the tree, and shaking it. When the season is rainy, the quantity produced is considerably less, and they are obliged to gather it every day, which occasions it to be less fine and clear; that which has been wet is worth nothing, and corrupts. The method of multiplying this tree is to sow it, and transplant when at the height of three or four feet. When the stem is entirely covered with incisions, they cut it down close to the ground, and it pushes forth tufts of young wood, of which they preserve one or two shoots on each sucker, on which they repeat the former process. The wood is hard, heavy, and bitter, and the decoction of it aperitive, and of great efficacy in the dropsy. Every climate is not adapted to the culture of this tree. It is productive only in hot countries, and does not thrive, unless where it is exposed to the north winds. This part of the island only produces manna, which, though less celebrated than that of Calabria, is dearer, and preferred to it. The superiority may arise from its being a native production in Sicily, and consequently thriving better there; and the celebrity of the Calabrian manna, from its having been there more anciently known and cultivated. I am persuaded that this tree would thrive in France, and produce manna in Provence."

RULES.

RULES for predicting CHANGES of the WEATHER by the BAROMETER.

[From the LITERARY MAGAZINE for October 1790.]

THE rising of the mercury presages, in general, fair weather, and its falling, foul weather, as rain, snow, high winds and storms.

" 2d. In very hot weather especially if the wind is south, the falling of the mercury foretels thunder.

" 3. In winter the rising presages frost, and in frosty weather, if it falls three or four divisions, there will follow a thaw; but if it rises in a continued frost, snow may be expected.

" 4th. When foul weather happens soon after the falling of the mercury, expect but little of it; and the same inter, if fair weather succeeds shortly after its rise.

" 5th. When the mercury continues to rise for two or three days before the foul weather is over, expect a continuance of fair weather to follow.

" 6th. In fair weather, when the mercury falls much and low, and continues so for two or three days before the rain comes, then expect much wet, and probably high winds.

" 7th. The mercury generally rises very fast after great storms of wind, when before it was very low. Dr. Hailey mentions that he once observed it to rise an inch and a half in six hours, after a long continued storm of south-west wind.

" 8th. The unsettled motion of the mercury indicates uncertain or changeable weather.

" The words on the plate are not strictly to be adhered to, though they will in general agree, for the height of the mercury does not so much indicate the weather as its

motion up and down; to know therefore whether the mercury actually rising or falling, observe,

" 1st. If the surface of the mercury is convex, (standing high in the middle) it is then rising.

" 2d. If the surface is concave (standing low in the middle) it is then falling.

" 3d. If the surface is plain, or a little convex, it may be considered as stationary.

" 4th. A small shake of the tube will sometimes bring the mercury to its approaching height.

" The foregoing rules are chiefly to be depended upon; but the following are not unworthy of regard.

" 1st. The greatest heights of the mercury are on easterly and north-easterly winds, and its lowest station on southerly or westerly winds.

" 2d. A continuance of fair weather, the wind being in the north, and the mercury high or rising, is never succeeded by rain till the wind changes southerly.

" 3d. A continuance of rain from the south is scarce ever succeeded by settled fair weather, before the wind changes either to the west or some point of the north.

" 4th. If the mercury falls when the wind is full south, it scarcely ever fails to be a sign of rain.

" 5th. If it is going to be cold, frosty, or foggy, it rises pretty high; but if going to be windy or tempestuous, it will then sink very low, and as soon as the first storm is over rise again apace.

" The barometer never fails to shew the true cause of the altera-

RULES for predicting the WEATHER. [139]

of the weather, and we are
thereby prepared to expect them;
it may sometimes happen, that
the column of mercury will not alter
in altitude agreeably to the foregoing
rules, for when the atmosphere is
charged with more aqueous matter
than it can dissolve (the atmosphere
known to be a dissolvent medium)
the surplus will form clouds, and
will produce showers of rain when

the mercury stands very high; and
for the contrary reason, there may
be sometimes no rain when the mer-
cury is very low. Hence it follows,
that we are generally satisfied by the
barometer what weather we may at
all times probably expect, though
sometimes the contrary may happen,
and a general monitor (to any wise
man) is better than none at all,

ANTI-

ANTIQUITIES.

Historical DISQUISITION on the Game of CHESS; in a Letter from the Hon. DAINES BARRINGTON to COUNT DE BRUHL, F. A. S.

[From the ninth Volume of the ARCHÆOLOGIA.]

“DEAR SIR,
“AS you are so distinguished a player at chess, what I have lately gleaned with regard to the introduction of this most capital game into Europe cannot but be interesting to you.

“Most of the treatises written on this subject have rather been calculated to teach the manner in which this game should be played, than to illustrate its antiquities.

“From these, however, I must except Hyde in his most excellent History of Eastern Games in which there is much oriental, as well as other learning.

“It seems to be generally agreed that we derive chess from Asia, and most writers have supposed from Persia; but I cannot give up the claim of the Chinese as inventors, though Hyde inclines against it, and chiefly because they have some additional pieces, which differ from ours, both in their form and powers. This single circumstance, however, by no means appears conclusive to me, because in all countries where any game hath been of long continuance, the players will make innovations, though it remains the same in substance, as I shall be able to prove happened in Italy, where Archescacchiere, or Arch-chess, was introduced. Du Halde, however,

cites a Chinese treatise, by which appears, that it is the favourite game of that country, and as such sometimes depicted upon Chinese paper. In Thibet also chess is now in vogue, as it is throughout Bengal and Indostan, with a native of which I have myself played, nor do the moves or rules differ materially from our own. It is therefore highly probable, that Thibet and Indostan received chess from the long civilised empire of China rather than from Persia, which it might reach in progress westward through Indostan.

“If this most interesting game was known in Persia whilst Alexander, or his successors, continued there, they would undoubtedly have introduced it into Greece. and the name would certainly have been delivered down to us, together with the pieces and their moves.

“This now brings me to consider the Grecian claim to the invention which some learned writers have carried back even to the siege of Troy attributing it to Palamedes. Most of the passages relied upon in proof of this opinion, are to be found in that amazing treasure of Greek literature, Henry Stephens’s Thesaurus, article Παις, or Pebble.

“Having examined all these passages, I may venture to say that none of them relate to chess, because

There is not the most distant allusion to the putting the enemy's king in such a situation that he cannot be exterminated, which is the great object of each player.

"But as so many learned writers have laboured this point, it would perhaps be improper to rest the whole refutation upon the above mentioned observation, and I shall therefore consider some of the principal citations from which it is inferred, that chess was known to the Greeks and Romans.

"The first of these is a line in the first book of the *Odyssey*, where it is said that Penelope's suitors thus amused themselves before the gates of Ulysses's palace. It is clear, however, from this passage, that it only proves the suitors played at some game with pebbles [*πίσσις*], but what that game was we are totally uninformed. As it took place, however, in the open air, it is much more likely that it resembled a very common game at every school, called *scor*, than the sedentary amusement of chess. Unfortunately for the former supposition, Athenæus in his first book gives us from a native of Ithaca (whose name was Nestor) a very particular account of the method of playing the game of *πίσσις*, by Penelope's suitors, which differs most materially from chess, as the pieces were in number 32, instead of 32. The principal piece moreover (named Penelope) was placed in the vacant space between the two sets, whilst each player endeavoured to strike Penelope, in which if he succeeded, he was supposed to have better pretensions than the other suitors.

"Though chess is supposed to have been known thus early in Ithaca, yet the invention of this ingenious game hath been commonly attributed to Palamedes.

"This Greek lived during the Trojan war, and was so renowned for his sagacity, that almost every early discovery was ascribed to him, inasmuch that he hath been celebrated for that most notable of all inventions, viz. the eating three meals a day.

"The chief authority, however, for his being the inventor of chess, is the following line from Sophocles, *Ερωπε* [sc. Palamedes,] *πίσσις, αἰβοῖς*
τι, τριπλὸν ἀγίας αἰβῆς.

"Agreeable, however, to the observation before made upon the passage, from the first book of the *Odyssey*, nothing more can be inferred from this line than that he invented some game which was played with pebbles [*πίσσις*].

"We find therefore that the whole of Palamedes's claim rests upon what the game of *πίσσις* (or pebbles) was, as played by the Greeks; there being little clue from any author whom I have happened to consult to guide us, any more than the mere name.

"I think, however, that I can discover why the term of *πίσσις* in Greek hath so often been rendered chess, whilst the origin of the game is carried so far back as the time of Palamedes.

"The Grecian judges of the early times seem to have been very corrupt, in so much that Hesiod brands them with the name of *δωροφάγοι*, or devourers of bribes; but Palamedes, having contrived the method of voting by ballot, in some measure prevented this most shameful practice, whilst the decision for or against the criminal was given by putting into an urn white or black pebbles.

*Mos erat huic populo, nivcis
atrisque lapillis,*

*His damnare reos, illis absolvere
culpæ. Ovid. Met. l. xv.*

And

And again :

Calculus immitem demittitur ater
in urnam.

" Now the game of *arilia* being played with white and black pebbles, and in process of time the original proposer of obliging the judges to pass sentence by ballot being forgot, Palamedes became inventor of the game *arilia*, because it was played with white and black pebbles, which were also used by the judges in giving their decisions.

" Having gone through the most material authorities which are to be found in the Greek writers, and having endeavoured to shew that these passages cannot relate to chess, I shall now consider some of the principal authorities in Latin, which are relied upon for the same purpose.

" The game called *arilia* in Greek was by the Romans termed *calculi* or *latrunculi* and we have fortunately such a description by Ovid how it was played, that no person who is acquainted with the moves even at chess, can read it with attention, and conceive that it is alluded to.

Cautaque non stultè latronum
prælia ludat

Unus cum gemino calculus
hoste perit.

Bellatorque suo prensus sine com-
pare bellat

Æmulus, & captum sæpe re-
currit iter.

Reticuloque pilæ læves fundantur
aperto,

Nec nisi quam tolles, ulla mo-
venda pila est.

Est genus in totidem tenui ratione
redactum

Scriptula ; quot menses lubri-
cus annus habet.

Parva tabella capit, ternos utrim-
que lapillos

In quâ vicisse est, continuat
suos.

Ovid. de Arte Am. l. iii. 357—360

" I must confess that, after the very particular description, I do not thoroughly comprehend how the Roman game was played, but negatively it cannot be chess.

" Ovid in the first place gives as his general advice to the Roman ladies, that they should play well at *calculi* or *latrunculi* :

Cautaque non stultè latronum
prælia ludat.

" Now though ladies are undoubtedly capable of being great adepts at chess, yet I think the Roman poet would not particularly recommend as an amusement to his female disciples, a game which requires so much consideration, and very intense attention.

" But, not to rely upon this observation, though it seems to deserve some weight, the second line, which makes it necessary for two pieces being employed in taking one, is not applicable to chess :

Unus cum gemino discolor hoste
perit.

By the 5th line again :

Reticuloque pilæ læves fundantur
aperto.

it should seem that all the pieces were uniform, and that they were thrown as dice out of a box.

" By the 7th and 8th line the squares or divisions were but 12 ; at least so I understand *scriptula* :

Est genus in totidem tenui ratione
redactum,

Scriptula ; quot menses lubricus
annus habet.

" And lastly, by the ninth line the number of the pieces (or pebbles) were only 6, instead of 32 :

Parva tabella capit, ternos utrimque
lapillos.

" The next authority produced by those who suppose that chess was known

own to the Romans, is that of a
sometimes ascribed to Lucan;
that it was really written by any
the ancients seems rather uncer-
as Maittaire hath not given it
place in his *Corpus Poetarum Lati-*
rum. Be this, however, as it may,
shall cite the lines at length, as it
not to be found in every library,
must be allowed to contain
anger allusions to what may be
named chess than any of the other
ages which have been quoted.

Te si fortè juvat studiorum pon-
dere fessum

Non languere tamen, lususque
movere per atrem;

Callidiorè modo tabulà variatur
apertà

Calculus, & vitreo peraguntur
milite bella,

Et niveus nigros, nunc & niger
alliget albos.

sed tibi quis non terga dedit,
quis te duce cessit

Calculus, aut quis non periturus
perdidit hostem?

Ille modis acies tua dimicat ille
petentem

Quum fugit, ipse rapit, longo venit
ille recessu

Qui stetit in speculis, hic se com-
mittere rixæ

audet, & in prædam venientem
decipit hostem.

accipites subit ille moras, simi-
lisque ligato

alligat ille duos, hic ad majora
moveretur,

citius & fractâ prorumpat in
agmina mandrâ.

area scetis quamvis acerrima
surgunt

belli militibus, plenâ tamen ipse
phalange

etiam paucò spoliatâ milite
vincis,

tibi captivâ resonat manus
utraque turba.

Now it is admitted that these

lines allude to some game of skill,
which so far agrees with that of
chess; but it seems almost impos-
sible that he who means to describe
this game introducing so many par-
ticulars, should make no distinction
either between the pieces or their
moves, nor take notice of the great
object of chess antagonists, to block
up the adversary's king, so that he
hath no retreat. On the contrary
the last line makes the conclusion of
the game to consist merely in the
greater number of pieces which are
taken:

Et tibi captivâ resonat manus
utraque turbâ.

“ Having thus endeavoured to
shew that chess was neither known
to the Greeks or Romans, I shall now
descend to more modern authorities,
which undoubtredly relate to chess,
and can mean no other game what-
soever.

“ The first mention which I have
happened to meet with of a game
that bears any affinity to scacchia or
chess, is that in Du Fresne's *Glossa-*
rium Mediæ & infimæ Græcitat,
under the article *Zalpaion*, where he
cites a passage alluding to it from
Anna Comnena's 12th book of her
Alexias, as well as others from the
Byzantine historians. It is there
stated that the Persians call it *Zarshâl*,
whilst the Constantinopolitan name
is *Σκακον*.

“ One of these authorities sup-
poses that chess was received from
Assyria, which probably may be
true, but it should seem that the As-
syrians had learnt it from countries
more to the east-ward, as sir Elijah
Impey informs me that the board is
still called *satringe* in Bengal, which
term also signifies a carpet, from its
being generally chequered as the
chess board is.

“ As I shall however dwell rather
more hereafter upon the claims of
the

the more eastern parts of Asia to the invention of chess, I shall now only observe from some of these passages, that it was rather a common game at Constantinople in the twelfth century, when Anna Comnena flourished; and this I conceive will account for its introduction into Europe.

"In the first crusades, before the destruction of the eastern empire, the adventurers often made a stay at Constantinople (the emperors of which were generally friendly to the Christian cause); and thus probably became acquainted with this bewitching game; which they introduced on their return to their respective countries.

"With regard to the European nations, who thus had this opportunity of instructing themselves in chess, there seems to be little doubt that it was first known to the Italians from their greater vicinity to Constantinople, as well as their early trade with the eastern ports of the Mediterranean. We therefore find by Boccaccio (who lived in the 14th century) that it was a most common amusement at Florence, and that there was a celebrated player who (like Phillidor) could beat two antagonists without seeing either of the chess boards.

"If other proofs were wanting, the term of *Gambat* at chess, which hath been introduced (it is believed) into most European languages, is clearly of Italian origin; for, *dare il gambetto* signifies to throw down your adversary in wrestling, by placing your foot against his.

"Chess being thus introduced, continued to be the favourite game throughout Europe, till it was dropt for cards, not by their superiority surely, but because inferior players at other games had a better chance of winning. Before cards indeed

had thus banished chess, it was such vogue, that both the kings of Spain and Portugal pensioned great players, whilst they also paid considerable sums on the event of the game. We find therefore three Italians set out from Naples for the court of Philip the Second, where there was a famous player, and by concealing their strength a very large sum.

"This of course opened every one's eyes, and it being impossible to know the full force of your antagonist, no one would play at chess for money, which therefore, like draughts, went into disuse.

"Italy however continued to produce the greatest proficients in this game till the middle of the 16th century; and therefore Bayle, in his Historical Dictionary, hath given two articles to Bos of Syracuse, and Gioachino Greco (commonly called the Calabrian) for their eminence in chess.

"Thus much with regard to Italy, from whence all Europe seems to have derived its knowledge of this game; and perhaps Spain may have the next claim, for having produced early players of eminence from what I have already mentioned with regard to Philip the Second, having so much encouraged those who were great adepts, and who resorted to his court at Madrid, where they were sure of meeting with a protector.

"As I am not aware of any decisive proofs, which give priority to the other nations of Europe, Italy and Spain, I shall now endeavour to state what I have been able to glean in relation to the introduction of chess into this island. Here I cannot but dissent from Hyde's most learned treatise on the game, when he seems to suppose it known in England about the time

reconquest, from the court of exchequer having been then first established. Now true it is that the counters of the exchequer sit with a cloth before them, which is covered with a chequered cloth; but the use of this cloth is, for settling the accounts to be passed before this court, in a ceremony of which I have once seen the sums being computed upon the squares; and if the computation made by one officer is right, another declares it to be a good sum. It is possible that the chequer being in common a sign for a public-house, they have formerly been for the reason of charging the reckoning; and it is remarkable that the sign was used at ancient Pompeii, as appears by the engravings which are inserted in the fourth volume of the Archæologia.

It is possible however that chess might be known in England in the tenth century, after the first crusade taken place; but I should rather suppose, during the 13th century, on the return of Edward the First from the holy-land, where he continued so long, and was attended by many English. The Turks, who never change their habits, are still great players at this game, which is so well both their sedentary passion and love of taciturnity. Many of these were often prisoners in the Christian camp, as were also Christians to the Saracens, so there were great opportunities of instruction during either of their confinements.

The first mention which I have seen of chess being known in England, is in a MS. of Simon Ward, said by Hyde to be in the library of Magdalen College. The learned writer cites another MS. of Lydgate, where are the following lines.

Was of a *Fers* so fortunate.
Into a corner drive and maat."

which are very intelligible if we suppose that the preceding line relates to the piece called the king, and they will then have the following meaning, viz.

"The king was by a fortunate queen (of the adversary) driven in to a corner of the chess-board, and "and check-mated," which of course concludes the game.

"Our ancestors certainly played much at chess before the general introduction of cards, as no fewer than twenty-six English families have emblazoned chess boards and chess rooks in their arms, and it therefore must have been considered as a valuable accomplishment. Hyde moreover states, that chess was much played at both in Wales and Ireland, and that in the latter, estates had depended upon the event of a game.

"I must own, however, that I have some doubts with regard to these facts; as neither of these countries were scarcely civilized till the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth. As for Wales I doubt much whether they have a term for the game in their own language, which probably is true likewise in regard to the Irish.

"In 1474 Caxton published his book, intituled, the Game at Chess, which he dedicates to the duke of Clarence, and states to be a translation from the French: it therefore can be little doubted but that this game was not uncommon during the reign of Edward the Fourth. To this I may add, that it appears by sir John Fenn's late curious publication, that it was an amusement in most houses of rank in the time of Richard the Third, where it is said, "the lady Morley had no harpinges "or lutinges during Christmases; but "playing at tables and chess."

"Chess being therefore not an uncommon

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uncommon game during the reign of Edward the Fourth, of course continued to be played by our ancestors, till cards became the more general amusement. Sir Walter Raleigh is said by Hyde to have boasted that he could make the contest last as long as he pleased, from which assertion, however, I should infer that he was no great adept, as most chess matches are decided in an hour, and perhaps never exceed two, unless the players take a nap between the moves. Such assertions, however, have deterred many from attempting to learn the game. It is alluded to likewise as being an amusement in the family of the ninth earl of Northumberland, by a curious manuscript, with the perusal of which you have lately indulged me.

"We find the following presumptive proof that queen Elizabeth was a player at chess. There had been a tilting-match before her majesty, in which sir Charles Blount (afterwards lord Montjoy) distinguished himself so greatly, that the queen sent him the next morning a chess-queen of gold, which was at the same time highly enamelled. It can scarcely be conceived that the queen should have had such a chess-piece in her cabinet, unless she sometimes played at that game.

"James the First is supposed to have been a player at chess; but in his *ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ* advises his son against it, because it is over-wise; which, like most parental instruction, seems to have been little attended to, from the magnificent bag and elegant set of chessmen, which I had the honour of lately exhibiting to the Society of Antiquaries, and which belonged to Charles the First; they are now in the possession of lord Barrington.

"In the present century, Stam-

ma who was a native of Aleppo and resided some time in England translator of Oriental dispatches at our court, published some select games at chess, together with a full instructions, and after him Ho taught how to open the game, a crown perlection.

"Having thus brought down the present times such anecdotes have happened to stumble up with regard to chess-playing in England, I shall now pass over France, where there seem to be earlier, but faint traces of the game having been known at least, but generally is not perhaps so clear.

"The historian Carte gives the following account of a chess-match between Henry the First, before his accession to the throne of England, and Lewis le Gros, for Philip of France. This took place at Philip's court, and in the year 1087. Lewis lost several games to Henry, as also a good deal of money; which irritated him so much that he threw the chessmen at Henry's head. This was returned by Henry's striking Lewis with his board, in such a manner that he laid bleeding on the floor, and Henry would have killed his antagonist if his elder brother Robert had not interposed. This is undoubtedly a very early instance of chess known in France; but it is to be wished that Carte had used the term used in the Norman chronicle to which he refers, and which he hath translated chess, as derived from a very ancient, bears a considerable affinity to chess, and equally requires a chequered board.

"The next proof of an acquaintance of this game in France is said to be in John of Salisbury's book *De Nugis Curialium*, and however, I have not been able to find it. When king John of France

prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, he is reported to have said to his captor, do not you know, that a chess a king is never taken? which undoubtedly must refer to chess as it is played at present.

"In the reign of Charles the Fifth of France, Froissart mentions, that the king played at this game with the duke of Burgundy, whilst they were for some time together at Toulouse. Chess moreover is alluded to in the *Romant de la Rose*, and many of the French families bear a chess-rook in their arms. It was certainly much played in the same kingdom during the sixteenth century; as Pasquier furnishes the following account of an inhabitant of Lyons, who should give up all his capital pieces, and beat an able adversary, provided he was permitted to have two moves for each of his pawns. He would also engage to give mate with a particular pawn, or oblige his adversary to mate himself, with a piece that he should pitch upon.

"In the seventeenth century the treatise intitled the *Calabrian* was translated from the Italian into French, and might have contributed to a few players having resumed this game, which (as with us) was now supplanted by the more general amusement of cards. In the present times Philidor (born at Dreux) is clearly the most distinguished champion, inasmuch that considerable subscriptions have been made to bring him over to England, from curiosity chiefly to see his great superiority. It is well known that he can play two games against able adversaries, and generally beat them, without seeing either of the boards. This is certainly a most amazing feat; but Villani (in his *Chronicle of Florence*) gives us a similar instance in the fourteenth century, as

does another Italian writer of a Saracen who flourished about the same time. Great chess players indeed must necessarily carry in their head several moves which are probably to ensue, both on their own part and that of their adversary; and he who, like Philidor, can do this throughout the whole game, even with a single antagonist, must commonly be the victor. To this account relative to chess-playing in France, it must be added, that monf. Freret informs us that there are several MSS. on this subject in the French king's library.

"As for Germany, I have not yet been able to pick up any particulars with regard to chess in that very extensive empire, except that a Selenus duke of Brunswick wrote a treatise on that subject, and named one of his towns from it.

"In Muscovy it is said to be in great vogue amongst the shopkeepers; and it is highly probable that they received it, together with their profession of faith, from the Eastern empire, whilst the Greek sovereigns resided in Constantinople.

"Chess moreover is supposed to be alluded to in some verses which are inserted in the ancient northern poem of *Hervarar Saga*; but the passage alluded to may relate to other games which are played upon a chequered board. Hyde indeed informs us that it is not unknown even in Iceland, and it certainly would be a very convenient game for filling up their very long nights during the winter.

"Having dwelt so much upon the countries from whence chess hath been originally introduced, or where the game hath been in considerable vogue, I shall conclude this rather long dissertation by some observations upon the names of the pieces, in many different languages.

of which Hyde hath given a copious account.

"If I am right in my conjecture, that the game was originally Chinese, from whence it was transferred to Thibet, Bengal, Indostan, and Persia, it is highly probable that the pieces did not differ materially in these several countries, either in name or figure. When, however, the Turks had learned it from the more eastern inhabitants of Asia, they of course made the pieces formless, as they understand the second commandment in its most rigid and literal sense. The Greeks and crusaders on the contrary having become adepts at the game from their long continuance in Palestine, conceived themselves at liberty to give what form and name they pleased to the pieces, which consequently differ often in the several parts of Europe where chess hath been introduced. It was natural, therefore, that their principal piece should be a King, both in form and name, and this seems to have obtained also in the more eastern parts of Asia. In most of these governments, however, the kings are rather indolent monarchs, and consequently this piece scarcely moves at all, but is merely to be defended from attacks. The emperor himself being thus indolent, necessarily requires a minister or general who can protect his master by vigorous and extensive motions, against distant insults, in the most remote parts of the board. The piece, therefore, of the greatest powers was by the Persians styled *Pherz*, or *General*. Chess hath universally been considered as an engagement between two armies, and if the piece of the greatest importance is termed the *General*, this allusion is properly carried on. When the game, however, was introduced into Europe, the Christians

did not trouble themselves about the Asiatic names for the pieces, and styled the *Pherz* (or *General*) *Queen* probably because she is placed next to the King, as the *General* was amongst the Asiatics; but this does not keep up so properly the idea of a military conflict, as when the *Pherz* (or *General*) is placed in the same situation. Another impropriety arises from the Pawn's becoming a *Queen*, when he hath reached the last square of the adversary's camp as it is a suitable reward to the Pawn (or foot soldier) to make him a general, if he penetrates so far through the enemy's troops, but certainly no prowess on his part can entitle him to be transformed into a queen.

"The next piece in power to the *Pherz*, or *Queen*, is that which we call sometimes the *Rook*, but more commonly the *Castle*. I conceive this term to be derived from the Italians, who I have endeavoured to prove were the first Europeans that played at chess; as *rocca* in that language not only signifies a rock but a fortress, which in those times was generally placed on such an eminence:

"*Sicura quasi rocca in alto monte.*"

Dante in *Purgatorio*. Hence our term at chess, "the King castles," or puts himself in state of security, by exchanging some measure places with the *Castle*, which then becomes more exposed to the enemy.

"The name of the only remaining piece that seems to want for explanation is that which we call the *Bishop*; and which the French term the *Fou* or *Fool*. The reason of this last appellation seems to be that as this piece stands on the side of the King and Queen, some way of the times, from this, styled it the *Fool*, because anciently royal persons

images were commonly thus attended, from want of other means of causing themselves.

"As for the term of Bishop, it is not so easily accounted for, as our kings or queens have never had any such constant attendants. When we first introduced this appellation it was not perhaps to be settled with any certainty, though we know that in Caxton's time this peice was styled the Elphyn. It should seem, therefore, that the change of name took place after the Reformation. If the term indeed of the chefs-peices which belonged to Charles I. and which I had the honour of exhibiting to the Society, is recollected, the top of this piece somewhat resembles a bishop's mitre.

"If you happen, sir, to think

that what I have stated in this long letter may deserve any attention in Somerset-place, I will beg you to transmit it to the secretary; and if you do not peruse it with too friendly an eye, the opinion of so great a player at this most capital game cannot but carry with it the proper weight. You have indeed another title to the address of this dissertation, as you furnished me with several scarce Italian treatises, which I could not otherwise have procured, and which have thrown much light upon the investigation.

I am, Sir,

With great regard,

Your most faithful,

Humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON."

TRANSLATION of a DISSERTATION on SATIRICAL MEDALS, addressed to the Society of ANTIQUARIES by Pere FRANCOIS PHILLIPPE GOURDIN, Benedictine of the Order of St. MAUR at Rouen, &c. &c.

[From the same Work.]

ABOUT a century has now elapsed since an important question arose among the most celebrated antiquaries, concerning a medal of the emperor Gallienus in the king of France's Cabinet. It exhibits on one side the head of the emperor crowned with ears of corn, with the inscription GALLIENAE AVGVSTAE. The name of a woman over the head of an emperor conveyed to many persons the idea of a metallic satire. Frederic Spangenberg, Vaillant, Baudelot, Banduri, and Grainville, conceived themselves justified in adopting this opinion, as much as the emperor Julian, in whose time the banquets of the gods were the habit and with the air of a

universal pax, at a time when war desolated all the provinces of the empire, tended admirably to confirm the opinion of these learned men.

"Father Hardouin, however, together with the Abbé de Vallemont, and mons. Galland, were unwilling to perceive any satire whatsoever in this medal: they endeavoured to give several explanations of it, but these were perhaps more ingenious than satisfactory.

"These antiquaries, and particularly Father Hardouin laid it down as a principle that the Romans were too grave a people to tolerate upon their medals jokes, which were unworthy of the majesty of the empire.

"Upon this principle Klotzius, contends

contents that no satirical medal whatsoever is to be found among the ancients, and that the very first of the kind is not of a more ancient date than the year 1512, when Louis XII. caused one to be struck in order to revenge himself upon pope Julius II. who had put the kingdom of France under interdict.

"Let us examine this principle, the truth of which is founded upon incontrovertible facts, but let us at the same time reduce it to its just value, and we shall very soon perceive that the conclusion drawn from it is too general, too extensive, and consequently false and ill-founded.

"The Greeks were undoubtedly very cautious to eternize by means of medals the disgrace of their vanquished enemies. On the contrary they appear, on the authority of Diodorus Siculus, to have erected only trophies of wood as the monuments of their victories, from the apprehension that they would otherwise have been too durable.

The Romans, whose policy, at least in the more early ages, consisted in extending by conquest the limits of the republic, and in augmenting the number of its citizens, seem to have behaved to the conquered with as much moderation as the Greeks. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the hatred and contempt which they entertained towards the Jews, nothing injurious to this nation appears upon the medals which were struck in honour of Titus and Vespasian after the conquest of Jerusalem. It is true, indeed, that upon several medals of those emperors there is represented a sow with its young ones, which many authors have imagined to have been with a view to insult the Jewish nation. Ofselius has expressly said so: "in opprobrium Judæorum post victoriam Judaicam Vespasiani et

Titii imperatorum videtur hæc fuisse impressa, quasi Judæis exprobrans." Father Joubert is of the same opinion. "The hog," says he, "denotes Judea enslaved; for Vespasian and Hadrian, in order to subdue the spirit of the Jews, compelled them to exhibit upon the gate of Jerusalem the figure of this animal, which they held in the utmost detestation." John Bimard, in his remarks upon this work, refutes this opinion. "It would be a very difficult matter," says he, "to cite a single medal upon which a hog is represented. There is but this one instance of a sow with its young ones, which has no connexion whatsoever with the conquest of Jerusalem by Vespasian and Hadrian." Cassiodorus has cleared up every doubt upon this subject where he thus expresses himself: "In fronte ejus portæ quæ Bethleem egreditur sus sculptus in marmore, significans Romanæ potentie subjacere Judæos." This animal long before the destruction of Jerusalem, was represented upon the Roman standards, as we learn from Festus, "Porci effigies inter militaria signa quantum locum obtinebat quia confecto bello, inter quos perficeret, caeso porco fœdus firmari solebat." So that in this point of view, the principle laid down by Father Hardouin, and by those who have adopted his opinion, is absolutely true: and it may be said that the ancients have in this instance left the moderns a great and noble example of moderation, which the latter have not at all times sufficiently followed.

"This same principle considered in another sense will be found equally true. Neither the Roman senate, the municipal towns, or the colonies, ever assumed to themselves the privilege of exhibiting any medal whatsoever of raillery, or malice

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allusion to the emperors or empresses, upon their coins, or even upon their particular medals, and for this reason, that all bodies of men owe a degree of respect to themselves, while an individual seems in this instance to possess more liberty; he may do that with impunity which a body of men could not attempt without considerable hazard.

"It would not therefore have been advisable for the senate, the municipal towns, or the colonies, to effect what princes and monarchs have sometimes done; for the latter are on this occasion to be considered as individuals, powerful indeed, and whose will, however ridiculous, finds authority in the flattery of courtiers: it is not surprising therefore that the effects of their hatred, revenge, pride, or other passions, are transmitted from age to age by monuments which are silently censured in their own times by men of understanding, and loudly proscribed by equivocal posterity.

"Of this kind is the medal of Louis XII. against pope Julius II. with the inscription, PERDAM BAEILONIS NOMEN, of which an account may be seen in Thuanus.

"This principle being laid down, we do not think that the medals upon which the letters *s. c.* are found, or any other public mark of authority whatsoever, were ever intended as satirical medals, although they may have the appearance of being so.

"Nor do we believe that certain reverses, or inscriptions, upon authorized medals, which some, through a servile complaisance, as Father de Grainville, says, considered as so many eulogies, were really looked upon, at the time when they were struck, by wise and considerate men, as monuments of insulting raillery.

"We do not even allow, in con-

formity to the opinion of the learned Spanheim, that these reverses and inscriptions are to be considered as oblique admonitions and indirect lessons to princes, by means of which, under pretence of describing them as they were, they were seriously informed what they ought to have been.

"We are persuaded that when the praises bestowed upon the emperors and empresses on medals which were avowed, acknowledged and authorized by the senate, municipal towns, and colonies, are flatly contradicted by all the historians, they are to be considered in no other light than as scandalous monuments of a shameless flattery.

"It is very clear that such gross falsehood could not have imposed upon wise and well-informed citizens; and even those men whose minds preserved a vigorous independency, condemned in secret, and despised with concern, a body of men, who debased themselves by imposture, in flattering a tyrant who was frequently a very monster. But no one will suspect that this body without a soul could have ever intended to consign to ridicule or sacrifice to sarcasm the despot whose chains it so cordially submitted to.

"Now the senate of Rome was in so abject a state under many of the emperors, that it condescended to deify even their most infamous debaucheries and most execrable cruelties.

"That we may form an idea to what an extent the Roman senate and people were sunk and degraded, it will be sufficient to adduce proofs of the excessive and insolent joy to which they abandoned themselves on being delivered from a tyrant.

"After the death of Nero, two medals of Galba appeared. Upon the reverse of the first a Victory holds

A 4

a laurel

a laurel in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other with the inscription VICTORIA P. R. upon that of the second, the same inscription VICTORIA, with a figure of Victory inscribing upon a shield the letters P. R.

"The Romans, however, had achieved no victory; but their joy was so great, their transports so excessive, that a great number of the citizens assumed the cap of liberty, as if Rome had recovered its ancient freedom.

"In like manner upon the assassination of Commodus, two medals of Pertinax were struck, one of them representing a woman standing in a robe, in her right hand a crown, the symbol of joy as well as of victory, according to Hyginus, in her left hand a cornucopia with the inscription LAETITIA TEMPORVM. COS. II. Upon the other a woman standing in like manner, holding in her right hand a die, in her left a cornucopia, with the inscription, LIBERATIS CIVIBVS.

"These medals are without doubt injurious to the memories of Nero and Commodus, but they are in a much higher degree monuments of a shameful slavery of the Roman senate and people.

"Raillery and satire are the arms of imbecility, but not of meanness; they announce a sufficient degree of courage to desire revenge, but too great weakness to hazard the effects of it.

"Now with respect to the entire body of a nation and particularly of a republic, the senate, which represents it, is never in this situation. It knows no medium between sovereign power and absolute slavery. Let us examine the history of all people and of all ages, we shall easily perceive that the spirit which animates a national body must commonly incline to the extremes. Is

it desirous of appearing great? Its fierceness becomes pride. Does it talk of liberty? It is independence which it cherishes, after which it runs, it flies; and as its fear degenerates into pusillanimity, so its circumspection is to be considered an absolute cowardice, which it would vainly decorate with the name of prudence.

"Thus the Roman people under its consuls ran to arms upon the least discontent, and retired to the Aventine Hill; thus did the Roman senate under its emperors servilely kiss the hand of the despot who imposed on it a yoke of iron, and publicly congratulated Nero for having committed a parricide.

"The body of a nation then will either disdain to arm itself with satire, or it will not have courage to do it. For men do not amuse themselves by turning into ridicule on whom they can cause to tremble, or should he be able to annihilate them. I think myself therefore justified in asserting that every medal which hath upon it s. c. or any other mark of authority, ought not to pass for a satirical one, though it may appear to be so; which appearance very often is nothing more than the mark of servile adulation.

"On the other hand, however care must be taken not to conclude with Klotzius, that there is nowhere existing any ancient medals carrying the marks of raillery and sarcasm.

"For it would be very bad reasoning to conclude that because neither the senate nor the colonies have ever struck any satirical medal, the private persons had never dared to do so.

"Satire in whatever mode it may be conveyed, is, as hath been before observed a secret and hidden means of revenge.

" If we consult history, we shall see that it was by no means unknown to private persons at Rome.

" It is well known what ribaldry the soldiers of Julius Cæsar threw out in their songs when he entered Rome in triumph.

" Augustus observing the various writings published against him, commanded that the authors of them should be sought for, they having concealed themselves under feigned names.

" Another time in full theatre they applied to him a verse of the play, and gave him a nick name during a temporary scarcity.

" The taste of this prince for precious furniture, and his love of gaming, were made the subjects of two epigrams, one of which was written at the foot of his statue, and the other published during the war of Sicily.

" Tiberius was, by a most insulting play upon his name, denominated Biberius, on account of his drunkenness, " *Propter nimiam vini inditatem pro Tyberio Biberius vocabatur.*" This Suetonius relates, and also that he was called Caprinus by reason of his frequent debaucheries in the island of Caprea.

" As a proof of the audacity of the people towards this prince the following lines were made upon him: *auræ mutasti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar, Iacolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.*

Edidit vinum quia sitit iste cruorem;

Jam bibit hunc avidè quam bibit ante merum.

" For many nights together the streets of Rome resounded with nothing but the cries of those who reproached him with the death of Germanicus, and even in the open theatre he was reproached with the insolence of his manners.

" Raillery and satire braved even the cruelty of Nero; and though the weak senate overlooked his crimes, yet private persons did not scruple to accuse him in such epigrams as these:

Quis neget Enææ magna de stirpe Neronem:

Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.

" If it required intrepidity to reproach the tyrant to his face with the barbarity of his conduct, or the infamy of his manners, no less prudence was required in the dispersing of the epigrams, which were made on this occasion.

" Sometimes recourse was had to a way less exposed to the danger of discovery, by engraving on stones emblems or symbols, which contained indirect allusions to the conduct or manners of emperors or empresses, until, become hardened by impunity, they feared not to put upon the stones the very names of the persons turned to ridicule, and accompanied them often with the most injurious epithets.

" Such is, among many others which might be cited that precious stone in the Stosch collection, at the top of which might be read *MESSAL*, at the bottom *CLAUDI*, and in the middle the word *INVICTA*; in every letter of which some allusion to debauchery might be discovered.

" In some cabinets may be seen figures clothed with the toga, having a roll or volume in their hand, but whose heads and feet are often those of a bear or an ass.

" If among the Romans these different means to ridicule those in power were employed, is it likely that they would have neglected to use their raillery upon medals, which were more convenient to spread abroad these kinds of satire? It can scarcely be doubted that they had recourse

recourse to this mode, since there are medals which bear all the marks than can be denominated satirical.

"Such are those medals called Spintrian, infamous medals struck upon the debaucheries of Tiberius in the island of Caprea, the accounts of which given by Suetonius are suspected of being exaggerated beyond the truth of history.

"The opinions concerning these Spintrian medals are extremely various; some attribute them to Tiberius, others deny that to have been the case: some look upon them to have been the coins struck for the festivals of Venus mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus, and lastly, others are persuaded that they should be distributed at the representation of lascivious subjects in the rank of those presents which were mutually made during the Saturnalia.

"The numeral letters marked upon one side of these medals have often exercised the sagacity of the learned, and have occasioned different conjectures.

"It is more probable that they were intended to expose to the people at large the debaucheries of their prince, and that there were numbers of like theatrical tickets to circulate them more easily without suspicion, or this not succeeding, they might be thrown among the crowd. Martial (viii. Ep. 79.) says they fell from the clouds. Abbé Orland ranks these medallions of a size between the large and middle bronze.

"To these medals we may add some others of a more decent satire.

"1. A Maximinus, on the reverse of which are the three standards of legions with this inscription: S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Is it probable that they would give to one of the most wicked of men, the title of the best of princes, that it should be the senate and people who

give him this title, and that at a time when he was not at Rome?

"2. A Saloning with the words; AUG. IN PACE, at a time when the whole empire was involved in war.

"3. Another of the same; on the reverse, Rome sitting presents Victory to Gallienus who is standing ROMAE AETERNAE, when all the provinces were infested by the Barbarians, and occupied by the three tyrants.

"We might cite the coin of Commodus, on the reverse where unengraved is a figure of the emperor advancing to the right, while a figure, like Minerva, as if flying away, to the left, holds a little behind his head a crown which seems to take off. It is remarkable that the respective position of the two figures leaves no room for the equivocal of *an dat an tollit*, in the statue of Louis XIV. in the Place des Victoires. In order to be convinced hereof we need only compare this medal with another of the same emperor, on which a Victory crowns him, and in general with where the like type occurs.

"It would be easy to enlarge the list, and take into it the medals of Faustina inscribed PUDICITIA, the with VENERI GENETRICI and MATER CASTRORUM, to which Trub (Comment. I. p. 556) applies the passage in Arnobius, b. iii. *Etiam militaris Venus castrensibus flagitibus præsidet*, as so many centuries of Faustina's conduct.

"But we need only examine what should be the characters of a medal to lead us to deem it satirical. They are the following.

"First, it should bear no mark of its author: for though the authors of satirical pieces have sometimes concealed themselves under respectable names, we are not to conclude that the author or en-

er of an injurious medal would never have dared to put on the name of the senate, a municipal town, or a colony.

" It should never be of different sizes, though of different metals: there could be no reason for different sizes.

" It should be a very rare one: first, because at their origin they would be by no means common: secondly, because it was the intention of the prince to seek them out, and cause them to be destroyed: and thirdly, in succeeding ages its being lost, it would be melted down like many others.

" It should also, at least on the reverse, naturally present a malicious allusion, or a stroke of raillery condemned by the inscription.

" Its explanation should be simple, easy, and striking, have a strict agreement with history, to paint the manners of him who was the object of satire, and be so easy to explain as to offer no violence to sense by an interpretation doubtful or inconclusive.

" Without having all these several marks united by which we may distinguish it, we cannot think it prudent to assert that such a medal is or is not a satirical one.

" It should further be considered, that the raillery, to be good, should be seasoned with a certain salt, and be by being concealed. In its own time such a medal should be a kind of enigma of which some circumstances little known from the motto, and the circumstances not having always been communicated to us, it is hardly possible for us to guess them. Sometimes too the author intending to be known only by his initials conceals his thoughts under the ambiguity of the meaning, and the equality of the terms,

" Before we determine, we should first be sure that the medal is really antique, and has not been retouched. The Italians have practised this trick to make common medals pass for rare. Thus, says an English author, a Claudius struck at Antioch may be made an Otho; a Faustina, a Titiana; Marcus Aurelius, a Pertinax.

" 2. We should see if the medal has not been re-struck. We frequently meet with coins of Faustina, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, half effaced on which the head of Posthumus has been struck.

" 3. We should consider if the medal be not made up of two others soldered together.

" 4. We should examine if the devise has not been altered, and another substituted. This kind of trick, says the same author, may be concealed with so much art as to impose on antiquaries, and require experienced eyes to detect them.

5. It is right to observe that after Gallienus, the tyrants who usurped the empire succeeded one another so rapidly that the mintmasters had scarce time to finish their medals, and have in more than one instance given the successor the reverse graven for his predecessor: thus we have PACATOR ORBIS on the reverse of a Marius, who reigned but three days.

" All these observations may be concluded by observing that in spite of the assertion of Klotzius, antiquity offers more than one example of satirical medals, as Prosper Marchand hath very well shewn, and yet, allowing that it is frequently so difficult that it is by no means surprising that the most able antiquaries have been sometimes divided in opinion whether some particular medal was or was not intended to convey a satirical meaning.

OBSER.

OBSERVATIONS on the ROUND TOWERS in IRELAND, by the late Reverend THOMAS HARMER, of Watesfield in Suffolk; in a Letter to the Rev. GEORGE ASHBY. B. D. F. R. S.

From the same Work.

REV. SIR,

YOU doubtless remember the papers in the first volume of the *Archæologia* relating to those antique slender towers which are found belonging to some old churches in Scotland and Ireland, but generally at some distance from them, and which, though lofty, were not capable of holding bells of any size. Very different sentiments were entertained of the uses they were designed for: some supposing they were intended for watch-towers; some, for places of refuge to which the people might repair on any sudden alarm; some, as places of penance. The conjectures of others differed from all these. The enquiries of the learned, after all, terminated in uncertainty; and I found the uneasiness of such a state, without expecting ever to meet with any thing satisfactory upon the point.

"The only sure way of determining the matter seemed to be, either some authentic account of the uses now made of such buildings, by such as entertain the same, or nearly the same, apprehensions of religion, which the Scotch and Irish did, when these towers were built; or a clear description of the use formerly made of them, by the ancient historians of established reputation of those times, and those countries. I did not expect to meet with either of these; but lately, running over two volumes of letters, giving an account of several foreign parts, published this year by signior Lusignan, a Greek, (who, after the affair of Ali Bey took refuge in Eng-

land, and published an account of Ali's revolt some time since), I there found a passage, in an Appendix to those letters, giving a description of the Holy-land, which afforded me more satisfaction concerning these towers than, I confess, I ever expected to find.

"In that Appendix he tells us that the brook Cedron runs along a valley S. E. from Jerusalem; and winding with a serpentine course between many rocky hills, ends in the Dead Sea. That about six miles distance from Jerusalem, on each side of the brook, are large caves either formed by nature, or hewed out of the solid rock, formerly inhabited by hermits, which grottoes continue to the end of it, about twelve or fourteen miles from Jerusalem. That among these is a grotto (in which the three wise men are said to have taken up a temporary abode in their return from Bethlehem), which, in the latter end of the 4th century, was inhabited by Theodosius, chief of the hermits, and at length became a convent, which is now in ruins. That to the S. E. of this place about a mile distant, is the present monastery of St. Sabba, built on the cleft of a hill close to the brook, surrounded with a stone-wall, 8 feet thick, and 26 high, in circumference above a mile. "On the outside of the walls, and on the west, is a square tower of three stories, and twelve yards in diameter in which two or three hermits shut themselves, who live in a very austere manner. On the upper story is a

bell, which, whenever any visitors come from Jerusalem, is rung to give notice to the door keeper of the convent for their reception. On the same quarter is the gate of the monastery, which is kept always locked, on account of the Arabs, who are very troublesome to the society of this convent.

"Now by this account it appears, that the great design of this detached tower was to give timely notice of the approach of strangers, in a country very much harrassed by the Arabs that live in it under tents, and who are very troublesome to the more settled inhabitants; which is done by a bell from the upper story, from whence was the best extensive prospect. But along with this it seems to be put to another use, being inhabited by persons who live in a very austere manner, in other words doing penance. But it appears not to be used as a place of refuge, for people to retire to in times of danger; nor could it be wanted to that purpose, the monastery, which is near it, being so strong, and at the same time so cautious; nor could it be wanted to all people to their devotions, there being no other persons, it seems, to be summoned, but those enclosed within the walls of the convent, in this retired place.

"Satisfactory, however, as this account appears to be in general, a more distinct and particular one as some circumstances being wanted, I thought it might be right, as I have some little knowledge of the author of this account, to consult him as to some circumstances; and he very obligingly communicated to me the following éclaircissements, in two letters which I received from him.

"He tells me that the mode of living of the hermits, as he calls them, in the tower, is more severe,

as to diet, than of those in the convent, though that, I believe, you will think, sufficiently austere. He had informed the world, in his printed account, that those who live in the monastery are in number from 20 to 30. These, he said, "taste victuals once a day, which, in general, is bread and pulse, or greens boiled, without any oil and butter, except on Saturdays and Sundays; on these two days they are indulged with rice and butter, and sometimes with salt-fish, as they never eat any kind of flesh. Their drink also is water, except on the aforesaid days, in which every one has half a pint of wine." But as to those in the tower, the first letter I received from him on this subject, dated Sept. 11, 1788, assures me, that they, "who seldom exceed the number of three, abide there willingly, and for their provision have biscuit and pulse, which is made use of every other day. Their drink is water from the cistern, which is in the tower. Their diet and life is rather more austere than that of those in the monastery, as they eat once a day, while these every other day: their work is prayers and meditation on sacred books, as likewise is that of those of the monastery, except a few, who employ themselves at leisure-hours in "copying books." Eating once every other day is certainly a greater mortification than eating once every day; and when we add to this the care of watching the approach of strangers, their situation is considerably more painful than that of those in the convent. Whether this sort of penance is voluntarily inflicted on themselves, or only voluntarily submitted to, in consequence of the chastising power of the superior of the convent, is not I think, perfectly clear from
signior

signior Lufignan's account : probably their retirement to the tower might be sometimes owing to the one cause, sometimes to the other. It must certainly be voluntary in one sense, since they could have left the tower when they pleased.

" This tower, the letter farther informed me, is built on rocky ground, and higher than that on which the monastery stands. Its distance more than 50 yards towards the W. of it.

" The height of the door of the tower belonging to St. Sabba is a circumstance, in which it appears to agree with the Scotch and Irish towers ; for he says, in this letter, the entrance to it is by a stone stair-case of 14 steps, and is distant from the walls of the tower about 12 feet. On the top of the stair-case is a drawbridge, which communicates with the door of the tower, to which are chains fixed on each side, and it is hoisted up from the inside of the door, and never let down except necessity requires.

" In his printed account he observes, that, " in the 7th century, the nation called Abares, a Saracen tribe, massacred fourteen thousand hermits, who inhabited the banks of this brook. He enlarges the account of this matter in this letter : " The monastery was built in the beginning of the 6th century, as likewise the tower, which, I think, in former times served as a guard-house to this convent, as the tribe of Abares were very troublesome in that time to the society. The Arabs at present, though troublesome in asking daily food from the society, which yet as they obtain their request, never attempt to molest the walls to break in." But though they do not attempt to scale the walls, they may be very perplexing still, by intercepting the caravans that bring them corn or biscuit, and other provision, and

might seize on the religious whenever their occasions led them beyond the walls of St. Sabba, as the Arabs about Mount Sinai are wont to behave towards the celebrated monastery there."

" One would be apt to think from what is said in the printed account, p. 163, that there was a bell in the upper story of the tower which was rung to give notice of the approach of strangers ; but Lufignan, explains the matter otherwise. In this letter, he says, that " from one of the uppermost windows of the towers is a wire which communicates to the monastery on the end of it is a bell. When the hermits spy any company coming from Jerusalem, they pull it to give notice to the society to open the gate, as it is always bolted up and they never open it except on similar occasions."

" Nor is this bell, used, it seems for any other purposes, at least not to call people to their devotion there, as he has told me in another letter, which I received after the 11th of Sept. " The monasteries of St. Sabba are called to prayers by the clerk, not by the sound of a bell, as it is not permitted in the parts of the Turkish dominion but by knocking at [on] a long box made on purpose, in which time are gathered into the Cyriac, a great church, and not in the chapels," except on the days of different saints, to which, as he informed me in very broken English the chapels were dedicated. The tower then is not now made use of for the calling a congregation to worship by the sound of a bell, any other instrument of music, or by an human voice, for which purpose the Mohammedans build their minarets. It could not have been designed for such a purpose first, (which, if it was in the be-

ing of the 6th century, was not only before they were over-awed by the Mohammedan power, but before Mohammed introduced his new religion), for in such a case it would have been more commodiously built in the middle of the convent, the religious there being the only people to be called, the country round about being then, as it is now, uninhabited, except by the hermits, who had chapels of their own adjoining to their cells, whose ruins may yet be seen there. It was on account of the solitude of the place they chose to make their habitation in that part of the country.

"It is fortunate that signior Lusignan has given an account of this tower, having frequently visited the place when in the Holy-land, since he does not, he tells me in these

letters, recollect that he ever saw any other tower of this kind in that country, or any where else, except on Mount Athos.

"No churches, perhaps are to be found in England, that are entire, whose erection was prior to the introduction of bells, to call people to worship; but, if there should be such found, these sacred towers, commonly called steeples, may be found adjoining to, or pretty near them, either built as watch-towers, or, if in places where no dangers were apprehended, for ornament, such watch-towers having struck them as a beauty. It is certain, in our more embellished churches, two, or three, or perhaps more of these towers have been built, and could not all be intended for the reception of bells.

ARTICLES granted to the Earl of WARWICK, on his undertaking the Offices of GUARDIAN and PRECEPTOR to King HENRY VI.

[From the Third Volume of a Collection of Original Letters written during the Reigns of HENRY VI. EDWARD IV. and RICHARD III. By Sir JOHN FENN, Knight, M. A. and F. A. S.]

FOR the good rule, demeaning and surety of the king's person and draught of him to virtue and cunning[*knowledge*], and eschewing of any thing that might give impeachment or let thereto, or cause any charge, default, or blame, to be laid upon the earl of Warwick at any time without his desert, he, considering that peril and business of his charge about the king's person groweth so that that authority and power given to him before, sufficeth him nought without more thereto, desireth therefore these things that follow.

"1. That considering that the charge of the rule, demeaning, and governance, and also of nurture of

the king's person, resteth upon the said earl, whilst it shall like the king, and the peril, danger, and blame, if any lack or default were in any of these, the which lack or default might be caused by ungodly and unvirtuous men, if any such were about his person; he desireth therefore for the good of the king and for his own surety to have power and authority to name, ordain, and assign, and, for cause that shall be thought to him reasonable, to remove those that shall be about the king's person of what estate or condition that they be, not intending to comprehend in this desire the steward, chamberlain, treasurer, controller, nor serjeants of offices, save such as serve about the

the king's person and for his mouth.

" Rno. [*Responsio*] Answer, as toward the naming, ordinance and assignation before said, it is agreed, so that he take in none of the four knights nor esquires for the body, without advice of my lord of Bedford, himbeing in England, and him being out, of my lord of Gloucester, and of the remanent of the king's council.

" 2. Item, the said earl desireth that where he shall have any person in his discretion suspect [*suspectus*] of misgovernance, and not behoveful nor expedient to be about the king, except the estates of the house, that he may put them from exercise and occupation of the king's service, till that he shall mowe have speech with my lord of Bedford, of Gloucester, and with the other lords of the king's council, to that end that the default of any such person known unto him shall mowe ordain thereupon as them [*they*] shall think expedient and behoveful.

" Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

" 3. Item, the said earl desireth that, for sickness and other causes necessary and reasonable, he may by warning to my lords of Bedford or Gloucester, and the king's council, be and stand freely discharged of the said occupation and business about the king's person, under the favour and good grace of the king, my lords of Bedford and Gloucester, and other lords of the king's council.

" Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

" 4. Item, that considering how, blessed be God! the king is grown in years, in stature of his person, and also in conceit and knowledge of his high and royal authority and estate, the which naturally cause him, and from day to day as he groweth, shall cause him more and

more to grudge with chaffizing, and to loath it, so that it may reasonably be doubted lest he will conceit against the said earl, or any other that will take upon him to chastise him for his defaults, displeasure and indignation therefore, the which without due assistance is not easy to be born. It like therefore to my lord of Gloucester and to all the lords of the king's council to promitte [*promise*] to the said earl and assure him that they shall firmly and truly assist him in the exercise of the charge and occupation that he hath about the king's person, namely in chastizing of him for his defaults, and support the said earl therein; and if the king at any time will conceit for that cause indignation against the said earl, my said lord of Gloucester and lords shall do all their diligence and power to remove the king therefrom.

" Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

" 5. Item, the said earl desireth that forasmuch as it shall be necessary to remove the king's person divers times into sundry places, the cases may require, that he may have power and authority to remove the king by his discretion to what place him [*he*] thinketh necessary for the health of his body and surety of his person.

" Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

" 6. Item, sith [*since*] the said earl hath take upon him the governance of the king's person, he desireth that all the estates, officers and servants of the king's house; of what estate and condition they be, have special commandment and charge given by my lords of Bedford, and Gloucester, and by the lords of the king's council, that in all manner of things seen and advised by the said earl's discretion, that is for the king's estate, worship, health, and

by his commandment and ordinance, they be attendant and present in accomplishing thereof.

* Answer, it is agreed as it is desired.

* 7. Item, forasmuch as the said earl hath knowledge that in speech he hath been had unto the king at [apart] and in private, not knowing the said earl, nor any of the knights set about his person, assigned by the said earl, he hath been stirred by some from his coming, and spoken to of divers matters not behoveful; the said earl doubting the harm that might come to the king, and the inconvenience that might ensue of such speech at part, if it were suffered, desireth that in all speech to be had with the king, he or one of the knights, or some person to be assigned by the said earl, be present in privy to it.

* Answer. This article is agreed, keeping such persons, as for neighbourhood of blood, and for their estate, ought of reason to be suffered to speak with the king.

* 8. Item, to the intent that it may be known to the king that it cometh of the assent, advice, and commandment, of my lord of Gloucester, and all my lords of the king's council, that the king be chastised of his defaults or trespasses, and for awe thereof he forbear the same to do amiss, and intend the same busily to virtue and to learning; the said earl desireth that my lord of Gloucester, and my said lords of the council or great officers of them, that is to say, the chancellor, and treasurer, and of [every] estate in the coun-

cil spiritual and temporal some come to the king's presence, and there to make to be declared to him their agreement in that behalf.

* Answer. When the king cometh next to London, all his council shall come to his presence, and there this shall be declared to him.

* 9. Item, the said earl, that all his days hath above all other earthly things desired, and ever shall, to keep his truth and worship unblemished and unhurt, and may not for all that let [prevent] malicious and untrue men to make informations of his person, such as they may not, nor dare not stand by, nor be not true; beseecheth therefore my lord of Gloucester, and all my said lords of the council, that if they or any of them have been informed of any thing that may be or sound to his charge or default, and namely in his occupation and rule about the king's person, that the said earl may have knowledge thereof, to the intent that he may answer thereto, and not dwell in heavy or sinister conceit or opinion without his desert, and without answer.

* Answer, it is agreed.

CROMWELL.
H. GLOUCESTRE.
J. EBOR.
P. ELIEN.
W. LINCOLN.
J. BATHEN. CANC.
J. ROFFEN.
SUFFOLK.
H. STAFFORD.
J. HUNTINGTON.

29 November, 1432.
11 H. VI.

ARTICLES of IMPEACHMENT against the Duke of SUFFOLK

[From the same Work.]

To the king our sovereign lord,
 "SHEWETH and piteously complaineth your humble true obeisant commons of this your noble realm, in this your present parliament, by your high authority assembled for the surety of your most high and royal person, and the welfare of this your noble realm, and of the true liege people of the same, that William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, late of Ewelme, in the county of Oxford, falsely and traiterously hath imagined, compassed, purposed, forethought, done, and committed, divers high, great, heinous, and horrible treasons against your most royal person, your crowns of your realms of England and France, your duchies of Guyenne and Normandy, and your old inheritance of your counties of Anjou and Maine, the estate and dignity of the same, and the universal weal and prosperity of all your true subjects of realms and counties in manner and form ensuing.

"First, the said duke the 20th day of July, the 25th year of your blessed reign (1447) in your city of London, in the parish of Sepulchre, in the ward of Faringdon infra, imagining and purposing falsely and traiterously to destroy your most royal person, and this your said realm, then and there traiterously excited, counselled, provoked, and comforted the earl of Denas [Bastard] of Orleans, Bertrand, lord Prestigny, master William Cusinet, enemies to you sovereign lord, and other your enemies, subjects and ambassadors to Charles, calling himself king of France, your greatest adversary and enemy, to move, counsel, stir, and provoke the same Charles to come into this

your realm to levy, raise, and open war against you sovereign lord, and all this your realm with great puissance and army to detain your most royal person, and your true subjects of the same realm the intent to make John son of same duke [King] of this your realm, and to depose you of your high regality thereof, the same duke of Suffolk having then of you grant the ward and marriage of Margaret, daughter and heir of John, late the duke of Somerset, purposing her to marry to his son, presuming and pretending to be next inheritable to the crown of this your realm, for lack of you sovereign lord, in accomplishment of his said traitor's purpose and intent, whereupon the same duke of Suffolk sith the time his arrest hath do [caused] the Margaret to be married to his son.

"Item, the said duke of Suffolk being most trusted with you, and vielt of your counsel of full long prepening [premeditating] that said great enemy and adversary Charles should conquer and get power and might your said realm of France, duchies, and counties the 20th day of January, the 17th of your reign (1438) at Westminster, in the shire of Middlesex, divers other times and places in your said realm of England, falsely and traiterously, by subtle means and imaginations, for great corruption of good, taking of money, and excessive promises to him made Charles, duke of Orleans your enemy, counselled and steered of self only, your highness to escape and deliver out of prison the duke of Orleans enemy to you

foreign lord, and to the most victorious noble prince of blessed memory, the king your father, whom God assoil! taken by him prisoner, to the intent that the said Charles, calling himself king of France, should recover, get, and have by his conquest, and other deceivable means against you, your heirs and successors, your said realm of France, duchies and counties by the wife, his counsel, might, and aid, of the said duke of Orleans.

"Notwithstanding that by the will and ordinance of your said father, for divers things moving his great wisdom, contrary thereof was advised and declared, by which counsel and steering only of the said duke of Suffolk, the said duke of Orleans was sovered [*suffered*] at his liberty to depart of this your realm to the parts of France.

"Afore which departure the 1st day of May, the said 17th year of your reign (1439) at London, in the parish of St. Martin, in the ward of Faringdon *infra*, the same duke of Suffolk traiterously adherent to the said Charles, calling himself king of France, then and there secretly and traiterously counselled, comforted, steered, and provoke the said duke of Orleans to excite and move the same Charles, calling himself king of France, your great enemy and adversary, to make and have open war against you in your said realm of France, and duchy of Normandy, to conquer and to obtain falsely by force, might, and other means against you, your heirs and successors, your said realm of France, and duchy of Normandy, from which adherence, counsel, and confort [*q. comfort*] of the said duke of Suffolk, the said Charles, calling himself king, hath made open war against you in your said realm of France, and it hath attracted [*attracted*] unto him, and the

most part of your duchy of Normandy, and taken prisoners the full noble lords and courageous knights, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Falconberg with many other nobles and people of your true lieges, to their likely final undoing, your greatest disheritance, and our great lamentable loss that ever come afore this to you, or any of your full noble progenitors, or to your true subjects.

"Item, where [*as*] the said duke of Suffolk late was one of your ambassadors with others to your said adversary Charles, calling himself king of France, he above his instruction and power to him by you committing, promised to Reyner, king of Sicily, and Charles D'aungers his brother, your great enemies, the deliverance of Maunce and Mayne, without the assent and advice or knowing of others your said ambassadors with him then accompanied, and thereupon after his coming into this realm from the same ambassiate, in performing of his said promise, he falsely and traiterously, for great rewards and lucre of good to him given by your enemies, caused the said Reyner and Charles D'aungers to have deliverance of Maunce and Mayne aforesaid, to your over great disheritance and loss irreparable, enforcing and enriching of your said enemies, and greatest mean of the loss of your said duchy of Normandy; and so was the said duke of Suffolk falsely and traiterously adherent, aidant and confortant to your great enemies and adversaries.

"Item, the said duke of Suffolk being retained with you in your wages of war, in your said realm of France and duchy of Normandy, and thereby trusted by you and all your counsellors to know the privacy of your counsel there, and the purveyance of your armies, the de-

fence and keeping of your towns, fortresses, and places, sieges, purveyance and ordinance of war in the same parts for you to be made, knowing all in private, and being adherent to your said great enemy, calling himself king of France, hath often and many divers times falsely and traiterously discovered and opened to him, and to his captains, and conductors of his war, your enemies, the privy, ordinance, and provision of your said counsel, purveyances of arms, defence keeping, towns, fortresses, places, sieges, and ordinance, whereby your great adversary and enemies have gotten and taken by the means of this his treason and falsehood full many lordships, towns, castles, fortresses, and places within your said realm of France, and duchy of Normandy, and leited your captains of the wars to conquer, keep, and achieve your rightful inheritance there.

“ Item, the said duke of Suffolk being of your great privy council, and with you best trusted, knowing the secretness [*secrecy*] thereof and of this your realm, the 16th day of July, the 25th year of your reign (1447) at London, in the parish of St. Lawrence Pulteney, in the ward of Sandwick street, and at other divers times and places falsely and traiterously being adherent and aidant to the said Charles, calling himself king of France, your great enemy, the said 16th day, and in the parish of St. Lawrence aforesaid, opened, declared, and discovered to the said earl of Danas, bastard of Orleans, Bertrand, lord Pressigny, master William Cofinet, your enemies, subjects, ambassadors and counsellors to the said Charles, calling himself king of France, the privities of your council, as well of this your realm for the common weal of the same, as for the governance and ordinance for the conquest, conserv-

ation, safeguard, tuition of your said realm of France and duchy of Normandy, at that time being in your hands, as by the said Charles calling himself king of France, and armies gotten and taken out of your hands.

“ Item, sith the matter first moved of the convention of truce and peace between you and your said great enemy Charles, calling himself king of France, whereupon by great deliberation ye by the advice of your council have sent many solemn ambassadors to the same Charles for the good of peace to be had between you and this your realm, and your subjects in your realm of France, duchy of Normandy, and other places under your obedience and the same Charles and his subjects, the said duke of Suffolk being next and greatest of your council having knowledge of the power and authority committed to all your ambassadors sent in this behalf, has deceptively and traiterously by letters and messages discovered and opened to your said great enemy Charles, calling himself king of France, all instructions and informations given to your said ambassadors afore the coming into France whereby the effectual concord and truce, that should have followed of such ambassage between both said realms and subjects, have taken none effectual conclusion, but his false, fraudulent, traiterous works, deeds, and deceivable inventions, your great inheritance, seignories, lordships, towns, castles, fortresses, and possessions in your said realm of France and duchy of Normandy, because of his traiterous messages, sendings, and writings have been taken by rest, and gotten from you by your said enemies.

“ In proof of the which treason the said duke of Suffolk, sitting in your council, in the Star chamber in your

place of Westminster, said and declared openly before the lords of your council there being, that he had his place in the council house of the French king as he had there, and was there as well trusted as he was here, and could remove from the said French king the priviest man of his council if he would.

"Item, when in this your realm full oftentimes provision hath been made for divers armies to be sent into your said realm of France, duchies of Normandy and Guyenne, the said duke of Suffolk, by the instance and means made to him by your said enemies and adversaries for great outrageous gifts and rewards of them taken, traitorously hath restrained and utterly letted the passage of such armies in favour and support of your said enemies.

"Item, the said duke of Suffolk as your ambassador between you and Charles, calling himself king of France, in fortifying him and increasing of his might, hath not comprised in truce, taken in your party the king of Arragon, your old ally and friend, neither the duke of Breтайne, but suffered and caused

the said duke of Breтайne to be compromised of the party of the said Charles, as his subject, friend, and ally, whereby ye have been estranged from the good love and assistance of the said king of Arragon; and thereby and by other untrue and false conjectures of the said duke of Suffolk, the said duke of Breтайne is become your enemy, and Gyles of Breтайne his brother, the which is, and of long time hath been, your true and well willed man and servant, put in great dures of prison, and likely to be put to the death or destroyed for his true faith and weal that he hath to you.

"And of all treasons and offences in all these said articles specified and contained, We your said commons accuse and impeach the said William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and pray that this be enacted in this your high court of parliament, and thereupon to proceed in this your high court of parliament, as the matter and case aforesaid requireth for the surety and welfare of your most royal person, and salvation [salvation] of this your realm."

MANNERS of the TIME of CHARLES the First displayed in an Account of a MUSICAL MASK,

[From the Third Volume of BURNEY's General History of MUSIC.]

ABout Allhollantide this year (1633), severall of the principal members of the fower Innes of court, amongst whom, some were servaunts of the king, had a designe that these Innes of court should present their service to the king and queen, and testify their affections to them, by the outward and splendid visible testimony of a royall MASQUE of all the 4 societies joining together, to be by them brought to the court, as an expres-

sion of their love and dutie to their majesties,

"This was hinted att in the court and by them intimated to the chiefe of those societies, that it would be well taken from them, and some held it the more seasonable, bicause this action would manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and serve to confute his Historiomastix against enterludes.

"This designe tooke well with

all the Innes of court, especially the younger sort of them, and in order to putt it in execution, the benchers of each society mett, and agreed to have this solemnity performed, in the noblest and most stately manner that could be invented.

"The better to effect this, it was resolved, in each house to choose two of their members, whom they should judge fittest for such a business, to be a committee, by joint assistance to carry on that affaire.

"In the middle Temple were chosen of this committee Mr. Edward Hyde and Whitelocke (the author); for the Inner Temple, sir Edward Herbert, and Mr. Selden; for Lincoln's Inne, Mr. Attorney Noy, and Mr. Gerling; and for Greyes Inne, sir John Fynch, and Mr. ———.

"This committee being empowered by the benchers made severall sub-committees, one of which was to take care of the poeticall part of the business; another of the properties of the masques and antimasquers, and other actors; another of the properties of the masquers and antimasquers, and other actors; another of the dauncing; and to me in particular, was committed the whole care and charge of all the Musicke for this great masque.

"I made choice of Mr. Symon Ivès, an honest and able musician, of excellent skill in his art, and of Mr. Lawes, to compose the aiers, lessons, and songs for the masque, and to be masters of all the Musicke under me.

"I also made choice of 4 of the most excellent musicians of the Queen's Chapell, M. La Ware, M. Du Val, M. Robert, and M. Mari, with divers others of forreign nations, who were most eminent in their art, not in the least neglecting my own countrymen, whose knowledge in Musicke rendered them use-

ful in this action, to beare their part in the Musicke, which I resolved if I could to have so performed, as might excell any that ever before this time had bin in England.

"Herein I kept my purpose causing the meetings of all the musicians to be frequent at my house in Salisbury Court; and there I have had together att one time, of English, French, Italian, German, and other masters of Musicke, fourty lutes, besides other instruments, and voyces of the most excellent kind in comfort.

"The time for presenting this masque at Whitehall was agreed to be on Candlemas night to end Christmas, and the severall parts of it being brought neer to a readines for action, Hyde and Whitelocke were sent to the lord Chamberlain the earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, and to sir Henry Vane the controller of the king's house to advise with them, to take order about the sceane, and preparing things in the banquetting house.

"The dauncers, masquers, and antimasquers, and musicians did before hand practise in the place where they were to present the masque and the sceanes were artfully prepared (by Inigo Jones) att the lower end of the banquetting house and all things were in readyness.

"The grand masquers were fower gentlemen of each Innes of court, most suitable for their persons, dauncing, and garbe for the business, and it was ordered, that they should be drawne, in fower rich chariots, fower masquers in each chariot, by six horses in each.

"And to prevent difference about the order of their going, was propounded by Wh. and assented to by the committee, that the chariots should be made after the fashion of the Roman tryumphal chariots, and being of an oval form

some in the seats, there would be no difference of place in them.

"For the severall colours, and from the precedence of the chariots, it was agreed, that one of each house, of the committee, should throwe the dice, and as that happened, the society to be bound of which he that threw was a member.

"I threw the dice for the middle Temple, and by my cast, had the place for the second chariot, and silver and blew for my colours, which colours, I have ever since kept in my liveries, and uppon all solemn occasions.

"Candlemas day being come, and all things being in readynesse, the antimasques, horsemen, musitians, dauncers, and all that were actors in the business, sett forth from Ely house, in Holborne, every one in their order, towards Whitehall, their way being directed through Chancery-lane, and from thence through Temple-Barre, and so the highway to the court.

"The first that marched were twenty footmen in scarlet liveries with silver lace, each one having a sword by his side, a baton in one hand, and a torch lighted in the other, these were the marshalls men, who cleered the streets, made way, and were all about the marshall waiting his commands.

"After them, and sometimes in the midst of them, came the marshall, Mr. Darrell, afterwards knighted by the king, an extraordinary handsome, proper gentleman, one of Lincoln's Inne, agreed uppon by the committee for this service.

"He was mounted uppon one of the king's best horses, and richest saddles, and his own habit was exceeding rich and glorious, his horsemanship very gallant, and, besides the marshall men, he had two lacqueys, who carried torches by him, and a page in livery, that went by carrying his cloakes.

"After him followed one hundred gentlemen of the Innes of court in very rich clothes, five and twenty chosen out of each house, of the most proper and handsome young gentlemen of the societies.

"Every one of them was gallantly mounted, on the best horses, and with the best furniture, that the king's stable and the stables of all the nobility in towne could afforde, and they were forward on this occasion to lend them.

"The richness of the apparell and furniture, glittering by the light of the multitude of torches attending them, with the motion and stirring of their mettled horses, and the many and various gay liveries of their servants, butt especially the personal beauty and gallantry of the handsome young gentlemen made the most glorious and splendid show, that ever was beheld in England.

"After the horsemen came the antimasques, and as the horsemen had their Musicke, about a dozen of the best trumpets proper for them, so the first antimasque, being of cripples and beggars on horseback, had their Musicke of keys and tonges, and the like, snapping and yett playing in consort before them. These beggars were mounted on the poorest, leanest jades that could be gotten out of the dust-cartes or elsewhere, and the variety and change from such noble Musicke and gallant horses as went before them, unto their pittiful Musicke and horses, made both of them the more pleasing.

"After the beggars antimasque came men on horsebacke playing uppon pipes, whistles, and instruments, sounding notes like those of birds of all sorts, and in excellent consort, and were followed by the antimasque of birds. This was an owle in an ivy bush, with many severall sorts of other birdes; in a cluister about the owle gazing as it

were upon her, these were little boys putt into covers of the shapes of those birds, rarely fitted, and sitting on small horses, with footmen going by them, having all of them torches in their hands.

"After this antimasque came other musitians on horsebacke playing uppon bagpipes, hornepipes, and such kind of northerne Musicke. First in this antimasque rode a fellow upon a little horse with a great bitt in his mouth, and uppon the man's head was a bitt with headfall and raines fastened, and signified a projector, that none in the kingdome might ride their horses, butt with such bitts as hey should buy of him. Another 'projector, who begged a patent of monopoly to feed capons with carretts, and severall other projectors were in like manner personated, which pleased the spectators the more, bicause by it, an information was covertly given to the king, of the unsuitness and ridiculousness of these projects, against the law, and the attorney Noy who had most knowledge of them, had a great hand in this antimasque of the projectors.

"After this and severall other antimasques were past, there came fixe of the chiefe musitians on horsebacke, uppon footclothes, and in the habits of Heathen priests, and footmen carrying of torches by them. Then a sumptuous chariot drawn by fixe horses with large plumes of feathers, in which were about a dozen persons in severall habits of of gods and goddesses. Then other large open chariots with musitians in like habit, butt all with some variety and distinction. These going before the grand masquers played on excellent loude Musicke all the way as they went.

"The chariot in which sate the 4 grand masquers of Grayes Inne was drawn by 4 horses all on breast,

coursed to their heeles, all over with cloth of tissue, of the colour of crimson and silver, huge plumes of red and white feathers on their heads and buttocks, and the coachman's cap and feather, his long coate and his very whippe and cushion, of the same stuffe and colour. These maskers had habited doublets, trunke-hose and cappes of the most rich cloth of tissue, and wrought as thicke with silver spangles as they could be placed, with large white silke stockings up to the trunke-hose, and rich sprigges in their cappes, themselves proper and beautiful young gentlemen. On each side of the chariot were 4 footmen in liveries of the colour of the chariot, carrying huge flambois in their hands, which with the torches gave such a lustre to the painting spangles and habits, that hardly any thing could be invented to appear more glorious.

"After this followed the other three chariots with the grand maskers of the Middle Temple, Inner Temple, and Lincoln's Inne, all richly habited and attended; as the sixteen grand masquers were most handsome and lovely, and the equipage so full of state and height of gallantrye, it may be said, that it never was outdone by any representation mentioned in our former glories.

"The torches and flaming huge flambois, borne by the side of each chariot, made it seem lightsome at noon day, butt more glittering and gave a full and clear light all the streets and windowes as they passed.

"The marche was slowe, in regard of their great number, butt more interrupted by the multitude of the spectators, in the street besides the windowes, and they seemed loth to part with so glorious a spectacle.

"The

"This gave opportunity to Hyde and Whitelocke, who usually were together, to take a coach, and by the other way, to gett before them in Whitehall, where they found the faire banquetting house, so crowded with faire ladies, glistering with their rich clothes, and richer jewells, and with lords and gentlemen of great quality, that there was scarce room for the king and queen to enter in. They saw that all things were in readines there, and the lord Chamberlein carryed them up to the chamber of the beautiful and ingenious countess of Caernarvon his daughter, whose company was so small pleasure and refreshment.

"The king and queen stood at a window, looking straight forward into the street, to see the masque come by, and being delighted with the noble bravery of it, they sent to the marshall to desire that the whole show might fetch a turne about the Tiltyard, that their majesties might have a double view of them; which was done accordingly, and then they alighted at Whitehall gate, and were conducted to severall roomes and places prepared for them.

"The horsemen of the masque, and other gentlemen of the Innes of court, sate in the gallery reserved for them, and those of the committee that were present were with them; only Hyde and Whitelocke were placed below among the grandees, and neare the sceane, that they might be ready to give assistance, if there should be occasion, and as an extraordinary favour to them at that time, and in that presence.

"The king and queen and all their noble train being come in, the masque began, and was incomparably performed, in the dauncing, speeches, Musicke, and sceanes; the dauncers, figures, properties, the voices, instruments, songs, aiers, composures, the words and actions

where all of them exact, none fayled in their parts, and the sceanes were most curious and costly.

"The queen did the honour to some of the masquers to daunce with them herselfe, and to judge them as good dauncers as ever she sawe, and the great ladies were very free and civill in dauncing with all the masquers as they were taken out by them.

"Thus they continued in their sports untill it was almost morning, and then the king and queen retiring, the masquers and Innes of court gentlemen were brought to a stately banquet, and after that was dispersed, every one departed to his own quarters.

"The queen, who was so delighted with these solemnities, desired to see this show acted over again. Whereupon, an intimation being given to my lord Major of London, he invited the king and queen and the masquers to the city, and entertained them with all state and magnificence, at Merchant Taylor's-hall. Thither marched through the city, the same show that went to Whitehall, and the same masque was again represented in the same state and equipage as before. This also gave great contentment to their majesties, and no less to the citizens, especially those of the younger sort, and of the female sexe, and it was to the great honour and no less charge of the lord Major and freemen.

"After these dreames past, and these pompes vanished, all men were satisfied by the committee justly and bountifully.

"For the Musicke, which was particularly committed to my charge, I gaveto Mr. Ives, and to Mr. Lawes £.100 a piece, for their rewards; for the 4 French gentlemen, the queen's servants, I thought that a handsome and liberall gratifying of them would be made known to the

the queen, their mistress, and well taken by her. I therefore invited them one morning to a collation, at St. Dunstan's tavern, in the great room, the oracle of Apollo, where each of them had his plate lay'd for him, covered, and the napkin by it, and when they opened their plates they found in each of them forty pices of gould, of their master's coyne, for the first dish, and they had cause to be much pleased with this surprisall.

"The rest of the musicians had rewards answerable to their parts and qualities; and the whole charge of the Musicke came to about one thousand pounds. The clothes of the horsemen reckoned one with another at £.100 a suit, att the least, amounted to £.10,000. The charges of all the rest of the masque, which were borne by the societies, were accounted to be above twenty thousand pounds."

ACCOUNT of the GROTTOS of ISPICA.

[From M. DE NON's Travels in SICILY and MALTA.]

"IN the middle of this extensive space, which has the appearance of a level plain, the ground suddenly descending, displays a hollow winding vale, as rich and luxurious in productions, as the rest of the country is dry and barren. We descended by a dangerous path, along the perpendicular rock that skirts this valley, the bottom of which is one hundred feet below the level we had quitted. At the foot of the declivity is a copious fountain watering large trees, and flowing through channels hewn out of the rock; which bestows on this spot, situated in the ruggedest and hottest part of the south of Sicily, all the verdure and coolness of the summer prospects in the Alps.

"I was enjoying the pleasures of this valley, and casting my eyes around to see every thing curious which it contained, when on examining more closely the side of that part of it which faces the south, the part most decayed by the effects of the sun and air, I perceived a prodigious multitude of little chambers, indented in the rock, in stories of ten or twelve feet, piled over each other. For a moment, I was in

doubt whether this might not be a natural effect on the rock itself which had been thus honey-combed by time, from the greater or lesser degree of solidity of the strata; this idea, however, I soon abandoned, on discovering, on a closer inspection, the impression of the tool, on a stone of an equal hardness, and on finding that there were as many doors as chambers, which were all of the same size, and almost all of them without any communication of the same form, the same workmanship, the same distributions, and evidently designed for the same purpose. We examined the opposite side, and on a closer view remarked, that it had been less worked and inhabited, but that, from its being more in the shade, it was not so much wasted, and that no part of the grottoes was discoverable, except the narrow apertures that served by way of entrance, which were, in general, concealed by the obliquity of their direction. On this side we found intire chambers, the doorways preserved, and a groove on each side of the jambs, apparently for the inhabitants to apply sliding planks one above the other, and two holes

a cross-bar to secure the fasten-
 Each apartment forms a
 square with obtuse angles, eighteen
 feet long, by six wide, and as many
 feet high. Opposite the entrance
 of those of the first story, is a sort
 of niches with something like a
 manger in them, and an indented
 space for the purpose of fastening
 their cows. To the left of each
 door, is a kind of bathing hole, or
 basin, cut out of the rock, with an
 external aperture, which seems in-
 tended to let the water escape; and
 another opening breast high, for the
 admission of light and air, when the
 door was shut: opposite to this was
 a shelf of a few inches, where we
 may suppose they slept, and all
 round the side walls, are notches
 for the purpose of tying up the goats,
 or suspending their utensils, and
 holes doubtless for pegs to support
 the planks, which served by way of
 shelves. There are little excava-
 tions likewise of a few inches, to con-
 tain lamps or other small furniture;
 and in certain places a sort of buffet
 in which were incrustated a few pots,
 and below, a little circular platform,
 with a small gutter round it to let off
 the water: but all this so effaced,
 and originally so ill executed, as to
 render it impossible to divine the use
 of them, unless it were for making
 and containing cheeses.

These dwellings had no com-
 munication, although in general,
 separated only by a solid wall of six
 inches, and the upper story had only
 a thicker flooring. The little paths
 which led to the doors of the lower
 story, were oblique and hidden, and
 it is indisputable that no body could
 go up to, or descend from the up-
 per stories, but by rope ladders. I
 examined this valley the length of
 three miles, and in all that way con-
 stantly found the same excavations,
 in the same order, and similarly cir-

cumstanced. Some of them, how-
 ever, had a second chamber, behind
 the first, and others which communi-
 cated with the upper row by a round
 aperture, like a well, and holes that
 served doubtless for placing tempo-
 rary ladders instead of stair-cases. I
 examined every thing within my
 reach, and wherever I could scramble,
 without finding any difference.
 Not a single straight line was there,
 nor a right angle, nor an arched
 roof, nor a plane surface. In these
 rustic abodes, I was filled with as-
 tonishment at meeting with fragments
 of Greek vases, of the greatest deli-
 cacy; and in the bottom of the
 valley, tombs formed out of a hol-
 low stone, five feet and some inches
 long, by fifteen inches wide, and
 containing petrified bones; a great
 quantity of fragments of vases of a
 coarse red earth; a piece of white
 marble rudely hewn in the form of a
 little pedestal for a bust; two little
 square openings, and a sort of oven,
 four feet in diameter, by four feet
 two inches in height, with a cylin-
 drical roof, the only thing that
 could be said to have any regularity
 in its shape.

"I found some of these retreats
 still inhabited, every thing put to
 the same use, and the manners and
 dispositions of the inhabitants as sa-
 vage, as the place was wild and
 solitary. The children made their
 escape at my appearance, and cried
 with the utmost violence on seeing
 me enter their father's cabin, in
 spite of all the signs of friendship I
 could devise, to inspire them with
 some confidence. Following this
 valley, we arrived at what is called
 the castle, which is excavated in the
 same manner in the rock. The as-
 cent to the second story is by a stair-
 case on the outside, the only one to
 be found in the valley. All the first
 apartments have been laid open by
 the

the fall of the rock. We may reckon eight of them in the situation, of which only the bottom is visible; the fourth must have been made use of as a kitchen. All the marks of the fire made in it are still discoverable, and a sort of little furnace, before which are mortars hollowed out of the rock. In the eighth chamber, is a round aperture which serves as a stair-case; beyond that, are two small close rooms in the form of slips, the one eight feet long, the other seven; then an apartment of twenty-four feet by nine, with a window; and three others in a row, and on a level, communicating with each other; two more in a second row, still deeper in the rock, communicating with those which were parallel with them; in the last but one, a hole descending to the story below it, and another, communicating with that above. To the latter we were unable to get up, but their distribution was apparently the same.

“ It would be by no means difficult, if we thought proper, to bestow names upon each of these apartments, by calling them chambers, and antichambers, sleeping rooms, alcove chambers, cabinets, and audience chambers; but as there is no more refinement in them than in the ordinary ones, and as all the difference consists in the communication between the ground floor and the upper and lower stories, the most reasonable conjecture we can form of this castle is, that, from its form and position, it has been the residence of the chief of the tribe, a tribe which must have been prodigiously numerous if we estimate it by the number of huts or lodges found in a valley of eight miles extent, beginning at Spaco Furno, and terminating near Modica. I again advanced a mile further into the valley without finding any change

in the construction of these retreats either with respect to their regularity, or number. As not one of them is the effect of chance, but all are the work of men little removed from a state of nature, it is impossible to avoid believing them to be of the very highest antiquity and formed perhaps by the first inhabitants of the island, before they were acquainted with the commodiousness of houses, or laboured for any thing more than to procure themselves a shelter from the inclemencies of the weather. The astonishing number of these lodgements leave not a shadow of doubt of their having been occupied by a very numerous people, absolute in the pastoral state, without defence, and employing, as the greatest effort, and most artful stratagem of war, that of concealment by forming intrenchments, and burying themselves, as I may say in the rock. History gives us the first inhabitants of Sicily, the Læstrygons, a gigantic race of men whose origin is unknown, and the Siconians, who came from Sparta. It informs us, that these people perpetually contending with each other the plains of Leontium, and the fertile countries about Agrigento, the Siconians were at length obliged to give way to the Læstrygons who drove them off, and compelled them to retire and occupy the southern part. May it not have been to the valley of Ispica, which is on the southern side, that the Siconians retreated to conceal themselves in the desert, and escape the pursuit of their gigantic enemies. But this was long before the time of Cocalus, and the period in which cities were built in the island. It is the nature of man to imitate what he has seen, and to endeavour to procure what he has already been accustomed to enjoy. Were Eu-

exiled into a desert, they could build a town, and frame houses, more or less numerous, similar to those in which they were born; but they would never long continue to inhabit the den of a savage.

Had the inhabitants of these retreats ever beheld a town of any size, they would have entertained some idea of straight lines, of angles, and of regular forms, and were sought to avail themselves, in these excavations, of the advantages arising from those forms. We may therefore, to carry back the epocha in which this valley began to be inhabited, to the most remote antiquity, and to the period when the island was inhabited only by pastoral tribes, or by subjugated and defenceless people, reduced to hide themselves in order to escape the persecution of a savage and barbarous conqueror. And this being allowed, the little Greek vases found in the tombs, the marble pedestals, and the kind of regularly cut ovens I have mentioned, would form separate and interesting objects of inquiry.

These retreats then, at first inhabited by a whole people, might have been gradually abandoned in order to build Trinacria, Sicimena, Argyra, Enna, Camarina, and other cities in the centre of the island, and on the brows of rocks; such as those we know were founded by the Sicilians, in which they defended themselves against the Læstrygons, and even against the Greeks, who occupied the coasts. The Greeks had frequent wars with this people, whom they had reduced, but never were able entirely to subdue; a circumstance tending to prove, that the Greek colonies in Sicily, like the present European settlements in America and Asia, bestowed their attention on the riches to be acqui-

red by commerce rather than on the extension of dominion.

These early habitations, thus left vacant, may at different periods successively have served as temporary places of retreat to vanquished troops, who found there a secret asylum from pursuit, either in the more early ages, at the time when the Greeks invaded the island, or even at the period when the Romans were obliged to send, for several succeeding years, great armies into Sicily against the revolted slaves; who, after losing all the towns which they had prevailed on to favour their insurrection, still continued to keep the field, alternately disappearing and presenting themselves at the moment they were thought to have been destroyed. No situation could be better calculated to procure them such resources than these obscure retreats; nor have they ceased to be inhabited even in our day. They still continue to afford dwellings to some shepherds, who, without making any change in their original form, apply them to the same uses, and are as wild as their pristine possessors, living on milk, fruits, and cabbages, which they cultivate in the bottom of the valley, fastening their cows and goats to the same rings, in the same situations, sleeping in the same places, and exhibiting the same terror at the sight of a man with a coat on, as the earliest inhabitants may be supposed to have expressed, at the appearance of a human being with any dress or ornaments, to which they were then strangers. Those of the present day, when they accidentally see travellers, look upon them as magicians come in search of treasures. Our guides consequently, never quitted our draffsmen, whose drawings appeared to these good people, to be some operation of necromancy.

REA-

REASONS why LEARNING was unknown in PIKLAND, till Thirteenth Century.

[From the Second Volume of PINKERTON'S Enquiry into the History
SCOTLAND]

“ 1. **T**HE want of learning, and of talents in the apostles of the Piks, may be regarded as one great cause of this deplorable defect. Ninian and Columba were of confined minds, and of bigotted piety, strangers to secular learning, and to those enlarged ideas which prompted Ulphilas, Patrick, and in later times the apostles of Scandinavia, to impart the use of letters, as the first foundation among their converts. These apostles of the Piks, as appears from their lives, were men lost in gloomy bigotry. Patrick understood the Irish language himself; while Columba was forced to use an interpreter among the Piks, as Adomnan tells: whereas he ought to have studied their language in the very first place. Bollandus has observed that in the Welsh and Irish lives of saints, the miracles and visions are so numerous and absurd, and the whole tenor so unlike those of other countries, that he did not know what to think of them. But this was the natural fruit of that strange credulity, and weakness of mind, peculiar to the Celts. The lives of Ninian and of Columba swarm with such puerile miracles, as are really impious, nay blasphemous; while every thing that is rational, wise, and truly virtuous, is forgotten. Such Celtic apostles were not calculated to enlighten and civilize a nation; and, illiterate themselves, could never impart literature to others.

“ 2. To a late period, the only common clergy in Pikland were Irish, as is clear from there being

no Pikish saints or churchmen to found in history, or in sanctology from Hyona being the seminary of the Pikish church; and from the fragments of our history as remain which bear Irish epithets, name &c. and which were certainly written by clergy, the only literati of the time. The offices of the church were performed in Latin; nay the homilies preached in that language as appears from those of Beda, and others, and as all conversant in ecclesiastical history know. There was of course no necessity for the clergy to learn the Pikish language. Even in England, as appears from Beda, most of the clergy were Irish; and came from Ireland and Hyona. English sees at once, having no necessity to know the common language, Latin alone being necessary. The divine service, and preaching though in Latin, it was an office of piety to attend; but scarce one an audience understood a word, that they could not instruct the people. And the Irish clergy, for their own interest, retained the Pikish church to themselves; and never excited Pikish youth to qualify themselves for the church, which they regarded as their own peculiar possession.

“ 3. As these Celtic clergy were strangers to the liberal sentiments of true wisdom, so they had all the cunning which is the wisdom of folly, and all that selfishness which attends a narrow mind. This is evident from the conduct of Columba, and his successors. The institution of Hyona, an Irish sem-

na

ary, as supreme church of Pikland was, and is, without example in ecclesiastical history. The metropolitan church ought to have been established in the heart of Pikland: and, in other countries, all means should have been used to furnish a native clergy. Instead of which all the churches were in utter subjection to Hyona, a foreign seminary; and their clergy furnished and commissioned from thence. Thus the interest of religion was sacrificed to the meanest avarice and ambition: and Hyona may be regarded as the Rome of Pikland, supporting its own power and interest, by keeping the subjects of its church in ignorance. When the church of St. Andrew's was made metropolitan by kings Achy and Grig, at the end of the ninth century, it was long before a native clergy could be formed; and the Irish clergy from superior opportunities and learning, and from ancient veneration and custom, still held the common offices of the church, even down to the twelfth or thirteenth century. Interest, national spirit, and ecclesiastical party, long maintained them; and they were only supplanted by degrees, by the natives from advanced society and visiting foreign universities, begun to acquire learning; and to shake off those bonds of ignorance, in which remote situation, and the selfishness of the Irish clergy, so long held them. Hyona was indeed no longer the seminary; but the Irish clergy had been settled in the churches of Pikland, and married among themselves, like the tribe of Levi, the only change was, that there were many Irish seminaries instead of one.

“ 4. The local situation of Pikland was inimical to the learning of its natives. Of the other extreme

countries of Europe, Scandinavia was only separated by a narrow sea from Germany, a country full of schools, learning, and authors, before Scandinavia was converted. England and Ireland were in the same situation, with respect to France, another learned country. Whereas Pikland was the most remote corner in Europe; and less known of course than any country in it; not being mentioned by any writers on the continent during the middle ages. The learning of Ireland, such as it was, the Irish clergy, from special motives above explained, did not impart to the Piks. That of England was intercepted by mutual enmity, and by the Danes, who, seizing the North of England, debared all intercourse.

“ 5. Want of commerce was another cause; for a nation cannot be learned without books. After the Saracens seized Egypt, in the seventh century, manuscripts became extremely scarce, as no papyrus could be had. Paper made of silk, and of cotton, was not invented till the eleventh century: our common paper not till the fourteenth. Parchment had never been common, as it was always dear, and only used on important occasions. The books that swarmed in Greek and Roman times, almost as much as now, were written on papyrus, a grand article of Egyptian commerce. When this failed, books became extremely scarce, and continued so till paper was invented. But while, for want of books, even the learning of Greece, Italy, Germany, France, was at low ebb, it was no wonder that Pikland had none at all. England, Ireland, Scandinavia, were all frequented by foreign merchants; while the remote situation of Pikland, and its want of materials for commerce, ren-

rendered it unvisited, and almost unknown.

" 6. The warlike spirit of the Píks, and continual occasions for its exertion, were inimical to learning. In Ireland, at the time clerical learning flourished there, domestic wars abounded; but the parties revered the clergy, who enjoyed quiet among these commotions. Very different was the case in the ninth century, when foreign enemies ravaging Ireland, banished all its learning at once. But Pikland, not being a detached country, like Ireland, but acting on perpetual offence or defence against a foreign foe, was almost in constant war, or preparation; a state totally inimical to learning.

" 7. The natural poverty of the country precluded learning, as it did other advantages. For learning belongs to ease; and in a poor country and early society conjoined, constant labour must be employed to procure subsistence. Even the church was poor, and had not above three grand establishments, Abernethy, Dunkeld, and St. Andrew's: whereas in Ireland the establishments, from the earliest period, were very numerous, as the fertility of the country invited. Among so few churchmen, it is no wonder that learning was scarce; as the chance was so much smaller than in other countries. Hence, even among the Irish clergy of Pikland, very few had any talents or learning. The whole inhabitants of Pikland did not exceed a million; for they do not exceed that number now, and the population is surely increased. The chance of one man of learning arising in that number, at a time when Germany, France, England, produced but one or two,

was next to nothing; and it is no wonder that it never took place; but on the contrary a miracle must have happened, if it had.

" 8. The northern Goths of Scandinavia, of whom the Píks were a branch, were long remarkable for contempt of letters; and regarded them as one of the effeminate pursuits of ease, beneath the notice of warriors. This contempt had a greater effect than indolence could have had; and was radically inimical to learning: for what is despised can never be an object of pursuit. The plain sense of these people was indeed remarkably strong and acute, and it is no wonder that the abuse of superstition, and foolish reading, the clergy, during the darker ages, met utter scorn from their few wisdom. Ragnar Lodbrog's expression of a mass of weapons shews the greatest contempt of then Christian superstition, and professors. And as they despised literature of the time, so they scorned letters, and regarded arms as the sole object of pursuit.

" 9. At the time the Scandinavians began their ravages in Europe, the Irish clergy of Hybernia were the sole churchmen in Pikland, and kept the people in ignorance as above explained. But those ravages, so inimical to French and English literature, totally extinguished the Irish; so that even the sole fountain, whence clerical learning could have flowed into Pikland, was dried up. And Pikland was repeatedly ravaged by the Scandinavians, in the ninth century, which must have checked learning, if any was then beginning to be. The Irish clergy, after this, produced no Cuminius or Adomnán, nor, till the thirteenth century

any thing written by these only
 we had; save a few lists
 our kings, untinged with
 reading, except that of Nen-
 and Isidorus. The ravages of
 Scandinavians may therefore be
 regarded as a grand cause, that de-
 layed the commencement of litera-
 ture in Pikland to a late period: as
 the causes above-mentioned pre-

vented its taking place before those
 ravages.

“ Almost any of these causes
 may sufficiently account for the very
 late appearance of learning among
 the Piks, or present Scots; but
 when all are jointly considered, it is
 believed they will be found fully sa-
 tisfactory.”

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

EXPERIMENTS on the MANAGEMENT and proper FOOD
SILK-WORMS

[Extracted from the rev. Mr. SWAYNE's Letters to Mr. MORE, in the Seventh Volume of the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.]

"IT has been, I believe, the usual method in this country, to make receptacles for the worms when they show symptoms of spinning, by pinning together papers in the shape of inverted cones, with broad bases. This method, where there are many worms, is exceedingly tedious, wastes much paper, and uses a large number of pins: besides, as the silk-worm always weaves an outer covering or defensive web, before it begins the cocoon or oval ball, I apprehended that it caused a needless waste of silk in forming the broad web at the top. The method I make use of is, to roll a small piece of paper (an uncut octavo leaf, such as that of an old magazine is sufficient for three), round my fore finger and to give it a twist at the bottom; which is done with the utmost expedition, and gives no occasion for the use of pins. These rolled paper cases being likewise of a form more nearly resembling that of a cocoon, with a much narrower opening on the top than the others, takes away the necessity of wasting much silk in the outer web, and consequently leaves more to be employed in forming the ball. The silk is readily taken out of these cases by untwisting the bottom; and if this be done with moderate care, and the papers are pre-

served, they will serve several times for the like purpose.

"It is possible these minute and seemingly trifling directions may be looked upon by many as utterly unworthy of attention: my opinion is different;—even in established manufactures, and much more in introducing a new one, whatever tends though in a small degree, to expedite the business and to diminish the expence, is not, I conceive, to be esteemed of inconsiderable importance."

"By attempting to keep a large stock last season than I could get sufficient food for, I lost great numbers and greatly injured the remainder, there being only one mulberry-tree in this place from which I could procure leaves, my little family was often, through necessity, stinted their food; and I have found, what has been the case in any considerable degree, the worms will never thrive afterwards. The above disaster will make me cautious hereafter I attempt to breed many worms in future, till I can be certain of obtaining a sufficient maintenance for them; yet I am not without a prospect that this obstacle to my will will not long remain, having procured from Mr. Malcolm's nursery the last spring eight white mulberry trees, two of them eighteen

ty feet in height, and most of others eight or ten feet. I have likewise procured several small stools of the black mulberry; and I mean to give all the attention to the raising and propagating of both kinds which is consistent with a proper regard to pursuits of greater moment. When I received the mulberry trees from London, I had reason to fear, from the length of time they had been out of the ground (which could not have been less than a fortnight), and from the appearance of their roots, that they should not have had one of them; but by proper care in planting, and frequently watering them the summer, I have lost only

Being possessed of this treasure, I was desirous of making an experiment to ascertain which species of mulberry was most agreeable to the silk-worm, and most productive of silk. With this view, June 1787, I took off a few worms from the paper of eggs, where they were then just hatched upon a leaf of each species of the mulberry, and put a like number on a lettuce leaf. These leaves, with the worms on them, were laid separately on small paper pans, which pans were placed on one of the paper-lined drawers in the frames, and the paper marked.

No. 1. contained the white mulberry leaf;

No. 2. the black;

No. 3. the lettuce.

The worms in the pans marked No. 1. and 2. were ever after constantly fed with the same kind of leaf which they had first tasted; and those of No. 3. were fed with lettuce till they had cast their first skin, and afterwards with black mulberry leaves: the worms of No. 1. appeared to grow faster at first

than those of either of the others, they were likewise of a paler colour. When the worms showed signs of their being about to spin, they were put each worm into a paper case, marked with the number of the pan from which it was taken. As soon as I found they had all completed their web, and were changed into the chrysalis state, after taking them all out of the paper cases in which they had spun, I selected twelve of the largest and finest of the cocoons of each sort, and weighed each dozen separately: the twelve cocoons of No. 1. weighed seven pennyweights two grains; those of No. 2. weighed six pennyweights three grains; those of No. 3. six pennyweights.

"From this experiment, as far as it goes, the white mulberry appears in the most favourable light; yet I would not be understood to insinuate that I think this experiment at all decisive: a single experiment generally speaking, proves nothing; besides, it should have been carried further; the silk should have been carefully reeled off the cocoons, and the weight of that taken separately as well as the comparative strength of it proved.

"As a counter-balance to the apparent superiority of the white mulberry, it is possible that chrysalides selected of No. 1. might have been mostly females, or proportionably more so than those of the other numbers; and then (the females) being always larger than the males, the difference in weight had been in the worms, and not in the silk. On the contrary, as an additional circumstance in favour of the white mulberry, it may with reason be alledged, that the leaves, having been taken from trees which had been so lately planted, and which were kept alive by much watering,

by mere force (as it may be called), could not be supposed to contain their proper juices, at least in sufficient abundance. My principal reason for not proceeding with the experiment, as above directed, was, that the cocoons of No. 1. were so visibly the finest I had, and at the same time having but few of them, I was willing to save the chrysalides contained in them, for breeding; and that they might not be at all injured, I thought it most advisable to suffer them to remain in their silken-tombs, and to make their way out thence in the method they are taught by nature: this method I believe, is constantly termed, eating their way out.

"The term is improper; they are so far from eating their way out that I have reason to believe, when the silk is of its due strength, they never interrupt the continuance of the thread. As soon as the moth has burst from the shell of the chrysalis, and is fully formed, it ejects from its mouth a liquid, which, being absorbed by that part of the cocoon opposite, dissolves the natural gluten by which the threads were made to adhere together; when the insect, with its hooked feet, draws the thread aside: by this means, and butting its head forward, it gradually makes an opening, sufficient to force itself through. The elasticity of the silk, as the moths creep through, has the effect of pressing out a kind of red meconium, no doubt greatly to their advantage, since I have observed that those which have been taken out of the cocoons before their last metamorphosis, have got rid of it with much difficulty.

"I have taken the pains to unravel several of the cocoons after the insects had left them; but I never could find that the thread was

discontinued in any one instance unless where I broke it myself. It was often so much entangled that it could not proceed; yet sometimes have wound off nearly the whole web. Whenever this is attempted it must be with the silk dry, and will be immediately entangled when put in water.

"It has been remarked, that in Italy the chrysalides soon come to life; and it is necessary to destroy them, lest, by eating their way out they should injure the silk; and to effect this, they are placed in heated ovens; that in our climate, where every progression is slower than sufficient time to wind off the silk without killing the chrysalis; and the warmth of the ovens, and the length of time necessary to kill them there, must greatly injure the silk. But this is not all; for in Italy they suffer the moth to eat its way out of the largest cones, in order to have eggs from the most healthy, and thereby lose all the silk in those cones. That in this country the silk may be gathered as well as the moths preserved; that thus we possess two striking advantages, which amply compensate for the loss of many others."

"That the inhabitants of this island would possess some advantages in the raising of raw silk, where those of many of the silk countries do not possess, I have not the least doubt. I am informed by Arthur Young, esq. who was in France the last summer, that, even in the south of France, the frosts are great enemies which kill the mulberry leaves, after they are out. This is scarcely ever the case with me. I consider this as one very great advantage; and a freedom from lightning, and from sultry and intense heats, which are allowed on all sides to be exceedingly prejudicial to the work."

worms, I esteem to be another. There may be some few more. But with all due deference to the ingenious remarks above quoted, I must beg leave to say, that I cannot think the advantages therein mentioned, to be very considerable: one reason may be deduced from the above, why it would be most advisable to suffer those insects which are intended for breeding, to proceed in their own natural way, without any interruption or impediment, as they do in Italy: another reason is, that I have constantly observed that those chrysalides which have been taken out of the cocoons before their last change, and have been placed in bran, cotton, or the like, have always had their shells considerably dried; and that the moths have had great difficulty in getting them off, and have appeared much weakened by it.

"The great point of utility in introducing the business of raising raw silk, would be to find employment for women and children in the winter months, and in bad weather, when they could not work in the open air; and not to crowd the summer months with more employment, which are already too much crowded. Added to this, that, were no more silk to be raised than what could be sold off between the caterpillar and the moth state of the insect, it would seem to be an object scarcely worth attending to.

"That the dry heat of the ovens is so injurious to the silk, I can easily conceive; for though it be possible to regulate the heat, by means of thermometers, yet this I apprehend, is seldom, perhaps never, done. But the mere killing of the worms is not the sole intention in placing the cocoons in heated ovens and stoves; for, were the insects to be instantaneously killed,

(suppose by the electric shock, the fumes of burning sulphur, or the like) and not to be quickly placed in some very drying situation, putrefaction, would immediately ensue and the silk would inevitably be spoiled.

"One of the most definite degrees of heat known in chemistry is that of boiling water. This is a heat which the silk must more than once be exposed to (in dying, &c.) before it becomes an article of apparel; consequently is a heat which it can sustain without injury.

"Could this heat be applied so as to kill the chrysalides, and the cocoons be immediately placed in warm dry rooms, it would seem to preclude the necessity of placing them in hot ovens.

Miss Rhodes has represented this heat to be insufficient for the purpose. An experiment which I made last summer, seems to speak a different language: having placed upwards of one hundred cocoons on a piece of netting, stretched on a small square frame, I covered them with one of the gauze-bottomed drawers above mentioned; and, having poured out a tea-kettle of boiling water into a wooden vessel, I immediately immersed the frame with the cocoons in the water, and continued it in that situation exactly three minutes; I then drew it out, and suspended it from the ceiling in the kitchen, at no great distance from the fire; it was suffered to remain there till it was judged that the cocoons, as well as the insects contained in them, were perfectly dry; they were then removed.

"Not one of these cocoons has been perforated by its entombed insect; several of them have been opened, and each chrysalis has been found to be a mere husk. It ought to be noticed, that the water, by

passing through the cool air, and being received in a cold vessel, was considerably below a boiling water heat."

"I believe I mentioned in my last, that I had got a frame, surrounded with a coarse canvas (such as is frequently made use of for window-blinds), in which I intended to repeat an attempt which I had before made to rear some worms in the open air. To those who have imbibed a notion that the silk-worm is a very tender insect, and that this climate is utterly incongenial with its delicate constitution, such an attempt will doubtless appear only as no other than an idle dream of a visionary projector.

"From having some years ago reared numbers of our native insects of the same order (*insecta lepidoptera*) with the silk-worm, I have convinced myself that the silk-worm is not of a more tender nature, and can be reared with less difficulty, than most of the insects of the same kind, in the breeding of which I have had any experience: and as far as I can rely upon the success of one experiment, I am equally satisfied that the scheme of rearing them in such frames as I have before mentioned, placed in the open air, is exceedingly feasible.

"In the latter end of last May (the 28th) I put a number of silk-worms (fewer than an hundred) which were then just hatched, in the frame, and placed it in my garden; the weather at that time was cold and windy: in the evening the frame was removed into an out-house, and returned to the garden next morning; this was continued for a night or two, for a few nights longer. It was covered with a bafs mat, and afterwards was suffered to remain in the garden by day and night, without any covering. At

the time I placed these in the garden I placed others (a somewhat larger number) in the dwelling-house: both colonies were fed with the same kind of food, which was mostly the leaves of the white mulberry at the same time, and in a proportionable quantity; and were treated alike in every particular: during their growth there was no discernible difference between them; they went through their several changes and began to spin about the same period; indeed the first that spun was in the frame in the garden.

"The weather, during the last three weeks was very wet, and during the whole time, unseasonably cold: as soon as I observed one of them in the frame begin to spin, I took it out of the frame within doors, as the weather was so wet that, had it remained in its former situation, it should not have been able to have attended the spinning of the worm without great inconvenience.

"The silk I have inclosed, is the production of the worms which were bred both without and within doors. No. 1. and 2. is the silk of those bred in the garden—No. 3. and 4. of those in the house.

"The different appearance of the orange-coloured silk, No. 3. owing to a different management prior to, and in the reeling it. is the silk of those cocoons, the chrysalides of which I preserved in breeding, and suffered to escape from them in their own natural way: it was first wound off the bobbins singly, and afterwards reeled off from these bobbins, and the reeling passed through warm water; but the silk not being a great length of time in the water, and not being so much stretched on the reel, did not take so glossy an appearance from the operation.

"I had the satisfaction of win-

ing off more than one of these cocoons, without once breaking the thread, or finding it discontinued. The reason why I chose the worms which spun the orange-coloured cocoons, bred within doors, for continuing the breed, was, that I originally intended to send you the silk of all the worms bred in the garden, and had reeled it off for that purpose; and I preferred the silk of that colour, as thinking it stronger than the straw-coloured. At that time I had it not in my thoughts to reel off the other at all.

"The worms which I first possessed, spun invariably a straw-coloured silk. By chance I had a cocoon of an orange-colour given me, the moth from which happened to be a female; from this, with the coition of a straw-coloured male, were propagated all that I have of the orange colour. It should seem, therefore, that the colour of the silk depends chiefly upon the female worm.

"One of my white mulberry trees, the last season, made amazing shoots; some more than five feet, and many more than four feet in length. I have used great attention, and made several experiments to make the cuttings of the mulberry-trees grow, but hitherto without success. I have lately heard that an old bough takes root much sooner than a one-year's shoot. I have procured a considerable quantity of seed, the late season, from trees in this neighbourhood; and have a good friend to procure me some in Oxford, where the soil is peculiarly favourable to the growth of mulberry-trees; these I mean to

sow the ensuing spring: whether they will grow, or not, time will discover; but at present I have great hopes that they will, as they appear quite perfect, and are in good preservation.

"What has been said respecting the leaves of the mulberry-tree being free from the depredations of every indigenous insect, must be confined to the black mulberry. The first summer after I had planted my white mulberry-trees, I found that the leaves were many of them devoured by night. It was a long time before I discovered the plunderers: at length they proved to be earwigs, which in that season, were uncommonly numerous: yet, even then, the black mulberry-leaves were untouched. The white mulberry is certainly of a more delicate frame and texture than the black; particularly in the bark, which is very liable to canker: nor do I observe that it is much earlier in leafing than the black. The leaves are undoubtedly more delicate, and free from that roughness, or lanugo, in which the leaves of the other are enveloped; and, perhaps for this reason, are more palatable to the worms when very young; but then, as they are much less substantial than those of the black, they get dry much sooner, and consequently require to be oftener renewed.

"In a plantation it would be advisable to have a few of these, if it were only for the sake of variety: but, upon the whole, the black mulberry-tree is, in my opinion, for the purpose of feeding silk-worms, by much the most preferable."

ADVANTAGES which would attend the **INSTITUTION** of **LAZARETTOS** in **ENGLAND**, in a Letter from the **ENGLISH MERCHANTS** at **SMYRNA**, to the late **Mr. HOWARD**.]

[From **Mr. HOWARD**'s Account of the principal Lazarettos in **EUROPE**, &c.

“ **W**E flatter ourselves that no apology is necessary for troubling you with this address, calculated to convey to you every information we are masters of, which we think may be of use to you in the attainment of the laudable end you have in view, to forward the interests of society in general, and those of the nation in particular.

“ We understand that when the building of a lazaretto was agitated in England some time ago, the chief objection to it was the great expence it would be to the nation, which did not reap any adequate advantages by the Turkey trade. We are as much persuaded that the want of a lazaretto in England has been the cause of the Turkey trade not being, till now, more worth the notice of government, as that the establishment of one will render it an object of great importance to the nation. It will not only be productive of the immediate advantages which flow from an extensive and flourishing trade, but will free the kingdom from the risk it now runs of the plague being introduced into it. That a lazaretto will be productive of these two ends, we hope to prove to your satisfaction by what we are now going to lay before you.

“ It is enacted by act of parliament that when any vessel loads for England, in any of the ports of Turkey, and departs with a foul bill of health, such vessels shall perform quarantine at Malta, Leghorn,

or Venice. The numberless hardships which this subjects our export trade to, amount almost to a total suppression of it. A single accident of the plague in this large city and its environs, or one brought from any other infected place, though this city may be entirely free from it, obliges the consul to issue foul bills of health. As no information to be depended upon, can be procured from the Turks concerning the plague, and as the Greek nation is the next most numerous one in the city, the consuls apply to the deputies of it for information, when there are any reports of the plague, and, according to the answer they receive, they either issue clean or foul bills of health. It often happens that the Greeks themselves are authors of false reports concerning the plague, and that their deputies inform the consuls of accidents having happened in their nation, when in reality there is no plague in the city or its environs. The motive which induces them to give this false information is obvious. The Greeks carry on three-fourths of the Dutch as well as Italian trade; it therefore their interest (and unfortunately that of every other nation to depress ours as much as possible) and there is not a more effectual method of doing this than by obliging our vessels to go to perform a long and expensive quarantine in the ports of the Mediterranean, which means the cottons, which form their principal loading, as well as the chief article of both trade

ADVANTAGES of LAZARETTOS in ENGLAND. [185]

are no less than *seven months* on their way to London. This long interval gives the Greeks time to load their ships; and, as they perform a very short quarantine in Holland (of the nature of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter) they supply our markets by copious importations of the cottons that were loaded here at the same time with ours, two or three months before our vessels can reach England. It is by this means that more than half the Turkey cottons consumed in England are supplied by the Dutch, to the great support of their Turkey trade, and the ruin of ours; and it is by this means that, whilst our trade is sacrificed by rigorous quarantine laws, to considerations of national safety, the plague may be introduced into the kingdom by the Dutch. To prove that this risk actually exists, and in no small degree, we need only inform you of the method in which Dutch vessels, loaded here in the *beights* of the plague, perform quarantine in Holland. On their arrival at Helvoetsloot, a doctor is sent on board of them to visit the crew, which he does by feeling their pulse; after which he immediately returns to the shore, and reports the state of their health: three or four days after this, the vessel is ordered to a place at a distance from the rest of the shipping, and two or three lighters are sent along side, into which are only emptied the cottons that are in the 'tween decks, and the hatches are opened on pretence of airing the goods in the hold, which form the principal part of the cargo, and which remain untouched till the forty days are over; when they are unloaded into the merchants warehouses, or into the vessels destined to transport them to England. Thus you see, sir, that

one part of the goods perform a slovenly quarantine, and the rest may be said to perform none at all; for, as the air cannot penetrate into holds so closely stowed with cottons as they always are, the forty days they remain in the vessel after her arrival can only be considered as forty days added to her passage. In this manner cottons are brought into England that have undergone no purification at all; and if it should happen that they are infected, nothing is more easy than the infection's being introduced into England by their means. English vessels can only begin to load here direct for England forty days after the last accident of the plague; and if any accident happen whilst they are in loading, they must either go away immediately with the few goods they may have on board, or else they must wait in port, on a cruel uncertainty, forty days after the last reported accident, whether real or invented, if they do not prefer the hard alternative of continuing their loading, and going away with a foul bill of health, to perform quarantine in some of the lazarettos in the the Mediterranean; on the contrary, Dutch vessels may be three months in loading, they may have taken the greatest part of their cargo in whilst the plague raged, and, notwithstanding this, if they are in port forty days after the last accident, clean bills of health are granted them, in virtue of which they only perform twenty-one days quarantine in the slovenly manner above mentioned.

“ Our government has reasonably laid a quarantine on cottons imported into England from Holland; but we understand that when this has been the case, the quarantine in Holland, such as it is, has been curtailed by the connivance of those who

who should regulate it; by this manœuvre, the end of our government in laying a quarantine, is entirely defeated. This total disregard of so serious an object, as the regulation of quarantines must be, to all nations, gives so great an advantage to the Dutch Turkey trade over ours, that it induces their government to overlook the risks the nation incurs by it; and when representations were made in Holland on the necessity of establishing a lazaretto to obviate this risk, and the fatal consequences which the introduction of the plague might be of to all Europe, the thrifty Hollanders, ever preferring the interests of their trade to those of humanity, would not allow so forcible an argument to have any weight with them; but gave for answer, that it would be time enough to *think* of a lazaretto when the English *built* one. The Dutch traders have so decided a superiority over us at our own markets, that it is only the necessity gentlemen are in to have returns, which can induce us to ship any cottons at all during the existence of the plague here; for by arriving after our markets are supplied, loaded besides with ten per cent. extra charges, incurred in the ports where they perform quarantine, they are sold to a considerable loss. This circumstance alone is sufficient to account for the present insignificance of our trade, and the consequent little advantage the nation reaps from it. In what a different situation would the establishment of a lazaretto put it? By depriving the Dutch of the advantages they now enjoy, we should be able to supply the whole quantity of cotton demanded at our markets; instead of only sending five thousand bales, we should send more than double the quantity annually; and as, by a

fixed regulation of the Levant company, we can only purchase the products of this country with the produce of goods sent from England, the importation of our manufactures would increase in the same proportion. The quantity of shipping employed in the trade would likewise be doubled, and by carrying the freight which is now paid to the Dutch, on the cottons they send to England, it would be so much clear gain to the nation, added to the advantages which would attend the extension of its navigation, and the increase of the consumption of its manufactures; advantages which are now enjoyed by our rivals the Dutch, the prosperity of whose trade is founded on the ruin of ours.

“We are aware that the building of a lazaretto would cost the nation a considerable sum of money; but we think the commercial advantage it would derive from it would alone be more than a compensation for such a charge. It would not only be the ships which load in the port of Turkey, but those from all the ports in the Mediterranean, which would contribute to its support.

“Admitting, however, that the Turkey trade is not so far worth the notice of government as to induce it to build a lazaretto for it, the consideration alone of its preserving the nation from the great risk it now evidently runs of such a calamity as the plague being introduced into it, we presume is of sufficient importance to make government determine on a measure which every state in Italy has considered so necessary, that the most insignificant amongst them have their lazarettos. The knowledge you have acquired of the plans and regulations of these and every other lazaretto in Europe in your present tour, is so much to

prior to any information we can give you, that we do not presume to trouble you on the subject.

"Should your representations meet with the success they will deserve, the nation at large will experience, in a new instance, the advantages that can be derived from the pursuits of a ——— individual, who, from the noblest motives, dedicates himself to the interests of humanity, and we, as well as every other member of the Levant com-

pany, shall consider ourselves as indebted to you for the revival of our drooping trade.

Smyrna,
July 3, 1786.

*William Barker,
Joseph Frenel,
Richard Lee, jun.
Edward Lee,
Isaac Morier,
James Hicks Gribble,
Anthony Hayes, jun.
Frederick Hayes,
George Perkins,
Thomas J. Barker."*

DIRECTIONS for Preserving a TRAVELLER'S HEALTH, particularly in HOT COUNTRIES.

[From an ESSAY to direct and extend the Enquiries of PATRIOTIC TRAVELLERS, by Count LEOPOLD BERCHTOLD.]

"1. A Traveller ought to be perfectly well acquainted with what agrees, or disagrees with his constitution, and observe those rules which custom has established in favour of his health, at least as far as circumstances will admit of. He will act prudently, to pay a strict attention with regard to eating, drinking, dress, exercise, and rest, and conform to the customs, and mode of life of the most sober class of the inhabitants of the country he is in. Experience has taught people of all countries, which manner of living is the most wholesome in the climate they inhabit.

"2. Though the siesta (the afternoon's sleep) agrees perfectly well with most foreigners in Spain and Italy: nevertheless it is liable to bring on apoplexies in cold climates, where great and soporiferous malt liquors are used in great quantity. Travellers in warm countries, who may be invited to an afternoon's sleep, ought to observe, that the duration of it should be proportioned to the quick

or difficult digestion of the person: one quarter of an hour, or half an hour is sufficient; people should always be awaked before the end of an hour. To sleep in a horizontal position would be prejudicial; the fittest place for that kind of rest is an arm chair, or a canopee. The head ought to be laid high, and the body bent backwards, and a little turned towards the left side. Every thing that is likely to prevent the circulation of the blood, must be removed, otherwise violent headaches will be felt.

"3. Water is very unwholesome in some places, and ought to be considered so, if soap will not dissolve in it. If a person should happen to be very thirsty, and no other drink to be had, that water should be soaked through a piece of very fine linen, and a little vinegar, juice of lemon, or a roast put into it. It would be still better to boil it, if the circumstances will admit, and drink it when cool. Wells, that are situated in marshy grounds, or near privies,

privies, or those which are observed to have a whitish scum on the surface of the water, are generally reckoned to be unwholesome.

" 4. Violent exercise after dinner is prejudicial, and more so in warm countries than in cold ones; therefore people who travel on horseback, or in a vehicle, whose motion is rather violent, will act prudently, if they eat and drink sparingly. The shaking of the carriage heats the blood, consequently strong liquors should be taken with the greatest moderation, particularly in southern climates.

" 5. Cleanliness requires people to bathe oftener when they are travelling than when they are at home; yet they must be very careful never to bathe when their blood is agitated, or the stomach full, or the day is very hot. The cool morning and evening hours are the only times to take this salutiferous recreation. Even the most expert swimmer should never bathe in the sea or in a river, without taking along with him another person, who knows how to swim. He should be careful to choose a bathing place where the bottom is clear sand, and has no sea weeds upon it; for they frequently contain a species of pointed shells, which are apt to inflict dangerous wounds if trodden upon. One of the most necessary precautions in bathing, is to plunge into the water head foremost, otherwise the blood rushing into the head exposes the person to an apoplectic attack.

" 6. Travellers in carriages are very liable to have their legs swelled; in order to prevent being thus incommoded, it will be advisable to wear shoes rather than boots, to untie the garters, to alight now and then, and to walk as often as opportunity permits it, which will favour

circulation. If the windows of the carriage are kept to, the air is soon affected, and may prove prejudicial to respiration.

" 7. Feather-beds and counterpanes of cotton are very liable to collect noxious exhalations; for this reason those who travel, ought to make use of the hartskins, described under the remarks on inns.

" 8. The vapours of charcoal are also exceedingly prejudicial; people should be remarkably careful never to permit a pan of charcoal to be brought into their apartment, unless it is quite burnt to ashes; it would be dangerous to sleep with it in the bed-room, as a great many lives have been lost in that manner.

" 9. In marshy grounds the air is remarkably unhealthy, and there are countries, for instance the Pontin Marthes in the Pope's dominions where it is often attended with fatal consequences to sleep even in day time. Foreigners should inform themselves minutely concerning the salubrity or unwholesomeness of the air of those places where they sleep, and take the necessary precautions to guard against the destructive effects of the latter.

" 10. Sweet or boiled wines, such as are to be found in the Papal dominions on the coast of the Adriatic delay the digestive faculty for long time, and as they tend exceedingly to inflame the blood, they must be used in the most sparing manner.

" 11. Fresh fruit, and even the ripest grapes, relax the stomach in hot climates, and an immoderate meal on them, would infallibly produce the most dangerous consequences, if bread was omitted to be eaten with them.

" 12. Travellers in warm climates should abstain from meat as much as possible, particularly at night, other

wife they might be exposed to putrid fevers, which are seldom easily removed.

" 13. Sleeping with the windows open in hot climates is so unwholesome, that many have hardly time enough to repent of their imprudence. Those who travel on foot, should never sleep under the shadow of a tree, or near a hemp field.

" 14. Thirst is more effectually quenched by eating fresh fruit, and a morsel of bread, than by drinking water: and if no fruit is to be had, it is better to mix a little vinegar, or the juice of a lemon with it, than to drink it by itself.

" 15. After a long journey on foot, it is unwholesome to take a plentiful meal, or to sit near a great fire.

" 16. Such as are under the necessity of remaining in places in a marshy situation, should reside in apartments in the upper stories, and in dry houses; they ought to take proper exercise, without labour, in the sun, or the evening damps; a just quantity of vinous liquors, and actuals of good nourishment, are necessary in such circumstances.

" 17. A person who is not accustomed to walk a great deal, should gradually increase the length of the station. If the wind is very high, it is better to have it sideways, than in the face.

" 18. Since transpiration is easily impeded, and its effects attended with bad consequences, it is prudent for travellers on foot to wear a flannel waistcoat next the skin.

" 19. Fresh killed meat, greens, and fresh fish, are preferable to any other food, and simple nourishment the best.

" 20. Damp beds are very often found in inns little visited, and in the rooms where fire is seldom made: they ought to be carefully

avoided, for they not only bring on illness, but sometimes prove the death of the person, who has the misfortune to sleep in one. Those who travel should examine the beds, to see whether they are quite dry, and have the bed-clothes in their presence put before the fire. If the mattresses are suspected, it will be preferable to lie down on dry and clean straw. If a friend offers you a bed, endeavour to have it warmed, with the necessary precautions, because there are in certain houses certain beds kept only for particular visitors, and therefore they might be damp, if not used for a long while.

" 21. People whose clothes have been wet through, should look for very dry beds, have the sheets well aired, put on clean shirts, smoking them first with sugar, or something of that nature, and before they go to bed, rub their skins with dry flannel, which promotes perspiration. Those parts of the body that have been wet, ought to be washed with lukewarm water, in which a little soap has been dissolved. Those whom circumstances may not permit to put on dry clothes, should keep their bodies in constant motion, till the clothes are become dry again upon them: this inconvenience ought to be avoided as much as possible, because it brings on rheumatic pains, agues, colics, &c. to people who are not used to it.

" 22. Persons who have perspired copiously from the heat of the sun, should shelter themselves as much as opportunity will permit, during the falling of the dew; if they cannot avoid it, they should by no means sit down. Continual exercise favours transpiration, and diminishes the bad consequences which the cool air exposes people to.

" 23. Since a body, which is void of food, is more apt to attract contagious

[190] PRECAUTIONS to those who undertake a SEA VOYAGE.

ragious sicknesses, a traveller should never visit an hospital in the morning before he has breakfasted; it will not be amiss to eat a bit of bread dipped in vinegar, and to wash the nostrils and mouth with camphor-vinegar, before visiting the sick. During the time he is in an hospital, he should never swallow his spittle, and rather use something to draw it up, such as sponge, and blotting-paper. It

is also very wholesome to drink a glass of wine, with a little sugar and the juice of half a lemon, on these occasions.

" 24. Travellers should not neglect to carry with them a bottle of vinegar, de quatre voleurs.—ditto best French brandy.—ditto arquebuse, or Peruvian balsam.—ditto spirit of salmiac, against fits.—ditto Hoffman's drops."

PRECAUTIONS to be used by those who are about to undertake a SEA VOYAGE.

[By Dr. FRANKLIN.]

" **W**HEN you intend to take a long voyage, nothing is better than to keep it a secret, as much as possible, till the moment of your departure. Without this you will be continually interrupted and tormented by visits from friends and acquaintances, who not only make you lose your valuable time, but make you forget a thousand things which you wish to remember; so that when you are embarked and fairly at sea, you recollect with much uneasiness, affairs which you have not terminated, accounts that you have not settled, and a number of things which you proposed to carry with you, and which you find the want of every moment. Would it not be attended with the best consequences to reform such a custom, and to suffer a traveller without deranging him, to make his preparations in quietness, to set apart a few days, when these are finished to take leave of his friends, and to receive their good wishes for his happy return?

" It is not always in one's power to choose a captain, though great part of the pleasure and happiness of the passage depends upon this choice, and though one must for a

long time be confined to his company, and be in some measure under his command. If he is a social sensible man, obliging, and of a good disposition, you will be so much the happier. One sometimes meets with people of this description, but they are not common. However, if yours be not of this number, if he be a good seaman, attentive, careful, and active in the management of his vessel, you must dispense with the rest, for these are the most essential qualities.

" Whatever right you may have by your agreement with him, to the provisions which he has taken on board for the use of the passengers, it is always proper to have some private store, which you may make use of occasionally. You ought therefore, to provide good water, that of the ship being often bad; but you must put it into bottles, without which, you cannot expect to preserve it sweet. You ought also to carry with you good tea, ground coffee, chocolate, wine of that sort which you like best, cyder, dried raisins, almonds, sugar, capillaire, citron, rum, eggs dipped in oil, port, at le soup, bread twice baked. With

regard

regard to poultry, it is almost useless to carry any with you, unless you resolve to undertake the office of feeding and fattening them yourself. With the little care which is taken of them on board ship, they are almost all sickly, and their flesh is as tough as leather.

All sailors entertain an opinion, which has undoubtedly originated formerly from a want of water, and when it has been found necessary to get it, that poultry never know when they have drunk enough, and when water is given them at discretion, they generally kill themselves by drinking beyond measure. In consequence of this opinion, they give them water only once in two days, and even then in small quantities; but as they pour this water in troughs, inclining to one side, which occasions it to run to the lower end, it thence happens, that they are obliged to mount one upon the back of another, in order to reach it, and there are some, which cannot stand upon their beaks in it. Thus continually tantalized and tormented by thirst, they are unable to digest their food, which is very dry, and they all fall sick and die; some of them are found thus every morning, and are thrown into the sea; whilst those which are killed for the table are scarcely fit to be eaten. To remedy this inconvenience it will be necessary to divide their troughs into small compartments, in such a manner, that each of them may be capable of containing water; but this wisdom or never done. On this account, sheep and hogs are to be considered as the best fresh provisions one can have at sea; mutton is being in general very good, and pork excellent.

It may happen that some of the provisions and stores, which I have recommended, may become almost

useless, by the care which the captain has taken to lay in a proper stock; but in such a case, you may dispose of it to relieve the poor passengers, who paying less for their passage, are stowed among the common sailors, and have no right to the captain's provisions, except to such part of them as is used for feeding the crew. These passengers are sometimes sick, melancholy and dejected, and there are often women and children among them, neither of whom have any opportunity of procuring those things which I have mentioned, and of which, perhaps, they have the greatest need. By distributing amongst them a part of your superfluity, you may be of the greatest assistance to them. You may restore their health, save their lives, and in short render them happy, which always affords the liveliest pleasure to a feeling mind.

"The most disagreeable thing at sea, is the cookery, for there is not, properly speaking, any professed cook on board. The worst sailor is generally chosen for that purpose, who for the most part is equally dirty and unskilful; hence comes the proverb used among the English sailors, that "God sends meat, and the Devil sends cooks." Those, however, who have a better opinion of Providence, will think otherwise: knowing that sea air, and the exercise or motion, which they receive from the rolling of the ship, have a wonderful effect in whetting the appetite, they will say that Providence has given sailors bad cooks, to prevent them from eating too much; or that knowing they would have bad cooks, he has given them a good appetite, to prevent them from dying with hunger. However, if you have no confidence in these succours of Providence, you may yourself, with a lamp and a boiler, by the help of a little

little spirits of wine, prepare some food, such as soup, hash, &c. A small oven made of tin plate is not a bad piece of furniture; your servant may roast in it a piece of mutton or pork. If you are ever tempted to eat salt beef, which is often very good, you will find that cyder is the best liquor to quench the thirst generally caused by salt meat, or salt fish. Sea biscuit which is too hard for the teeth of some people, may be softened by steeping it; but bread double baked is the best, for being made of good loaf bread cut into slices, and baked a second time, it readily imbibes water, becomes soft, and is easily digested: it consequently forms excellent nourishment, much superior to that of biscuit, which has not been fermented.

"I must here, observe, that this double baked bread was originally the real biscuit prepared to keep at sea; for the word *Biscuit*, in French, signifies twice baked. Pease often boil badly, and do not become soft; in such a case by putting a two-pound shot into the kettle, the rolling of the vessel, by means of this bullet, will convert the pease into a kind of porridge like mullard.

"Having often seen soup when put upon the table at sea in broad flat dishes, thrown out on every side by the rolling of the vessel, I have wished that our tinmen would make our soup basons with divisions or compartments, forming small plates, proper for containing soup for one person only. By this disposition the soup in an extraordinary roll would not be thrown out of the plate, and would not fall into the breasts of those who are at table, and scald them. Having entertained you with these things of little importance, permit me now to conclude with some general reflections upon navigation.

"When navigation is employed only for transporting necessary provisions from one country where they abound, to another where they are wanting, when by this it prevents famines which were so frequent and so fatal before it was invented, and became so common, we cannot but considering it as one of those which contribute most to the happiness of mankind.

"But when it is employed to transport things of no utility, or articles merely of luxury, it is uncertain whether the advantages resulting from it are sufficient to counter-balance the misfortunes which occasions, by exposing the lives of so many individuals upon the ocean. And when it is used to plunder vessels and transport slaves it is evidently only the dreadful means of increasing those calamities which afflict human nature.

"One is astonished to think the number of vessels and men who are daily exposed in going to bring tea from China, coffee from Arabia and sugar and tobacco from America all commodities which our ancestors lived very well without. The sugar trade employs nearly a thousand vessels, and that of tobacco almost the same number. With regard to the utility of tobacco little can be said; and with regard to sugar, but much more meritorious would it be to sacrifice the momentary pleasure which we receive from drinking it once or twice a day in our tea, than to encourage the numberless cruelties that are continually exercised in order to procure it to us?

"A celebrated French moralist said, that when he considered the wars which we foment in Africa to get negroes, the great number of course perish in these wars, the multitude of those wretches who die in their passage by disease, bad

and had provisions, and lastly, how many perish by the cruel treatment they meet with in a state of slavery, when he saw a bit of sugar, he could not help imagining it to be covered with spots of human blood; but he added to these considerations, the wars which we carry on against one another, to take and retake the islands that produce this commodity, he would not have seen the sugar simply spotted with blood, he would have beheld it entirely tinged with it.

“ These wars make the maritime powers of Europe, and the inhabitants of Paris and London, pay much dearer for their sugar than those of Vienna, though they are almost three hundred leagues distant from the sea. A pound of sugar, indeed, costs the former not only the price which they give for it, but also what they pay in taxes, necessary to support those fleets and armies, which serve to defend and protect the countries that produce it.”

Regular ACCOUNT of what may be effected, by rigid ECONOMY.

[From ANDREWS's Anecdotes Ancient and Modern.]

THE following letter contains an instance of the most excellent domestic management, which imagination can conceive. It may be depended on, for as serious as the writer is known to be, he never indulges his humour at the expence of his veracity; and he avers every circumstance there related to be literally true.

“ You ask me what I have seen, my ramble, worth relating. You are no antiquarian, I will not therefore tease you with ruined abbeys, Gothic castles, Roman and Danish camps, or Druidical circles, but confine my narrative to a human curiosity. This is a Mr. Osbaldeston, an attorney's clerk, and, spite of the popular prejudices against his profession, said to be an honest man. As you will allow to be a curiosity, but that is not all. This honest limb of the law is married, and, at least, half a dozen children, of whom, with as many couple of servants, and a brace of hunters, he maintains out of, how much do you think? Guess a little, I pray you.

Why then, to support himself, a wife, six children, twelve dogs, and two horses, he has not a penny more than sixty pounds per annum! And, if possible to increase the miracle, he did this in London for many years, paying every body their own, and keeping a tight coat for Sundays and holidays. But I will try to explain this seeming paradox. After the expiration of the time which Mr. Osbaldeston owed his master, he acted as an accountant for the butchers in Clare-marker, who paid him in offal; the choicest morsels of this, he selected for himself and family, and with the rest he fed his hounds, which he kept in his garret. His horses were lodged in his cellar, and fed on grains from a neighbouring brewhouse, and on damaged corn, with which he was supplied by a corn-chandler, whose books he kept in order. Once or twice a week, in the season, he hunted, and by giving a hare, now and then, to the farmers, over whose grounds he sported, secured their good-will, and permission.

N Besides

Besides which, several gentlemen, struck with his extraordinary oeconomy, winked at his going over their manors with his moderate pack.

"Accident has, since, removed this uncommon man to Lewes, in Sussex, where, on the same stipend, he continues to maintain the same family. Curiosity led me to visit this extraordinary party, about their dinner time. The two legged part of it were clean, though not superfluously clothed, and seemed to live like brothers with the surrounding animals. It looked, in short somewhat like the golded age. Mr. O. himself seemed and acted like the father of the quadrupeds, as well as the bipeds, and as such, decided with the utmost impartiality, for Master Jacky having taken a

bone from Jowler, he commanded instant restitution. And, on the other hand, Doxy, having snatched a piece of liver from Miss Dorothea, was obliged, on the spot, to restore it to the young lady.

"On enquiry, I found that Mr. O. was the younger son of a gentleman of good family, but small fortune, in the North of England, and that having imprudently married one of his father's servants, he was turned out of doors, with no other fortune than a southern hound, big with pup, whose offspring has since been a source of profit and amusement to him." F. G.

"The writer of the above letter has informed the editor, that this very extraordinary character has lately resided, with the same family, at Croydon, in Surrey."

Different ANECDOTES illustrating the Force of GRATITUDE.

[From the same Work.]

"THERE is a species of grateful remorse, which sometimes has been known to operate forcibly on the minds of the most hardened in impudence. Towards the beginning of this century, an actor, celebrated for mimicry, was to have been employed by a comic author, to take off the person, the manner, and the singularly awkward delivery of the celebrated Dr. Woodward, who was intended to be introduced on the stage in a laughable character. The mimic dressed himself as a countryman, and waited on the doctor with a long catalogue of ailments, which he said attended on his wife. The physician heard with amazement, diseases and pains of the most opposite nature, repeated and redoubled on the

wretched patient. For, since the actor's greatest wish was to keep Dr. Woodward in his company, as long as possible, that he might make the more observations on his gestures, he loaded his poor imaginary spouse with every infirmity, which had any probable chance of prolonging the interview. At length, being become completely master of his errand, he drew from his purse a guinea, and with a scrape, made a uncouth offer of it. "Put up thy money, poor fellow," cried the doctor, "put up thy money. Thou hast need of all thy cash and all thy patience too, with such a bundle of diseases tied to thy back."

"The actor returned to his employer, and recounted the whole conversation, with such true feeling

the physician's character, that the doctor screamed with approbation. His raptures were soon checked, as the mimic told him with the emphasis of sensibility, that he would never die than prostitute his talents to the rendering such genuine humanity, a public laughing stock.

A more grotesque instance of the sudden power of gratitude, may be adduced in a modern Kentish anecdote, perfectly well attested.

A parson Patten, of Whitechapel, was well known in his own neighbourhood, as a man of great wit, great humour, and equally great extravagance. Once, standing in need of a new wig, his old one being all farther assistance of art; he went over to Canterbury, and called to a barber, young in the

business, to make him one. The tradesman, who was just going to dinner, begged the honour of his new customer's company at his meal, to which Patten most readily consented. After dinner a large bowl of punch was produced, and the reverend guest, with equal readiness joined in its demolition. When it was out, the barber was proceeding to business, and began to handle his measure, when Mr. Patten desired him to desist, saying he should not make his wig. "Why not," exclaimed the astonished host, "have I done any thing to offend you, Sir?" "Not in the least," replied the guest, "I find you are a very honest, good-natured, fellow; so I will take somebody else in. Had you made it, you would never have been paid for it."

P O E T R Y.

ODE on HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

By the Rev. T. WARTON, B. D. Poet-Laureat.

AS when the demon of the summer-storm
 Walks forth, the noontide landscape to deform;
 Dark grows the vale, and dark the distant grove,
 And thick the bolts of angry Jove
 Athwart the watry welkin glide,
 And streams th' aerial torrent far and wide:
 If by short fits the struggling ray
 Should dart a momentary day,
 Th' illumin'd mountain glows awhile,
 By faint degrees the radiant glance
 Purples th' horizon's pale expanse,
 And gilds the gloom with hasty smile:
 Ah, fickle smile; too swiftly past!
 Again resounds the sweeping blast;
 With hoarser din the demon howls,
 Again the blackening concave scowls!
 Sudden, the shades of the meridan night
 Yield to the triumph of rekindling light:
 The reddening sun regains his golden sway,
 And nature stands reveal'd in all her bright array.

Such was the changeful conflict, that possess'd
 With trembling tumult every British breast;
 When Albion, towering in the van sublime
 Of Glory's march, from clime to clime
 Envied, belov'd, rever'd, renown'd,
 Her brows with every blissful chaplet bound;
 When, in her mid career of state,
 She felt her monarch's awful fate! —
 Till Mercy from th' Almighty throne
 Look'd down on man, and waving wide
 Her wreath, that in the rainbow died,
 With hues of soften'd lustre shone,

And bending from her sapphire cloud,
 O'er regal grief benignant bow'd ;
 To transport turn'd a people's fears,
 And stay'd a people's tide of tears :
 Bade this blest dawn with beams auspicious spring,
 With hope serene, with healing in its wing ;
 And gave a sovereign o'er a grateful land
 Again with vigorous grasp to stretch the scepter'd hand.

O favour'd king, what rapture more refin'd,
 What mightier joy, can fill the human mind,
 Than that the monarch's conscious bosom feels,
 At whose dread throne a nation kneels,
 And hails its father, friend, and lord,
 To life's career, to patriot sway restor'd ;
 And bids the loud responsive voice
 Of union all around rejoice ?
 For thus to thee when Britons bow,
 Warm and spontaneous from the heart,
 As late their tears, their transports start,
 And nature dictates duty's vow ;
 To thee, recall'd to sacred health,
 Did the proud city's lavish wealth,
 Did crowded streets alone display
 The long-drawn blaze, the festal ray ?
 Meek Poverty her scanty cottage grac'd,
 And flung her gleam across the lonely waste !
 Th' exulting isle in one wide triumph strove,
 One social sacrifice of reverential love.

Such pure unprompted praise do kingdoms pay,
 Such willing zeal, to thrones of lawless sway ?
 Ah ! how unlike the vain the venal lore
 To Latian rulers dealt of yore,
 O'er guilty pomp, and hated power,
 When stream'd the sparkling panegyric shower :
 And slaves to sovereigns unendear'd
 Their pageant trophies coldly rear'd !
 For are the charities, that blend
 Monarch with man, to tyrants known ?
 The tender ties, that to the throne
 A mild domestic glory lend ;
 Of wedded love the league sincere,
 The virtuous comfort's faithful tear !
 Nor this the verse that flattery brings,
 Nor here I strike a Syren's strings ;
 Here, kindling with her country's warmth, the Muse,
 Her country's proud triumphant theme pursues :
 Ev'n needless here the tribute of her lay !—
 Albion the garland gives on this distinguish'd day.

HYMN to the GENIUS of ODOURS.

By BOCAREZ the Arabian Poet: translated by SIR WILLIAM JON

WHAT musky grove can now confine
 Thy burnish'd tresses' silver twine.
 While breathing beauty fills the vale,
 And Mirza's kisses greet the gale;
 Soft Pow'r of Sweetness! she shall tear
 Fresh spices from thy hanging hair;
 Her ruby lip, the odour breathes
 Of Laro's choicest Cassia wreaths.

Soft Pow'r of Sweetness! hither blow,
 Mix with my goblet's purple glow,
 So shall the liquid breezes bear
 To Rafab's tomb; a lover's care;
 Thy scented hands the garland bind,
 To deck Somara's filken wind,
 Which dares to rest on Mirza's cheek,
 When first its morning blushes break.

But do not touch those piercing eyes,
 Whence unrelenting lightning flies,
 For, ah! 'midst those destructive fires
 The Bird of Araby expires;
 Amidst those flames again revives,
 And, lo! a new-born Phoenix lives,
 To seek thy blest salubrious throne,
 And pass a rapt'rous age alone.

Soft Pow'r of Sweetness! Mirza's breast
 Shall bring thy balmy pinion rest;
 Not always shall it flutt'ring go,
 But stop where Love's young lilies blow.
 Yield to desire—O! quit restraint,
 In life's delicious Eden faint,
 While Aloey fans the gales employ,
 And odours heighten nature's joy.

Bliss to the wild unconquer'd bands,
 Who dwell on Arab's desert sands;
 Who nobly seize, in gallant train,
 Balsora's merchants on the plain:
 May loaded camels swell their store,
 And sparkling gems, and valued ore!
 For wealth Bocarez ne'er shall rove,
 The plunder that he seeks—is Love,

Fair Selma walks the citron brake,
 When tuneful nightingales awake;
 She moves a rose in all its charms,
 To win the warblers to her arms;
 They come amidst her locks to hide,
 Or seek her beauty's central pride;
 They taste her fragrant breath, which pours
 An amb'ry fountain's lucid stores.

Rich Ethiop myrrh Taloza bears,
 And fondly scents the roving airs,
 Which bow in homage to the beam
 That yonder violet-tinctured stream
 Steals from the moon as slow she glides
 Her pearly bark across the tides,
 Which fill the blue expanse of heaven,
 In many a shining current driven.

Taloza's smiles are all deceit,
 And Selma shews fictitious heat,
 But Mirza is thy full-veil'd bride,
 Sultana dear! and Odour's pride:
 Whene'er she comes the grove to tread,
 The blushing Loria lifts its head,
 The Milbo's gauzy leaves unfold,
 And fragrant Ancoz drops its gold.

Soft Pow'r of Sweetness! tell my fair
 The fierce consuming flame I bear
 Euphrates' waves could ne'er controul,
 With all its full impetuous roll.
 Faithful in love is still my boast,
 To love, of humankind, the most,
 My wish a Houri's kiss to try,
 I live but on the hope to die.

ODE to the LAKE of GENEVA,

By WM. PARSONS, Esq. F. R. S.

Written at the CHATEAU DE CHILLON, near VEVAÏ, after a Tour to
 the GLACIERS of CHAMOUNI and through the lower VALAIS.

[Communicated by that Gentleman.]

FROM Alpine heights where clad in snow
 Mont Blanc uprears his monarch brow,
 Where chamois on the ridgy rock
 The hunter's daring efforts mock,

*To grasp each bare dry crag who strains,
And opes in fell despair his veins.

From where in indolence supine
The sluggish Valaisans recline,
Where, as I trod the marshy plain,
I pitying saw the listless swain,
Bent by the Goitre's tumid load,
Scarce lift his hand to point the road,

To thee returned, enchanting Lake!
With thy pure wave my thirst I slake,
Thy wave whose chrystal pride disdains
The furious Rhone's polluting stains,
And all his turbid stream refines
Till like thyself serene it shines.

Too soon, as men, reform'd in vain,
Meet vice and grow corrupt again,
Foul as before he rolls allied
With fallow Arve's contagious tide;
Mourns he forsook thy chaster bed,
And hides in earth his conscious head.

On scenes of dread I gaze no more,
Nor hear the tumbling Glaciers roar,
Thy mild expanse of sapphire hue
Shall now far more delight my view,
Thy gentle tide's soft murmurs cheer
With soothing melody my ear.

Fair Queen of Lakes neglected long,
Unhonour'd in Ausonian song,
Yet not the wave that Dian loves
O'erhung by Nemi's nodding groves,
Nor bright Blandusia rais'd so high
In Flaccus' strain with thee can vye.

And while I cast my eyes around
They yet shall stray o'er classic ground,
For here Rousseau's expressive power
Commands the visionary hour:
The well-mark'd scenes his tale renew,
And Fancy fondly thinks it true.

* It is a fact mentioned by many travellers, and verified by the author's own enquiries, that the Chamois hunters in the hot season when the sliding dust makes points of the rocks unsafe to hold by, are sometimes obliged, after all other means fail, to wound themselves and moisten them with their blood.

My glowing thought attempts to trace
 Each charm that dwelt on Julia's face,
 Views the frail damsel's alter'd will
 The matron's chaste devoirs fulfill ;
 'Twas here, with frantic sorrow wild,
 She leap'd to save her sinking child.

If Chablais' cliffs attract my eye
 The suffering peasants claim a sigh,
 Who leave untill'd the fertile soil
 Envyng their happier neighbour's toil
 So wondrous strong the marks appear
 Of Slavery there, and Freedom here.

O Freedom! at thine honor'd name
 I kindle with congenial flame,
 For not to Albion's scenes alone
 Her sons can with thy blessings known,
 More rapturous far were their delight
 Could all partake the common right!

To the MARQUIS IPPOLITO PINDEMONT,
 NOBLE VENETIAN,

On his Poem on the Defence of Gibraltar, entitled " GIBILTERRA
 SALVATA."

[By the Same.]

MOST Bards with partial choice have told
 The martial deeds of heroes bold,
 Resolv'd the laureat crowns they give
 Should ne'er on foreign temples live.
 When Homer pours his magic strain,
 Great father of the Epic vein,
 With patriot zeal his lays increase
 The triumphs of his native Greece.
 The Mantuan Muse delights to tell
 What various turns of fate befell
 The Man from Ilion's doom who bore
 His Lares to the Latian shore,
 Till nobler fame than Greeks o'ercome
 Crowns the Great Ancestor of Rome.
 Thus Camoens too in later time
 For Gama framed the lofty rhyme,
 The wreaths he sung by Lusians won,
 Who eastward fought the rising sun.

And

And the same track the Gallic Muse
But with unequal step pursues,
While gay Voltaire's more feeble aim
For Henry blows the trump of Fame.

But Pindemont ! thy liberal mind
Scorns to one spot to be confin'd,
Like Jove himself thy equal eye
Can Virtue's every haunt descry,
To every shore thy sail's unfurl'd
Poet and Patriot of the World !

Tho' still exists the spirit bold
That warm'd her warrior sons of old,
Yet now the Muses cease to smile
On Albion's once illumin'd isle.
The fire that glow'd in Milton's page
Is quench'd in this benighted age,
And Elliott's self must owe to thee
His well-earn'd immortality ;
Thus shines the verse that gives him fame
At once our glory and our shame !

Long as it's theme that verse shall last,
Not Calpe's mountain fix'd more fast ;
While Learning, solid as the rock,
The critic's vain attempts shall mock,
Like idle waves that chafe below ;
On this firm base his lofty brow,
Illum'd by Phoebus' brighter rays,
Genius sublimely bold displays,
Securely triumphs and enjoys the blaze !

TRANSLATION from PETRARCH.

" Ne la stagione che'l ciel rapido inchina."

[By the Same.]

AT the soft hour of twilight gray,
When fades the landscape on our eyes,
And lights pure beam is borne away
Elsewhere to glad th' expecting skies ;
The female pilgrim, worn with age,
Who treads alone the darkening waste,
Doubles her steps with anxious haste,
Till finish'd is her daily stage ;

And wearied then, in peace reclin'd,
 Refreshing slumbers are bestow'd,
 That chace from her oblivious mind
 The horrors of the doubtful road,

But still new griefs the day-star brings to me,
 And with increase of woe his parting ray I see.

When rolls the sun his flaming wheels
 To yield to night's returning reign,
 And the vast shadow length'ning steal
 From loftiest mountains o'er the plains
 *The lab'rer takes his rustic arms,
 And, with rude shouts or simple song,
 Winding the various path along,
 Far from his breast all sorrow charms;
 Till on his board coarse viands spread,
 Like those primeval acorns lie
 Which mortals honour tho' they fly,
 And joy appears, and care is fled:

Yet joy no more my suffering bosom knows,
 Nor can the rolling planets bring me short repose.

The shepherd, when yon orb of day
 Sinks like a bird into his nest,
 And eastern skies, in dark array,
 Make contrast with the crimson West,
 Leaving the mead, the grove, the brook,
 Homeward his way contented holds,
 Drives slowly to the evening folds
 His drowsy flock with guiding crook,
 And far from noise reclines secure
 In cave or hut with branches wove;
 Thou, cruel Love! dost then allure
 Still more my wakeful steps to rove,
 Pursuing her, who, like the timid hare,
 Stops but again to fly, and mocks my restless care.

To some calm port by tempests blown,
 The sailor sweet repose hath found,
 On the hard deck his limbs are thrown,
 And rugged garments wrap him round.
 Tho' Phœbus seeks the distant main
 Beyond th' Herculean columns tall,
 And night's kind mantle covers all,
 While men and beasts forget their pain;

* *L'avare rappador l'arme riprende*—probably borrowed from Virgil's *Georgics*,
Dicendum, est quæ sint duris agricolis arma. Mr. Mason in his *English Garden*,
 has adopted the same expression.

"In the waste

"Place thou that man with his primeval arms,

"His plough-share and his spade."

My sorrows still increasing flow,
And each succeeding day is past
In sad excess of bitter woe,
As vain and fruitless as the last!

I ten long years have measured thus in grief,
Unknowing where to seek, or how to hope relief.

Since some small solace thence I find,
Still let me pour the mournful strain :
Lo! where the loosen'd oxen wind
From furrow'd hills wide o'er the plain ;
Yet cease not these heart-rending sighs,
My heavier yoke is ne'er remov'd ;
No respite has this bosom prov'd,
But day and night my tears arise !
Ah me! ill fated was the hour
When first I saw her matchless grace ;
Nor time, nor art, can now have power
The strong impression to efface,
Till seiz'd by death this anxious life is o'er,
Nor am I well assur'd I then shall love no more!

* My song!—if any ask thee, tell
Where now retired I chuse to dwell ;
† In the closed vale where Sorga springs,
While Love alone approaches nigh,
Who to my thought her image brings
For whom all human steps I fly!

THE PROGRESS OF NOVEMBER:

An ODE. By a LADY.

[Communicated by a Friend.]

NOW yellow autumn's leafy ruins lie
In faded splendor on the desert plain,
Far from the noise of madding crowds I fly,
To wake in solitude the mystic strain :
A theme of import high I dare to sing,
While fate impels my hand to strike the trembling string.

* Most of Petrarch's canzones conclude in this manner, with a short address to song in a different measure from the rest of the poem; but this is taken from another of them which pleased the translator better than what followed in the original.

† Vaucluse, elegant descriptions of which romantic spot the poetical reader may find in Sir William Jones's *Laura*, and *Les Jardins de Mons. l'Abbe De Lille*.

Bright on my harp the meteors gleam,
 As thro' the shades they glancing shine ;
 Now the winds howl, the night birds scream,
 And yelling ghosts the chorus join :
 Chimeras dire, from Fancy's deepest Hell,
 Fly o'er yon hallow'd tower, and toll the passing bell.

November hears the dismal sound,
 As slow advancing from the pole
 He leads the months their wintry round :
 The blackening clouds attendant roll,
 Where frown a giant-band, the sons of Care,
 Dark thoughts, presages fell, and comfortless despair.

O'er Britain's isle they spread their wings,
 And shades of death dismay the land ;
 November wide his mantle flings,
 And lifting high his vengeful hand,
 Hurls down the demon Spleen, with powers combin'd
 To check the springs of life, and crush th' enfeebled mind.

Thus drear dominion he maintains,
 Beneath a cold inclement sky ;
 While noxious fogs, and drizzling rains,
 On Nature's sickening bosom lie :
 The opening rose of youth untimely fades
 And Hope's fair-friendly light beams dimly thro' the shades.

Now prowls abroad the ghastly fiend ;
 " Fell Suicide ! " — whom Phrenzy bore,
 His brows with writhing serpents twin'd,
 His mantle steep'd in human gore.
 The livid flames around his eye-balls play,
 Stern Horror stalks before, and Death pursues his way.

Hark ! is not that the fatal stroke ?
 See where the bleeding victim lies !
 The bonds of social feeling broke,
 Dismay'd the frantic spirit flies.
 Creation starts, and shrinking Nature views,
 Appall'd, the blow which Heav'n's first right subdues.

Behold, the weight of woes combin'd
 A " woman " has the pow'r to scorn ;
 Her infant race to shame consign'd,
 A name disgrac'd, a fortune torn,
 She meets resolv'd : and, combating despair,
 Supports alone the ills a " coward " durst not share.

On langour, luxury, and pride,
 The subtle fiend employs his spell ;
 Where selfish, sordid passions bide ;
 Where weak, impatient spirits dwell ;
 Where thought oppressive from itself would fly,
 And seek relief from time, in dark eternity.

Far from the scenes of guilty death,
 My wearied spirit seeks to rest ;—
 Why sudden stops my struggling breath ?
 Why throbs so strong my aching breast ?
 Hark ! sounds of horror sweep the troubled glade,
 Far on a whirlwind borne, the fatal month is fled,

I watch'd his flight, and saw him bear
 To Saturn's orb the sullen band ;
 There winter chills the lingering year,
 And gloom eternal shades the land :
 On a lone rock, far on a stormy main,
 In chestless prison pent, I heard the ghosts complain.

Some Pow'r unseen denies my verse
 The hallow'd veil of fate to rend ;
 Now sudden blasts the sounds disperse,
 And Fancy's inspirations end :
 While rushing winds in vile discordant jar,
 And Winter calls the storms around his icy car.

VERSES on the Death of Miss MARIA BRADSHAW, an amiable young
 Lady who died in the 23d Year of her Age.

By Mrs. MOODY.

[An original Communication.]

*Ma pur che l'alma in Dio si riconforte
 Che altro qu'un sospir breve é la Morte ?* PETRARCA.

COME, sacred Muse, thine aid supply ;
 Come chase the tear from sorrow's eye,
 Inscribe yon urn with soothing rhyme,
 Where youth lies mouldering in its prime.

Though Death thus fades that virgin bloom,
 And bids it wither in the tomb ;
 The gloomy path her steps have trod,
 Conducts MARIA to her God.

On Seraph wings Religion came
 To strengthen Nature's feeble frame ;

Submitted

Submission in her hand she led,
 Resign'd MARIA, bow'd her head.

Support each heaven-born virtue gave
 To guide her through the dreary grave;
 Each Christian grace prepared the way,
 And turn'd its darkness into day.

Angels impatient with desire
 To join her to their sainted quire,
 Watch'd the pale minister of death,
 And eager caught her parting breath.

Methinks thus chants the heavenly train; —

" MARIA dead ——— now lives again.

" Trace her, ye mourners in the sky,

" Enrobed with immortality.

" Exalted there by faith and truth,

" In radiance of celestial youth;

" With harp symphonious in her hands

" Behold your angel sister stands."

MINES intended to represent the Effects of ILL PLACED LOVE.

[An original Communication.]

" Non enim posthac alia calebo

" Fœmina."

" Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; riden

" Simples nymphae; ferus & Cupido,

" Semper ardentes acuens sagittas

" Cote cruenta."

WHO that has seen enchanting Lucy's face?

Whose looks are Loves, whose ev'ry motion, grace,

Would e'er believe, so fair a form could hide,

Envy's slow poison—self-tormenting pride.

Who that has heard her gentle accents rise?

Soft as a love-sick Zephyr's whisper'd sighs,

What time the modest lily of the vale,

Yields to the pressure of the wanton gale;

Would think that Lucy oft a fury raves,

Loud as the blasts that lash the foaming waves.

True she can weep, with tears she can beguile,

Like Egypt's reptile, tyrant of the Nile!

To mischief prone, she glories in a storm!

Yet hell's worst den on wears an angel's form.

Who

Who that has known her maiden wishes fly,
 Cold as the flakes that shroud a wint'ry sky,
 Would e'er suspect a vestal so demure,
 Pants for the pleasures of a low amour;
 Or think her vermil lips when clos'd conceal,
 A scorpion tongue, more fell than murd'rer's steel.
 Lavater's art first dragg'd each vice to view,
 The Muse this sketch, as he describ'd them, drew:
 He show'd her, haughty, cruel, false, and bold,
 A base defamer, and an arrant scold.
 A sceptic still, Lavater I upbraid,
 Nor doubt the honour of my fav'ourite maid;
 Audacious art! enrag'd I frequent cried!
 By fancy foster'd, and matur'd by pride!
 'Gainst gospel rule, that bids us rashly pry,
 And scan a sister's soul with critic eye.
 'Till jealous love impatient of suspense,
 Arm'd with an Argus' ken the pow'rs of sense,
 Nor watch'd they long, ere found a damning proof,
 While trembling love, affrighted stood aloof—
 Oh! for a curse, accorded to my mind!
 With one dread word, I'd blast all woman-kind!
 On the brave ruin, I'd exulting look!
 Proud of the blot I made in Nature's book!
 Genius no more should bow at beauty's shrine
 Nor manly virtue, for an idiot pine!
 To her false vows, I should no longer trust!
 Whose friendship's int'rest! and whose love is lust.
 Thus raves a bard (short quarrel with the fair)
 Who strives in vain to break her silken snare,
 Revokes his curse, her anger to remove,
 Then pours the plaints of undissembled love.

So wounded Anthony in life's last scene
 With tender accents call'd for Ægypt's queen,
 On the fair fiend he fondly fix'd his eyes,
 Since thou art true! the fainting hero cries!
 To Cæsar's fortune! I the world resign!
 And die content, for Cleopatra's mine!

On Afric's coast, where sol's meridan ray
 Shoots down direct—intolerable day!
 Matur'd by heat—the basking serpent lies,
 In many a fold, and darts her diamond eyes;
 Like burnish'd gold her scales reflect the light,
 Arrest the stranger, and infuse delight—
 Near, and more near, he views her splendid form,
 Then madly stoops, and strokes the venom'd worm;
 Pierc'd by her fangs, he fascinated lies,
 Laments his folly, and unpitied dies.

W. T.

SONNET

H
 Her
 Fly
 Whole
 189.

SONNET to JULIA.

[By the Same Hand.]

I Own, victorious maid, thy potent charms !
 They on my passions all defenceless seize !
 If e'er the Muses did thy fancy please,
 Protect their vot'ry from love's fatal harms,
 For poetry his breast with rapture warms ;
 In fearless song thy merit shall be known ;
 To nations yet unborn thy beauty shewn :
 O ! sooth his heart which pants with soft alarms.
 Pierce not a bard submissive to thy pow'r,
 Aid him to 'scape the shafts of Cupid's ire,
 And lead him far from love's enchanted bow'r,
 So shall the Nine his grateful verse inspire,
 Immortal fame they'll give thee as thy dow'r,
 For teaching him to temper fierce desire.

W. T.

SONNET to the MUSES.

[By the Same.]

S Eductive poetry ! I renounce your aid !
 Sincerely sick no succour you impart,
 Pernicious softner of the manly heart !
 With such address your poison is convey'd,
 With such address your boasted help display'd,
 That griev'd I urge the Muses to depart,
 For oh ! I feel fierce love's envenom'd dart,
 Again the Syrens do a most persuade !
 Alas ! they foster it, they cannot cure,
 Augment my passion and my reason blind,
 They promise love's elysium shall endure:
 They promise J. lia will ere long be kind—
 Muses farewell ! your aid but works me wrong,
 Gold wins the fair ! few heed the poet's song.

W. T.

SONNET to HOPE.

[By the Same.]

H OPE that cheers others with delusive views !
 Welcome deceiver ! never visits me,
 Her fairy visions of futurity,
 Fly a sad, pensive, melancholy muse,
 Whose moody workings o'er my mind diffuse

O

Dark

Dark thoughts, that fright the nymph Hilarity,
 Unmeet associate for adversity !
 The path scarce trod, the midnight hour I choose,
 Life's list of ills and follies to survey,
 Behold weak man in quest of trifles toil,
 See Priestcraft all its mummary display
 And Superstition Reason's empire foil,
 But men's foul crimes, such horrors do convey
 I start appall'd and from myself recoil.

W. T

SONNET to MELANCHOLY.

[By the Same.]

COME melancholy for I court thee still !
 As erst come mutt'ring with a downcast eye
 Regardless of yon splendid vernal sky !
 Come ! and of anguish let me take my fill,
 Seize my whole bosom, there in secret kill !
 Far from the haunts of men with thee I'd fly,
 Mature my grief, and when resolv'd to die,
 Fell Suicide, obsequious to thy will,
 Shall haste with stagg'ring step, and haggard look,
 Her bowl well drugg'd, her dagger drench in blood,
 She all impetuous no delay can brook,
 But hurries on the deed in desp'rate mood ;
 To horrid acts woe-haunted minds are driv'n,
 A wounded spirit needs the care of heav'n.

W. T

LINES written by MARY Queen of SCOTS, on the loss of her Husband
 FRANCIS II. of FRANCE, with an English Translation.

[From ANDREW's Anecdotes, &c.]

EN mon triste & doux chant,
 D'un ton fort lamentable,
 Je jette un œil tranchant,
 De perte incomparable,
 Et en soupirs cuisans
 Passe mes meilleurs ans.

Fut-il un tel malheur,
 De dure Destinée,
 Ny-fi triste douleur
 De dame fortunée,

IN melting strains that sweetly flow,
 Tun'd to the plaintive notes of woe
 My eyes survey with anguish fraught,
 A loss beyond the reach of thought :
 While pass away life's fairest years
 In heaving sighs and mournful tears.

Did cruel Destiny e'er shed
 Such horror on a wretched head ?
 Did e'er once happy woman know
 So sad a scene of heart-felt woe ?

Qui mon cœur & mon oeil
Vois en bierre & cercueil ?

Qui, en mon dou pritemns,
Et fleur de ma jeunesse,
Toutes les peines sens
D'une extrême tristesse,
Et en rien n'ay plaisir,
Qu'en regret & desir.

Ce qui m'estoit plaissant
M'es m'est peine dure,
Le jour le plus luisant
M'est nuit noire & obscure,
Et n'est rien si exquis,
Qui de moy soit requis.

Tu cœur, & à l'oeil,
Un portrait & image,
Qui figure mon deuil ;
Et mon passe visage,
De violettes teint,
Qui est l'amoureux teint.

Pour mon mal estrange,
Ne m'arreste en place ;
Mais, j'en ay beau changer,
Ma douleur j'efface ;
Et mon pis & mon mieux,
Et mes plus deserts lieux.

En quelque séjour,
En bois ou en prée,
Pour l'aube de jour ;
Ou soit pour la vesprée,
M'cesse mon cœur sent
Le regret d'un absent.

Par fois vers ces lieux,
M'a dresser ma veüe,
Le doux trait de ces yeux,
Vois en une nue ;
M'adain je vois en l'eau.
Comme dans un tombeau.

Je suis en repos,
M'endormant sur ma couche,
Et qu'il me tient propos,
Et sens qu'il me touche :

For ah ! behold on yonder bier
All that my heart and eyes held dear.

Alas ! even in my blooming hours,
Mid opening youth's resplendent flowers,
I'm doom'd each cruel pang to share,
Th' extremest sorrows of despair,
Nor other joy nor blifs can prove
Than grief and disappointed love.

The sweet delights of happier days,
New anguish in my bosom raise,
Of shining day, the purest light
To me is drear and gloom night ;
Nor is there aught so good and fair,
As now to claim my slightest care.

In my full heart and streaming eyes,
Portray'd by woe, an image lies,
Which sable robes but faintly speak,
Or the pale languor of my cheek,
Pale as the violet's faded leaf,
The tint of love's despairing grief.

Perplex'd by this unwonted pain,
No place my steps can long detain,
Yet change of scene no comfort gives,
Where sorrow's form for ever lies.
My worst, my happiest, state of mind,
In solitude alone, I find.

If chance my listless footsteps leads
Thro' shady groves, or flowery meads,
Whether at dawn of rising day,
Or silent evening's setting ray,
Each grief that absence can impart,
Incessant rends my tortur'd heart.

If to the heavens, in rapturous trance,
I haply throw a wistful glance,
His visionary form I see,
Pictur'd in orient clouds ; to me,
Sudden it flies, and he appears,
Drown'd in a wat'ry tomb of tears.

Awhile if balmy slumbers spread,
Their downy pinions o'er my head,
I touch his hand in shadowy dreams,
His voice to soothe my fancy seems.

Et labeur, en recoy,
Tousjours est prest de moy.

Je ne vois autre objet,
Pour beau qu'il te présente
A qui que soit subjer
Oncques mon cœur consente,
Exempt de perfection,
A cette affliction.

Mets, Chançon, icy fin,
A si triste complainte,
Dont sera le refrain
Amour vraye & non feinte
Pour la séparation,
N'aura diminution.

When wak'd by toil, or lull'd by rest,
His image ever fills my breast.

No other object meets my sight,
Howe'er in robes of beauty dight,
Which to my sad despairing heart,
One transient wish will e'er impart;
Exempt from that unalter'd woe,
Which this sad breast must ever know

But cease my song—Cease to complain
And close the sadly plaintive strain,
To which, no artificial tears,
But love unfeign'd the burthen bears.
Nor can my sorrows e'er decrease,
For ah! his absence ne'er can cease.

VERSES on some Medallions made by Mr. WEDGEWOOD,
Clay, brought from Sydney Cove, and presented to him by
JOSEPH BANKS.

[By Dr. DARWIN.]

WHERE Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,
Courts her young navies, and the storm repels;
High on a rock, amid the troubled air,
HOPE stood sublime, and wav'd her golden hair;
Calm'd with her rosy smile the tossing deep,
And with sweet accents charm'd the winds to sleep;
To each wild plain she stretch'd her snowy hand,
High-waving wood, and sea-encircled strand.
“Hear me (she cried) ye rising realms! record
Time's opening scenes, and truth's unerring word.—
There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,
The circus widen, and the crescent bend:
There raised from cities o'er the cultur'd land,
Shall bright canals, and solid roads expand.—
There the proud arch, colossus-like, bestride
Yon glittering streams, and bound the chafing tide;
Embellish'd villas crown the landscape-scene,
Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between.—
There shall tall spires, and dome-capp'd towers ascend,
And piers and quays their massy structures blend;
While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,
And northern treasures dance on ev'ry tide!”
Then ceas'd the nymph—tumultuous echoes roar
And JOYS's loud voice was heard from shore to shore—

Her graceful steps, descending, press'd the plain,
And PEACE, and ART, and LABOUR joined her train.

SONNET to MAY, from the Second Part of the BOTANIC
GARDEN.

[By the Same.]

BORN in yon blaze of orient sky,
Sweet MAY! thy radiant form unfold;
Unclose thy blue voluptuous eye,
And wave thy shadowy locks of gold.

For thee the fragrant zephyrs blow,
For thee descends the sunny shower;
The rills in softer murmurs flow,
And brighter blossoms gem the bower.

Light Graces dress'd in flowery wreaths
And tip toe Joys their hands combine;
And Love his sweet contagion breathes,
And laughing dances round thy thrine.

Warm with new life the glittering throngs
On quivering fin and rustling wing,
Delighted join their votive songs,
And hail the goddesses of the spring.

DESCRIPTION of DISTRESSES occasioned by the SLAVE
TRADE.

[From STANFIELD's Guinea Voyage.]

IN the thick gloom of yonder pensive shade
Is lost Abyeda's wretched form display'd,
Abyeda, once among the vocal throng
The theme and mistress of each rural song:
Once the blithe leader of each festive scene,
That woke the music of the joyous green.
Ne'er did such nymph before her brightness lave
Within Formosa's deep, translucent wave.
O'er her smooth form grace threw her waving line,
And beauty wandered in the rich design.
Unrival'd long had liv'd the happy maid;
And many a hero had her love essay'd.
But youthful Quam'no was the virgin's pride;
Her friend, protector, and her faithful guide.

Fast by her side he kept his guardian way,
 Least treach'rous Whites should seize the tempting prey.
 The fresh'ning cocoas from their height he bore,
 Clust'ring bananas spread their juicy store,
 The spotted spoils too deck'd her rural bow'r,
 When from the chace, in the dear ev'ning hour,
 Glowing, she met him with the welcome smile;
 Pleas'd, and yet anxious at the manly toil.

' And now through dewy dawn, the rising ray
 Lights up the radiance of their bridal-day.
 With early nymphs within the busy room,
 Amidst the labours of the flying loom
 Of vivid tints she plied the various thread;
 The long-plann'd work to grace the nuptial bed.
 With beating steps resounds the hollow floor;
 To rapid strokes responds the clam'rous door.
 With breathless energy she flies amain,
 To meet her Quam'no and the bridal train.
 Alas! no Quam'no meets her eager eye—
 In rush the spoilers with detested cry,
 Seize with rapacious force the trembling prey;
 And to the shore the hapless maid convey.

' When urg'd by rage, or hunger's burning force,
 The rav'ning lion winds his furious course,
 And through the herd his bloody passage ploughs;
 So Quam'no rushes through the crowd of foes.
 Carves his fierce way, entwines the fainting maid:
 With vain protection;—lo! a treach'rous blade,
 Darted behind him with unerring aim,
 Impales him deep; convolv'd the bleeding frame,
 Plunges indignant o'er the tainted ground,
 Life rolls his torrent through the yawning wound,
 O'er his fierce eyes death's hideous shadows move
 With sable veil, and shut out light and love.
 Abyeda now upon the lifeless form,
 Sinks in despair beneath the trying storm.
 The murd'rous stroke that mark'd his early tomb,
 Involves her intellects in deadly gloom.
 Her wounded reason the sad mansion flies;
 Sense wanders widely, and reflection dies!

' Now (scourges having long their fury spent)
 Gloomy and sad, beneath oppression bent,
 Round her gall'd neck the fest'ring iron winds,
 And to the gloomy mast oppressive binds.
 Sad strains of feeble melancholy flow;
 Half-meaning fragments of recorded woe,
 In wild succession break the pensive lay,
 Through the drear night and lamentable day.

Her sad associates list the melting tones,
 And join each cadence with according groans.
 But sick'ning nature with the burden reels ;
 O'er her wan face the deadly jaundice steals ;
 The spirits die ; the nerveless limbs unstrung ;
 With mortal gripe the wounded heart-strings wrung
 Fix'd her sunk eye—her love-lorn dirty fails,
 Life beats tumultuous 'gainst the feeble pales—
 Convulsive throbs expel the final breath,
 And o'er the fatal close sits ghastly death.

DESCRIPTION of a still SUMMER's EVENING.

{From the VILLAGE CURATE.}

ALCANOR, come, and let us once again
 Descend into the valley, and enjoy
 The sober peace of the still summer's eve.
 We have no blush to lose ; our freckled cheek
 The sun not blisters, nor the night-dew blasts.
 Such is the time the musing poet loves.
 Now vigorous imagination teems,
 And, warm with meditation, brings to birth
 Her admirable thought. I love to hear
 The silent rook to the high wood make way
 With hissing wing ; to mark the wanton mouse,
 And see him gambol round the primrose head,
 'Till the still owl comes smoothly sailing by.
 And with a shrill to-whit breaks off his dance,
 And sends him scouring home ; to hear the cur
 Of the night-loving partridge, or the swell
 Of the deep curfew from afar. And now
 It pleases me to mark the hooting owl,
 Perch'd on the naked hop-pole, to attend
 The distant cataract, or farmer's cur
 That bays the northern lights or rising moon.
 Then let me steal along the woody lane,
 To hear thy song so various, sweet bird,
 The queen of night, transporting Philomel ;
 I name thee not to give my feeble lines
 A grace else wanted, for I love thy song,
 And often have I stood to hear thee sing,
 When the clear moon, with Cytherean smile,
 Emerging from an eastern cloud, has shot
 A look of pure benevolence and joy
 Into the heart of night. Yes, I have stood
 And marked thy varied note, and frequent pause,
 Thy brisk and melancholy mood, with heart
 Sincerely pleas'd. And, O! methought no note

Can equal thine, sweet bird, of all that sing
 How easily the chief! Yet have I heard
 What pleases me still more; the human voice
 In serious sweetness flowing from the heart
 Of unaffected woman. I could hark
 Till the round world dissolv'd to the pure strain
 Love teaches, gentle modesty inspires.

ODES of HORACE, lately discovered in the PALATINE LIBRARY
 at ROME.

ODE I.

Ad JULIUM FLORUM.

Difcolor grandem gravat uva ramum;
 Indiat Autumnus: glacialis anno
 Mox hyema volvente aderit, capillis
 Horrida canis.

Jam licet Nymphas trepidè fugaces
 Insequi, lento pede detinendas;
 Et labris captæ, simulantis iram,
 Oscula figi.

Jam licet vino madidos vetusto
 De die lætum recitare carmen:
 Flore, si te des hilarem, licebit
 Sumere noctem.

Jam vide curas Aquilone sparsas?
 Mens viri tortis sibi constat, utrùm
 Seriùs lethi, citiùsve tristic
 Advolat hora.

ODE II.

Ad LIBRUM SUUM.

Dulci libello nemo sodalium
 Fortan meorum charior extitit.
 De te merenti quid fidelis
 Officium domino rependes?

Te Roma cautum territat ardua?
 Depone vanos invidiæ metus;
 Urbisque fidens dignitati,
 Per plateas animosus audi.

En quo furentes Eumenidum choros
 Disjecit almo fulmine Jupiter?
 Huic ara stabit, fama cantu
 Perpetuo celebranda crescet.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1789.

OUR history of the Domestic Literature of the year 1789, commences, according to our established method, with Theology. In endeavouring to lay before our readers a concise view of the respective publications which have appeared in this department of literature, we shall, in the first place introduce to their notice such works as are connected with sacred criticism. In this number we must class the "New Translation of the Pentateuch; being a thorough Correction of the present Translation, whenever it deviates from the genuine Sense of the Hebrew Expressions, or where it renders obscure the Meaning of the Text; or lastly, where it occasions a seeming Contradiction &c. by Isaac Delgado, Teacher of the Hebrew Language." This work is far from being destitute of merit. In several instances the sense of the original is rendered more faithfully than in our common version; and many of the author's critical notes are ingenious and useful. Some of his alterations, however, tend rather to obscure than to illustrate the sacred text; and his comment is occasionally founded on the absurd explications and doctrines of the Rabbins. Had Mr. Delgado, instead of following such fanciful guides, availed himself of the assistance which he might have de-

rived from the labours of many learned moderns, particularly from the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi, he would not have diminished his reputation as a liberal scholar, and judicious critic.

Of a similar character is "The Pentateuch, or five Books of Moses, in Hebrew, with the English Translation on the opposite Page, with Notes explanatory, practical, critical and grammatical, by Lion Soefmans; corrected and translated by David Levi, in 5 vols. 8vo." Lion Soefmans appears to have been well acquainted with the Talmudical writings: and Mr. Levi is entitled to the praise of diligence and attention, both as translator and editor. The Hebrew characters of this edition are large and beautiful, and accompanied with all the Massoretic points and accents. In the margin we meet with the shorter Massora; and at the end of each volume with the Haphtorath, or such parts of the prophetic writings as are read in the Jewish synagogues, along with relative portions of the law.

"During the present year the public have received from Dr. Geddes, "Proposals for printing by Subscription, a new Translation of the Holy Bible, from corrected Texts of the Originals; with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and

and critical Observations. With Specimens of the Work." Of the principles on which Dr. Geddes meant to proceed in this translation, we took occasion to express our favourable opinion in a former volume, when we announced his "Prospectus" of this work. In an "Appendix to that Prospectus, which was separately published in the form of a letter to the late bishop of London, Dr. Geddes suggested a variety of queries, doubts, and difficulties relative to a vernacular version of the holy scriptures. And we doubt not but that he will join with us in lamenting, that the infirmities and death of the learned prelate deprived the world of the advantages which would have arisen from his endeavours at the solution of them: a province for which he was peculiarly qualified, by his intimate acquaintance with Hebrew literature, strong critical discernment, and delicate taste.—By this Appendix our author has afforded us additional conviction, that he is not deficient in some of the principal qualifications required in a translator of the scriptures. The "Proposals" of Dr. Geddes, beside containing the conditions of subscription, submit to the world specimens of his translation and notes, consisting of the first chap. of Genesis, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chaps. of Exodus, and the sixteenth Psalm. From these specimens the impartial reader will be led to entertain a very high opinion of the learning and industry of the author; and to join with us, in heartily wishing him success in his very laborious and important undertaking. We cannot, however, but express our hope, that the candour and good sense of Dr. Geddes will lead him to retain, as much as is possible, the simplicity of our present ver-

sion; and to admit only of such alterations as a regard to dignity, propriety, or perspicuity necessarily requires.

Mr. Wrighte's "Explanation of the two first Chapters of the Book of Genesis," is a work not undeserving of the attention of the learned world. The author, apprehending that there is little prospect of obtaining an accurate translation of the Hebrew Bible, is zealous in recommending an accurate and literal version of the Septuagint, to be carried on under the inspection and controul of persons properly qualified to superintend and conduct the undertaking; and offers his own tract, not so much as a specimen of such an undertaking, as with a view to convince the reader, that there is nothing incoherent, unintelligible, or absurd, in the short history which Moses gives of the creation. Notwithstanding that we concur with the author in valuing the Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures as a very precious relic of antiquity, yet we can by no means think that the most accurate translation from it would supply the place of one from the original. Neither can we possibly conceive a reason why we may not expect a more accurate and faithful translation from the original than from the Greek version; especially when we consider with what indefatigable assiduity the labours of the first orientalists of the age are employed in establishing the true state of the Hebrew text. With respect to the mode in which Mr. Wrighte has conducted his explanation, although we think that it is sometimes too fanciful and hypothetical, yet it discovers frequent proofs of his abilities and ingenuity: and many of his remarks are instructive and useful.

"In our account of the Domestic

the Literature of the year 1788, we gave some account of the first vol. of "A short and plain Exposition of the Old Testament &c. by the late Rev. Job Orton; published from the author's MSS. by Robert Gentleman." During the present year the editor has published the second and third volumes of that work, which comprehend the books of scripture from Leviticus to II'd Chronicles, inclusive. To the second volume Mr. Gentleman has prefixed a sensible, though plain, discourse of the author, on the usefulness of the historical part of the Old Testament. This discourse was delivered by Mr. Orton at the close of his exposition of that part of scripture; and is very properly published by the editor, at the desire of several of his friends, whom he consulted. With respect to the general merits of this work, we refer our readers to the character that we gave of the first volume, which is applicable to those before us.

Among such publications in this department of literature, as are of superior merit and importance, a conspicuous place is due to "The Four Gospels, translated from the Greek; with preliminary Dissertations, and Notes critical and explanatory, by George Campbell, D. D. F. R. S. E. Principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 2 vols." The first volume consists of a sensible and well written preface, in which the author gives an account of the nature of his work, and obviates the objections which have been made by many well-meaning men against a new translation of any part of scripture; and of twelve preliminary dissertations, which are regular introductions, one to another, and which are intended to explain such circumstances as may enable the readers more justly to appreciate

the merits of the succeeding work. The first dissertation contains observations on the language and idiom of the New Testament; on the diversity of style, and on the inspiration of the sacred writers. The second treats of the cause of the difference of language, and the principal difficulties in translating the sacred books. The third is on the style of the Gospels, and discusses the objections of the celebrated F. Simon against the perspicuity of the Scripture style. The fourth dissertation contains many excellent observations on the right method of proceeding in the critical examination of the books of the New Testament. In the fifth, sixth, and seventh, Dr. Campbell endeavours to ascertain the proper meaning of some particular words and phrases; the differences of some words commonly thought synonymous; and the import of some titles of honour which occur in the New Testament. The eighth and ninth dissertations contain a variety of observations on the manner of rendering some words, to which there are not any that perfectly correspond in modern languages. The two following dissertations point out the chief objects to be attended to by a translator; and the regard which, in translating Scripture into English, ought to be paid to former translators. The twelfth and last dissertation contains a more particular account of what the author has attempted in his subsequent performance. Of these preliminary treatises it is not easy to speak in too high terms. The second volume contains Dr. Campbell's translation and notes. With respect to the translation of the four Gospels, it is, in general, perspicuous, faithful, and accurate. Sometimes we find

find ourselves obliged to dissent from our respectable author, and to call in question the propriety of his alterations of our common version: but the blemishes that we imagine that we perceive in his valuable work, are trifling indeed, when opposed to its preponderating excellences. Dr. Campbell's notes are principally philological and critical. They contain much curious information; and, together with his admirable dissertations, possess uncommon proofs of judgment, learning, candour, and liberality; and establish the author's claim to distinguished honours among the writers in biblical criticism.

In the same respectable list must we place the "Observations upon the Expediency of revising the present English Version of the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; by John Symonds, LL. D. professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge." The chief care of Dr. Symonds, as he informs us in his preface, has been to compare our present version with several translations in different languages, which was actually done by King James's translators; and to point out the principal faults in respect to the language of our own. These faults he classes under the heads of ambiguities occasioned by the antecedents, to which the relatives refer, not being clearly distinguished; of ambiguities occasioned by equivocal words or phrases; of ambiguities occasioned by an indeterminate use of prepositions; of passages ungrammatical; of mean and vulgar expressions; and of obsolete and harsh expressions. Under each of these heads our learned author introduces a number of well chosen instances on which he makes such ingenious and excellent remarks as are well worth the attention of the biblical scholar. After this Dr. Sy-

monds employs himself in establishing the position that a version of the scriptures should be as literal as the genius of the English tongue will allow; and in considering the exceptions to this position, which he exemplifies by a variety of apposite quotations. On the whole, we have seldom met with a work in biblical criticism, from which we have received greater satisfaction than from the observations before us. In every part of them the author's assiduity and learning are conspicuous, as well as his judgment and candour. And we rejoice to find that he has it likewise in contemplation to publish remarks upon the Epistles, if the reception given to the present work should prove encouraging. Of this circumstance we can entertain no doubt; and heartily congratulate the lovers of sacred literature, on the great advantages which they may promise to themselves from the future labours of Dr. Symonds.

Great praise, likewise, is due to Mr. Gilbert Wakefield, for his small, but valuable treatise, entitled "A new Translation of the Parts only of the New Testament which are wrongly translated in our common Version." In this work the ingenious author has displayed much learning, and just critical taste. And, notwithstanding that some of his alterations may appear to us to be needless, or ill founded, we cannot withhold our warm approbation from his design, and general execution. He seems to have paid "a studied attention to general utility and convenience"; and has introduced a variety of corrections and improvements which will be found highly serviceable in establishing the true sense and meaning of the inspired writers.

On the "Actions of the Apostles translated from the original Greek

by the rev. John Willis, B. D.," we cannot bestow the applause which the writings of the last mentioned authors have extorted from us. The text Mr. Willis has divided into four parts; and each of these into a certain number of sections. To every section are added proofs and illustrations, which may rather be considered as a commentary on the text than as affording the reader much critical information. As a translator he is not to be commended either for perspicuity or elegance. His style is uncouth and embarrassed; his phraseology affected and quaint; and his language is, occasionally, an offence against the common rules of grammar. But with all these imperfections, Mr. Willis has, in several instances, given a better version than the vulgar one.

To the number of commentators on the mystical books of Scripture, we have now to add the name of Mr. Cooke, Greek professor in the university of Cambridge, who has published "The Revelation, translated and explained throughout; with Keys, Illustrations, Notes and Comments; a copious Introduction, Argument and Conclusion." After endeavouring to support St. John's claim to this book, and to oppose the opinions of Mr. Lightfoot and Mr. Mede, Mr. Cooke proceeds to lay down his system; from which, as far as we are capable of comprehending it, we are free to acknowledge that we have received no greater light than from the labours of former interpreters. The author, however, is confident that, "with the illumination of God's Spirit," he is in possession of a clue, by the assistance of which he has traced all the mazes of the wonderful labyrinth. Were we to attempt to lay before our readers a general idea of Mr. Cooke's system, we should form

a much larger article than our limits will admit. Those who are fond of mysticism and obscurity, may be assured that they will find in this work abundant food with which to gratify their mental palates. As to our author's style, it is perplexed, inaccurate, and spiritless; and on these accounts well adapted to the nature of his composition.

The first edition of the "Free Enquiry into the Authenticity of the first and second Chapters of St. Matthews, Gospel, &c. by John Williams, LL. D.", was published before the commencement of our annual labours. During the present year a second edition of that work has appeared, with corrections, and considerable enlargements. The object of the author is, to examine into the evidence of the genuineness of these chapters as drawn from history; from the writings of the fathers, orthodox as well as heretical; from ancient MSS. and from the difficulties arising out of the narrative as it stands in the text commonly received, and when compared with the Old Testament history, the predictions of the prophets, and the testimony of contemporary historians. After a liberal and dispassionate investigation of his subject, the worthy author concludes, in language equally modest and candid, that "it would be wrong to pronounce these chapters certainly spurious; but that they should be placed in the same list with other controverted parts of the New Testament, and ought not to be produced as evidence in any point of doctrine not supported by unquestionable parts of Scripture." Without taking it upon ourselves to decide on the merits of the question, we think that the arguments of Dr. Williams on the evidence by which he supports them, are too respectable

ble to be treated with inattention and indifference. The truth of the Christian revelation does not depend upon an implicit faith in the genuineness of these chapters: nor can it be affected by the rejection of them. We could wish, however, to see an able and candid antagonist enter the lists with our author. The question would then be fully and calmly agitated; and the result must be favourable to the interests of sacred literature, and of truth.

The worthy and respectable Dr. Henry Owen still continues his useful labours in the service of divine revelation. The same laudable zeal and acuteness of discrimination which have marked his former critical productions, have been displayed by him, during the present year in a work entitled "The Modes of Quotation used by the Evangelical Writers, explained and vindicated." In this work Dr. Owen chiefly examines those quotations which appear to have been introduced by the evangelists, in order to point out the intimate connection between the events of the life of Christ, and the prophecies recorded in the Old Testament. These our author examines in seventy six different passages, and points out their coincidences and variations. Of these passages he shews that sixty are conformable to some of the copies of the Septuagint in our hands; and the variations in the other instances he satisfactorily accounts for, from evident corruptions of the Septuagint, and from the supposition that the evangelists may have occasionally translated from the original; which supposition he confirms by reference to the Hebrew. The concluding part of this valuable work is employed in proving, that the prophecies in question, were justly applied to Christ, or that they are

to be considered as referring to him rather than to subjects more nearly connected with the times and the situations of the prophets. The well known character of Dr. Owen, and the importance of the subject on which his pen has been employed, will secure to this work a favourable reception from the Christian world.

The "History of Christ, for the Use of the Unlearned; with short explanatory Notes, and practical Reflections by W. Dalrymple, D.D." is entitled to respectful notice, both from the excellent design with which it was compiled by its benevolent and pious author, and its own intrinsic value. The life of Christ is drawn from the evangelists, whose relations are harmonized when they relate to the same event, or connected when they refer to different transactions. In the narrative the language of the evangelists is endeavoured to be accommodated to the class of readers for which the work is principally designed, by short explanatory clauses; and by notes, and reflections which are sensible, pertinent, and useful. To the whole are added the testimonies of early Christian writers, of Jewish and Heathen writers, and of sceptical writers, in favour of the excellence of the Christian dispensation. We heartily recommend the zealous and affectionate labours of this venerable pastor to the acceptance of the public, and to those students in divinity who have not an opportunity of consulting a variety of authors.

As far as industry and a good intention have a claim to approbation, we are willing to award it to the rev. David Simpson, M. A. for his four volumes entitled "Sacred Literature: shewing the Holy Scriptures to be superior to the most celebrated

celebrated Writings of Antiquity, by the Testimony of above five hundred Witnesses, and also by a Comparison of their several kinds of Composition; to which are added Epistles and Extracts from some of the most early of the Christian Fathers, &c. &c." This compilation consists of a vast variety of quotations from authors of all descriptions, who have contributed to the elucidation of the sacred writings both ancient and modern, and of all opinions orthodox and heterodox; which, as it may be supposed, form a strange and heterogeneous mass of reading. We must, however, do our author the justice to believe, from the quantity of materials which he has compressed into each volume, as well as from his own declaration, that he has been influenced by the best motives; and that his grand object was to supply Christians of every rank and degree, with an useful moral and theological repository, on reasonable terms.

The "Remarks on the internal Evidences of the Christian Religion, by Gilbert Wakefield, B. A." &c. are recommended by that learning and ingenuity which distinguish all the compositions of our author; and will be received with pleasure by the friends of Christianity. The evidences to which he particularly directs the attention of his readers, are drawn from the excellence of the Christian morality and doctrines; the conduct of Christ as an instructor, and the temper which he expressed on different occasions; the honesty with which the apostles relate their own failings; the peculiar complexion and phraseology of St. John's Gospel; many incidents interspersed through the writings of the Evangelists, which prove their integrity and truth, &c. &c. On some of these topics, Mr. Wake-

field expatiates in a concise and forcible manner: and draws his conclusions with logical precision, and the most unimpeachable candour and impartiality.

In our history of the domestic literature of the year 1787, we took notice of Dr. Priestley's Answer to the letters of David Levi, in which the Dr. complained of his antagonist's deficiency in candour and learning, and urged the arguments which he had advanced in his first Letter to the Jews, with redoubled force and spirit. During the present year the Jewish champion has once more entered the field with his "Letters to Dr. Priestley, in answer to his Letters to the Jews, Part II. also Letters to Dr. Cooper, in answer to his one great Argument in favour of Christianity from a single Prophecy; to Mr. Bicheno, &c. &c." A considerable part of these Letters is employed by Mr. Levi in attempting to vindicate himself from the charges which Dr. Priestley had brought against him. How far he has succeeded must be left to the dispassionate sentence of his readers. In the objections which our author continues to produce against Christianity we find no new matter. They have been retailed by almost every writer against divine revelation; and have been as frequently confuted as they have been advanced. Mr. Levi's Answers to Dr. Cooper and his other correspondents, are not deficient in ingenuity and shrewdness. He may gain occasional advantage from the too great confidence or want of skill in a newly raised recruit, but he cannot ward off the blows of a practised veteran.

Among the other opponents who have entered the lists with Mr. Levi, Dr. Krauter has shewn a laudable zeal for the honour of the Christian

tian revelation in "A new, succinct, and candid Examination of Mr. D. Levi's Objections against Jesus Christ, and the Gospel History;" and in a "Supplement" to that treatise, occasioned by a gross misrepresentation of it in his letter to Dr. Priestley. But the zeal of this worthy writer is more than proportionate to his adroitness in using the weapons of controversy; and in his Supplement he almost loses sight of that coolness and moderation which are so advantageous to the polemic. It must, however, be acknowledged, that he hath met with strong provocation from his artful adversary.

The "Epistle to the chief Priests and Elders of the Jews, by the Rev. Richard Beere," recommends itself by many sensible arguments, and judicious observations, which have afforded us instruction and pleasure. But the author has in a great measure destroyed the value of his work, by the wonderful predictions with which it abounds, and the fanciful hypotheses which he adopts. That our readers may not suspect us of doing him injustice, it may be proper to inform them of his declaration to the Jews, that there are not thirty years to come ere their restoration shall take place; that Britain is the Tatarish whose ships are to convey them to the land of their fathers; that the present war between the Russians and the Turks is to be the means of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidels; that Rome and the Porte are the Sun and Moon which Daniel tells us shall be ashamed and confounded at the restoration of the Jews; and that these powers are also the beast and false prophet! We will make no comment on these curious and hardy assertions.

Levi's "Discourse to the Nation of the Jews," is the production of

an unknown author, who appears to have assumed a name, under which he probably meant to attract the notice of the public, and to ensure the sale of his pamphlet. As to the object and the opinions of the author, we find ourselves totally incapable of ascertaining them. That he is not a Jew will be concluded from his not considering the present state of the Jews to be a continuation of the Babylonish captivity; and from his thinking that Herod rebuilt the temple of Jerusalem, making a third temple. But it may not be of much importance to enquire into the motives of a writer for appearing in masquerade, whose labours are not distinguished by any excellences in his matter, arrangement, or language.

The author of "An Apology for professing the Religion of Nature in the eighteenth Century of the Christian Era, &c." should rather have entitled his treatise, an attack on the principles of natural religion, and the doctrine of a future state. Taking it for granted that the doctrine of the soul's mortality is incontrovertibly established by the materialists, and that Christianity is undoubtedly, an artful fabrication, he endeavours to prove that it is folly and cruelty to insist on the belief of a future state, and that a firm conviction of what he deems so rational and pleasing a reflection would produce the most salutary effects on the peace of individuals and the prosperity of society. Leaving our author's extravagant notions to be confuted by their own absurdity, we shall only remark, that his publication is distinguished throughout by a self-sufficiency and want of candour which are inconsistent with calm philosophy; and that by no attacking, in an open and manly manner, the strong hold of revelation.

ment, he hath done little towards gaining attention and applause, excepting from those who are the slaves of appetite, who will not, or who dare not enquire and think for themselves. To this piece the author hath added a liturgy which, if intended as a burlesque on liturgies, contains the curious and unaccountable effusions of a mind that is professedly fixed on "intelligible subjects, sensible truths, and useful knowledge".

In controversial Theology, the subjects which of late more particularly engaged the attention of the public were, the various opinions respecting the person of Jesus Christ. To the other names who have stepped forth in defence of the popular and commonly received opinion we have now to add that of Dr. Knowles, prebendary of Ely, who published "Primitive Christianity; or Testimonies from the Writers of the first four Centuries, to prove that Jesus Christ was worshipped as God, from the beginning of the Christian Church." As we took up the work before us with the expectation of meeting with some new authorities, which had not already been produced and investigated by the writers in this controversy, we were not a little disappointed when we found Dr. Knowles treading only the old beaten track. We except, however, from this general remark, his endeavour to trace back the trinitarian doxologies to the usage of the Jewish church, and to derive them from the trisagium in which the prophet Isaiah, vi. 3. represents the seraphim chaunting to each other the glory of God. As far as any arguments drawn from this discovery may be considered to be of weight, the credit of them is unquestionably due to Dr. Knowles. His zeal also in defending the dam-

natory clause of the Athanasian Creed, is an unequivocal proof of his orthodoxy. We only add, that we wish our author had not given us cause to suspect his candour, by insinuating an unsupported charge against the fairness and impartiality of the late excellent Dr. Lardner.

The reasonings of the above mentioned writer have, in part, met with an able and formidable opponent in Mr. Capel Lofft, whose "Observations on the first Part of Dr. Knowles's Testimonies, in a Letter to a Friend," contain a variety of remarks on the authorities which that gentleman hath adduced from the writers of the first century. Their sentiments may be considered as of some weight in the controversy, since any proposition of importance may be expected not to be obscurely and ambiguously intimated by the writers of that early age, but to be explicitly recognised from the first; it ought to prove itself coeval, at least, with the completion of the scripture code. In investigating the arguments of Dr. Knowles, our author uniformly preserves the character of a candid, liberal opponent; and his remarks discover great critical acumen, and extensive learning. In an Appendix and Notes Mr. Lofft enters into a more particular discussion of several collateral subjects, which could only be referred to in the body of his letter.

The "Defence of the Unity of God, in four Letters to the rev. Mr. Harper, &c. by G. Clark," is the production of an author who appears to be well acquainted with the arguments resorted to in this controversy, and to possess a critical knowledge of the original languages of the sacred scriptures. His faith is that of the Unitarians; which he seems to have adopted after a calm,

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deliberate

deliberate enquiry, and with great seriousness of spirit. To this defence Mr. Clark has added Remarks on Mr. Romaine's Sermon on the Self-existence of Jesus Christ, and on the Rev. Mr. Hawkins's Letter to Dr. Priestley, which are written with judgment and precision, and with a temper and spirit that do honour to the author.

"The Replication; or a familiar Address to Mr. William Frend, of Jesus College, Cambridge, by George Townsend," is intended as an answer to Mr. Frend's challenge to Mr. Townsend, 1st, To produce any positive precept in scripture to worship Christ as God, and to pray to him, with examples to support the same. 2dly, To mention the names of a few only of the many persons who, as Mr. Townsend asserted, had left Socinianism for Mahometanism. With respect to the first part of this challenge, our replier has done nothing more than recapitulate, in a confused and incoherent manner, the texts which are usually appealed to by polemical writers. These he has not attempted to illustrate, or to support that sense of them for which he contends, by any new criticisms. But his answer to the second part of the challenge is still more miserably defective. Beside being unable to bring forward the name of a single person who could properly be classed under the required description, he has been guilty of the gross blunder of calling the emperor Julian a Socinian, and, what is still grosser, of calling him a Mahometan, although he died more than two centuries before Mahomet was born. But such ignorance might have been pitied and forgiven, had the author discovered the least traces of modesty or candour. In these qualities, however, he is essentially de-

fective; and in many parts of his pamphlet displays such illiberality and presumption, as must expose him to the severest censure of every impartial and rational mind.

A spirit the reverse of what we have been condemning appears in "A Vindication of the Pre-existence of Christ, considered in a practical View; humbly recommended to the Attention of the Serious, by Joseph Cornish." The principal object of this author is to prove, that our Lord's having had a glory with the Father before the world was, according to the sense in which the advocates for the doctrine of the pre-existence maintain these words, so far from lessening the force and efficacy of his example, affords the strongest motive to his followers, to endeavour after walking, even as he also walked. He further endeavours to shew that the supposition of the consubstantiality which Christ had of his high dignity, renders his humility, his self-denial, his meekness and strong provocations, his benevolence and his submission to the divine will, much more striking and illustrious than on the Socinian scheme. On these topics our author expatiates in a sensible and serious manner; with candour and good temper. The arguments which he uses, and the text of scripture to which he supports them, are such as have been generally adduced by the ablest defenders of the doctrine. His Socinian brethren, however, will except against his construction of scripture; and question the accuracy of his spiritual geography, which places them under the fringe of religion.

The author of "A new Theory of Redemption, upon Principles equally agreeable to Revelation and Reason, in 2 volumes," proposes

establishing

establish an hypothesis which equally avoids the difficulties of the Calvinistic and Arminian systems in explaining the doctrine of original sin, and of the atonement. Our author's system is founded on the supposition that the resentment of God against our first parents, arising almost in the moment of offence, the sentence of death was immediately reversed; Adam and his posterity were permitted to live, and the means of atonement were once adopted. On this foundation he builds his creed, that if Christ had not died, then had all mankind perished; that every faculty and privilege of being that we now possess, is not in any place more plainly said to belong to God, as its creator, than it is in other places to Christ as its redeemer; and that it is no more to be doubted that without his ransom mankind would not have been after the fall, than that without creation they would have been before. This system the author endeavours to support by reasonings on the necessity of atonement *a priori*, from original principles of revelation, and deduction of the same particulars, *a posteriori*, from fundamental principles of nature as well as revelation. To these succeed a philosophical solution of the facts demonstrated; considerations of their influence in a moral view; on the origin of evil, and the necessity of its being without restraint; and an examination of different texts in the New Testament which are supposed to relate to the doctrines of the fall and the atonement. The author of this work, if he hath added nothing very important to the attempts of other writers, and even left his reader dissatisfied with respect to what has been deemed an important inquiry in this controversy, viz. by

what means the atonement was made acceptable to God, is, nevertheless, entitled to the praise of good sense, and ingenuity: and his laborious attempt to free the orthodox system from some of the gloomy ideas which Calvinism has connected with it, is highly to the credit of his benevolence. But we cannot say that we find his arguments sufficiently logical and conclusive to make us converts to his opinions.

The "Attempt to explain some of the Thirty-nine Articles, on scriptural Principles, by a Minister of the Church of England," exhibits to us a modification of those articles, by a curate of the church, when in prospect of a living; who, in an address to some of his ecclesiastical superiors, assures them, that it is only in the sense here given, he can again bring his mind to renew his subscription. One principal design of this publication is, to excite the attention of public characters to the lamentable situation in which many worthy and conscientious clergymen are placed, who enquire into the nature and evidence of our holy faith. The author, after lamenting that since the days of the venerable Hoadley, we have been in a retrograde state with respect to the long wished-for, and much solicited removal of subscription, and conformity to human creeds and articles of faith, urges, in terms which appeal to the compassion and humanity of men in power, the growing necessity of removing such stumbling blocks of human introduction, to preserve the godly simplicity and integrity of ministers, and to prevent the increase of unbelievers. We lament, equally with the worthy author of this tract, the existence of that evil of which he complains; and heartily join in

the wishes of many of the most learned and valuable of the clergy for their speedy removal. If the edifice of the establishment be worth preserving, the necessary alterations which increasing knowledge suggests, instead of injuring the fabric, can only add to its beauty, and secure its permanency.

The "Essays on Religious Subjects, by Joseph Milner, A. M." are chiefly intended as an answer to the Essays of the late Mr. Ludlam, which we noticed in our last Annual Register; particularly, to his Essay on the Influence of the Holy Spirit. In this treatise, Mr. Milner defends the tenets of Methodism with greater appearance of reason and argument than we usually find in the publications of that party. His knowledge and his abilities are much above mediocrity. We wish that we could pay the same compliment to his candour and liberality. But the acrimony with which he treats the memory of Mr. Ludlam, is deserving of severe reprehension. Why cannot the advocates for particular systems of faith, defend their opinions in the spirit of meekness? Is it, because they dread the touchstone of calm investigation? Or is it because they are forgetful of the apostolic admonitions, that we should not set at nought our brother, and that we should judge nothing before the time?

It was with pleasure, that, after dwelling on the enquiries which the last pamphlet suggested, we cast our eyes on a treatise, entitled, "Reflections on Faith; in which is shewn that no Difference of religious Opinions, is any reasonable Ground for disrespect among Men, and especially among Christians." These liberal and candid reflections, which are dedicated to Dr. Horsley, and

Dr. Priestley, if attended to, are adapted to produce the best effects on the minds of theological disputants. They zealously recommend the truly Christian spirit, under the influence of which "whatsoever is illiberal, and harsh, and arbitrary, and uncharitable, will be carefully avoided, as worthy to excite nothing but disgust; and religious merit be allowed not only to be consistent with any difference in particular religious opinions, but even to be derived from the very cause of the difference—a sincere desire and endeavour after information."

The subject of unscriptural doctrines, on which a letter was last year addressed to the Ministers of the Calvinistic Baptists, has engaged the pens of different writers, who have in their turns, attacked and defended that publication. Among others the author of "Remarks on a Letter addressed to the Ministers of the Orthodox or Calvinistic Baptists, &c," endeavours to vindicate the practice of using such doxologies. To his arguments reply has been made in "A Vindication of a printed Letter, &c," and a Review of the Debate now in agitation among the Baptists, &c. It is not our inclination, nor would it be acceptable to our readers, to descend to the particulars of debate. We have noticed the pamphlets in order to preserve uniformity of our literary history, and we take our leave of them, remarking, that in point of argument and weight, the writers against the use of such doxologies are not to be found in scripture, the advantage of their opponents. For they stand on the only true ground, the perfection and sufficiency of the scriptures, without addition of human improvement.

"Antipædoatism examined

a strict Enquiry into the Design and Mode of Baptism, &c. by Edward Williams, in two Volumes," is a publication which does credit to the author's abilities and candour, and bespeaks his intimate acquaintance with the subject on which he writes. He appears to have diligently pursued the question through all its difficulties; and to have suffered none of the objections brought by those who oppose infant-baptism to pass by without being thoroughly sifted and confuted. This verdict we give in his favour, without subscribing to all his ideas on the nature and design of Baptism. The work before us includes, likewise, some judicious remarks on the nature of positive institutions in general, and on human ceremonies in matters of religion, which will meet with approbation from the candid and dispassionate reader.

Dr. Hales, rector of Killesandra, and late fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who in the year 1787 published some learned and ingenious observations on the influence of the doctrine of the pope's supremacy, hath, during the present year, submitted to the attention of the public "A Survey of the Modern State of the Church of Rome," with additional observations on the subject of his former work. In this treatise he delivers the doctrine of the church of Rome, as collected from her canons, authorised catechisms, and orthodox creeds: and he has illustrated these by the concessions of the most respectable and approved writers of that communion, and by a survey of the practice and discipline of that church, through a long succession of ages to the present day. The conclusion which he draws is, that the church of Rome is persecuting and intolerant; and that the latitudinarian

principles which pervade the writings of some Roman apologists of the present day, come to us in a very questionable shape. Notwithstanding that Dr. Hales writes like a scholar and a gentleman, and has avoided every kind of acrimony and abuse, we do not see the advantage which can be derived from such a discussion, at this liberal and enlightened period. If it only tend to establish the conviction, that the power of controuling or interfering with the religious liberties of others should not be entrusted to any religious sect or party, it will be well. But if it should renew and inflame those prejudices which were rapidly declining in the world, and excite the fears and bigotry of the ignorant and uninformed, it would not be an easy task to counteract the evil which it might produce.

Among such theological treatises as relate to subjects of curious investigation, we may rank "A Discourse concerning the Resurrection of Bodies, tending to shew, from the Writings of Heathens, Jews, and Christians, that there are Bodies called our own, which will not be raised from the dead; that there are Bodies properly called our own, which will be raised from the dead. By what means the perfection and Immortality of the Resurrection Bodies are to be obtained, and by whom effected." We have given the title of this pamphlet at length, as it will sufficiently explain to our readers what the author's object is. It would be injustice not to add, that he supports his hypothesis with such powers of reasoning, genius, and learning, as will afford ample gratification to those who may be disposed to peruse his work.

"The Spiritual Body: being an humble Attempt to remove the Charge of Absurdity from the Doctrine

of the Resurrection, &c." is, likewise, the production of a sensible and ingenious writer, though his pages are not adorned with literary honours equal to those of the last mentioned author. His object is to prove, that there is a spiritual body, distinct from the natural body, which exists after death, and will be raised at the last day, when the latter with which it is now interwoven shall be incorporated with the dust. One expression which the author uses, that in what he has written he is sure he could get no assistance from man, will be thought by many to favour either of enthusiasm, or of a very blameable self-conceit.

Spiritualizing the objects and operations of nature hath been a favourite employment with many popular writers. Among the authors who have endeavoured to convey religious instruction in this form, we meet with the name of Mr. Samuel Saunders, whose "Theosophical Essays on the Wisdom and Goodness of God as seen and read in the Process and Operation of Vegetative Nature," will not be unacceptable to the admirers of this species of composition. When we consider the description of readers for which these Essays are intended, we persuade ourselves that it is unnecessary to try them by the rules of criticism, or strictly to examine the justness of the author's analogical remarks.

"The Effusions of the Heart; or heavenly Meditations and devotional Exercises, by Sophronia," contain a number of pious and useful reflections, which appear to have been dictated by a mind which felt the good impressions which it wished to communicate to others. The subjects of them are, the Greatness

of God's Mercy to Mankind; the Promises of God; Afflictions; Heaven; the Sufferings of Christ; the Love of God; and Death.

From the pen of Mr. Whiteley, who has been repeatedly honoured by the Norrison Prize in the University of Cambridge, we have received another valuable little treatise, which hath been crowned with the wreath of merit. The subject of it is, "Voluntary Neglect of any one Duty, cannot be compensated by Strictness of Attention to other Duties." In this Essay the author satisfactorily proves, from the declarations of God's word, and the analogy of his government, the impossibility of compensating evil actions by those that are good. His reasonings are those of a man habituated to thought, and logical deduction; and the language in which they are clothed is chaste and elegant.

The "Address to young Persons after Confirmation, by Richard Watson, Lord Bishop of Landaff," is a publication which reflects the highest honour on the head and heart of that excellent prelate, and which we heartily recommend to the serious perusal of our readers. In this little pamphlet, Dr. Watson exposes, with a masterly hand, the prejudices of scepticism, and the deformity of vice; and recommends religion to the rising generation in a manner that is peculiarly conciliating and impressive. And, while it is written in a style which is sufficiently plain and clear for every class of readers, it is not defective in that strength of sentiment, and energy of diction, which characterize the other productions of the worthy author.

The "Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Sarum &c. by Shute

Stute, Lord Bishop of Sarum," contains the substance of two visitation charges, delivered to the Salisbury clergy. It is divided into four parts, in which the following topics are discussed: Sunday schools; the king's proclamation, and the society for carrying it into effect; the necessary repairs of churches and parsonage houses; the state and management of the fund arising from queen's Anne's bounty; the commutation of tithes for land; the duty of residence; directions to be observed in the appointment of curates; the dress, conduct, and studies of the clergy; the caution to be used in giving testimonials for ordination; and the necessary preparation for taking orders. On each of these subjects his lordship enlarges with good sense and moderation, apparently under the influence of a pious heart, and of a prevalent wish to promote the best interests of truth and virtue. We shall add, likewise, that in every part of this letter he discovers a zealous attachment to the interests of the church of England: so much so, that many will think that he carries it to excess, when, in pointing out the qualifications requisite to the Christian ministry, he seems to lay greater stress on an acquaintance with the Thirty-nine Articles, and with such books as have been written to explain them, than with the New Testament itself. We are persuaded that the worthy prelate hath incautiously fallen into a mode of writing which may bear such a construction; and that, however wedded to the establishment and its system, he is not insensible to the superior regard which is due from himself and his clergy to the interests of Christianity, and to the word of God.

The "Hints submitted to the

serious Attention of the Clergy, Nobility, and Gentry, newly associated, by a Layman," are written with a degree of good sense and liberality, that cannot fail to recommend them to general notice and acceptance. The object of the author is to assist the design of the new association, by pointing out to their consideration some measures which, if adopted, may have a powerful effect in promoting piety and virtue, in discountenancing licentiousness, and in checking the progress of infidelity. These measures are, a more strict attention in the higher ranks to religion in general, and particularly to public worship. And that these measures may be supported by the examples of a very large number of persons of the best character and purest principles of religion, who are at present restrained by their consciences from joining in the established worship, he strongly recommends a revival of our public service and doctrines, that such alterations may be introduced as are inherent and consonant to the principles of the church of England, and to the religion of a Christian protestant. We have seldom met with a publication more interesting than that before us; which appeared to originate in purer and better motives; or which was better calculated to produce the effect designed on unprejudiced and dispassionate minds. We sincerely wish that the governors of our church may improve by these Hints. Should they meet the wishes of the worthy author, we entertain the same conviction with himself, that the interests and credit of the establishment would receive the firmest support, the religious sects and parties which divide the kingdom would be much reduced in number and weight, and the cause

of infidelity and irreligion meet with a defeat, which would be followed by the most important and beneficial consequences. These Hints are said to have been written by a nobleman of distinguished rank.

We consider the public, likewise, to be much indebted to the author of "Private Worth the Basis of public Decency; an Address to People of Rank and Fortune, dedicated to the Bishop of London." This treatise is on the subjects of example, education, family deportment, and gratitude. The exhortations and advices which it contains, are of the most serious and general importance, and originated "in no cynical, invidious, or plebeian motive: but in a sincere conviction that, as the soul is more precious than the body, heaven more desirable than earth, and eternity more momentous than time, the blessings of true religion proportionally transcend all others." The observations of the author are the dictates of knowledge and experience, assisted by a thorough acquaintance with the manners of the higher ranks in life. The manner in which this address is drawn up, is calculated to make impression; and it is farther recommended by a style and language, which are nervous, elegant, and pleasing.

The converts to the faith of baron Swedenborg are active and zealous in disseminating his opinions. During the present year they have extracted from his works, and published, "Passages concerning the Lord's Prayer, and its internal Sense;" "Wisdom's Dictates, or a Collection of Maxims and Observations concerning divine and spiritual Truths, and that Progress of Regeneration, or Renewal of Life from the Lord, which only is truly saving;" and a treatise on "Mar-

riages in Heaven; and on the Nature of heavenly conjugal Love." Our readers are already sufficiently acquainted with the vein of enthusiasm which runs through all the writings of baron Swedenborg. The treatises which we have enumerated above, are not deficient in this quality. It would at the same time be wrong in us not to acknowledge, that they contain many observations which are just and valuable. But we cannot think it worthwhile to be at the labour of extracting these from the crude and incomprehensible system by which they are overwhelmed, when they may be met with in numberless writings easily to be procured, and easily to be understood.

When our account of the sermons of the year 1788 was sent to the press, we had not seen the volume on "The Grounds and Credibility of the Christian Religion preached at the Bampton Lectures by the Rev. Richard Shepherd D. D. F. R. S. Archdeacon of Bedford, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham." In these sermons the author hath prescribed to himself a very extensive plan. His introductory discourse is employed in endeavours to distinguish between the excellence of Christianity, and the variable rule of duty in the pretensions of moral fitness held out by the Deist; and to point out the dissimilarity between the principles of the Gospel, and those of the Nazarenes and Ebionites, and modern Socinians. In the next place Doctor Shepherd proves the existence of God; and severely animadverts on the opinions of those who, while they acknowledge his being, would by limiting his power, deprive him of all proper omnipotence. In the following discourses he insists on the doctrine of a particular as well

general Providence; the obligations of religion; the connection between religion and the social duties; the necessity of a divine revelation; the divine pretensions of the Mosaic dispensation; the general expectation of a Messiah entertained by the Jews, and the erroneous opinions which they had formed of his character: and concludes with an enquiry into the general scope and tenor of the scriptures of the New Testament, respecting the nature and character of Christ. On such a variety of subjects it was impossible for Dr. Shepherd, to take more than a general view of the principal arguments. In executing this task he hath displayed considerable abilities and learning. But we cannot exculpate him from the charge of affectation in the choice and arrangement of his words, and in the manner and style of his discourses. And we cannot but think that he hath injured his cause, when pleading against the Socinians, by the studied harshness of his expressions and the illiberality of his insinuations. Among the sermons of the year 1789, the first place in point of order as well as merit is due to the second volume of "Sermons on different Subjects left for Publication by John Taylor LL.D. late Prebendary of Westminster." The discourses which compose this volume possess similar merit with those in the first. And we meet in them with the same internal evidences of their having been the productions of Dr. Johnson's forcible and instructive pen. For an account of their general merits, we refer our readers to what was said of the former volume in our last year's Register.

The "Discourses on different Subjects, by the reverend Richard Polwhele, in two Volumes," are

entitled to a considerable share of praise. In such of them as are employed on subjects of systematic theology, the author adopts the popular and established opinions; which he accommodates to various scenes that are drawn by him with a masterly hand, and embellished by the powers of a glowing fancy. He hath also discovered much ingenuity and address in his statement of some of the arguments in favour of Christianity; and in his delineation of the beautiful simplicity, and admirable tendency of that religion. But the most acceptable and pleasing of his discourses are those which contain strictures on some of the characters and incidents of the Old Testament history, or which exhibit pictures of modern life and manners. In these the reader will meet with many judicious and useful observations; which display the author's intimate acquaintance with human nature, and may be perused with considerable advantage. With respect to the style and composition of these discourses, it is, in general, chaste and elegant, and exemplifies, with no small success, the precepts laid down by the author in his English Orator.

The four volumes containing "One hundred and twenty popular Sermons, by Philip Pyle, A. M." are employed in a familiar elucidation of the doctrines of natural and revealed religion, and a serious and practical recommendation of the moral duties. Several of these sermons, are the productions of Mr. Pyle's late father, whose merits as a writer are well known, and whose style and manner his son has imitated with considerable success. The reader who shall take up these volumes, not with the view of being entertained by novelty of sentiment, or of being struck with ener-

gy of diction, or beauty of language, but with the expectation of meeting with important and useful truths adapted to the improvement and edification of plain and common understandings, will not be disappointed. And we recommend them as a valuable addition to the stock of sermons designed to be read in families.

The "Twelve Sermons preached on particular Occasions, by the rev. Edward Barry, A. M. and M. D. &c." appear to be the productions of a well meaning and orthodox divine, who hath not made the beauties of language and composition the objects of his study. Hence we frequently meet with such a confusion of metaphors, misapplication of epithets, and gross improprieties of expression, as greatly obscure the merit of the good things which they contain.

The two volumes of "Sermons, by William Leechman D. D. late Principal of the College of Glasgow," will be an acceptable present to the public, who have already passed their favourable sentence on the merits of the excellent author in this species of composition. Nine of the discourses of which these volumes consist were published by Dr. Leechman, and passed through several editions during his life-time; the rest have been selected by the editor from the author's manuscripts. They are all written on important and useful subjects. They are distinguished by great animation and energy of thought; by a spirit of fervent and cheerful piety; and are written in a style that is simple, perspicuous, and pleasing. To these volumes Dr. Wodrow the editor hath prefixed an account of the life of the amiable and pious author; of which we

have given an extract among our Biographical Anecdotes.

"Christ crucified; or the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement, briefly illustrated and defended in four Discourses, by Caleb Evans, A. M." is principally intended to support the Calvinistic doctrine against the arguments of the Socinians. In discussing the question Mr. Evans discovers a manly, but temperate zeal for what he deems to be truth. His language is perspicuous, familiar, and conciliating. And he breathes throughout a spirit of piety and of candour which cannot but secure to him the applause and esteem of those who may differ from him in opinion.

The volume of "Sermons principally addressed to Youth, by J. Toulmin, A. M." is the second edition of an useful little work which first appeared before the commencement of our Annual Register, and which is now increased by the addition of two Sermons never before printed, and some Forms of Prayer. In this publication the respectable and worthy author displays a laudable zeal for the instruction and happiness of the rising generation; and urges on them the excellence of religious practice, by arguments, and in language that are forcible, serious, and pathetic. The prayers will be found admirable helps to rational and fervent devotion.

"The Case of Desertion and Affliction considered, in a Course of Sermons on the first ten Verses of the seventy-seventh Psalm, by John Lavington, jun." is a posthumous publication, which the piety and good intentions of the author may recommend to his surviving friends. The apology for offering these Discourses to the public eye, dressed as they are in the uncouth garb of the

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last century, is the earnest request of one who had found so much support from them, in a long confinement, that she earnestly desired that they might be printed for the benefit of others in like circumstances.

The year 1789 hath been unusually fruitful in single sermons. We can, however, particularize only such of them as are entitled to attention from the occasions on which they were delivered, or the eminent character of the preacher. The first which we shall mention is that "preached before the Lords, &c. in the Abbey Church of Westminster, January 30, 1789, by George Lord Bishop of Lincoln." In this discourse the bishop freely acknowledges that Charles the First showed the most unconstitutional principles; that he manifested a determined contempt for the dearest rights and most valuable privileges of the people; and that it, therefore, became the duty of every individual to check the progress of his pernicious measures. He likewise acknowledges, that many who took a leading part in the beginning of the troubles of his reign, were actuated by the purest motives; their only wish being to save the constitution, by restraining the king's authority within its due bounds. After such liberal concessions the most determined foe to tyranny will readily excuse the harsh epithets which he applies to the transactions of the 30th of January. On the whole, this discourse abounds in many sensible and just observations, congenial to the spirit of the British constitution, and delivered in elegant language.

The next single discourse which claims particular notice, is that preached at the Cathedral church of St. Paul, London, before his Majesty, and both Houses of Par-

liament, on Thursday April 23, 1789, by Beilby, Lord Bishop of London." The subject of this sermon is Trust in God, which the bishop hath applied with a great deal of delicacy and pathos to the important and interesting occasion on which it was delivered. And it is recommended, not only by the judgment and good sense, and the chastity and elegance of composition which it discovers, but by a vein of rational and manly piety, which runs through the whole.

In addition to the single sermons already mentioned we shall only add to our list "A Discourse on the Love of our Country, delivered on November the 4th, 1789, at the Meeting-house in the Old Jewry, to the Society for commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain &c. by Richard Price, D. D. LL. D. F. R. S. &c." In this Discourse the respectable and learned author displays his well known zeal for civil and religious liberty: and draws a just distinction between that love of our country which is false and spurious, and that which is just and reasonable. After which he is led to enquire what are the chief blessings of human nature; which he explains to be Truth, Virtue and Liberty. These he warmly recommends to his audience, assuring them, that the strenuous and active support of them is the surest means of manifesting the love of our country, and of promoting its welfare. To say that this discourse is sensible, liberal, and manly, is no more than what is due to all the productions of Dr. Price. It is also peculiarly animated and eloquent. The reflections, in particular, on the state of things in a neighbouring kingdom glow with uncommon fire and energy. To the latter editions of this Sermon are added many flattering testimonies

testimonies of applause for the good Doctor's zeal in the cause of liberty, from the national assembly, and from other patriotic societies in France.

Among such publications as are of a Metaphysical nature, the first that engages our attention is a "Collection of Tracts Ethical, Theological, and Political, by Thomas Cooper, Esq. Vol. I." The volume before us contains five tracts. In the first Tract, which is on Moral Obligation, the author examines the hypotheses of the different writers who have resolved the source of it either into the will of the Deity, the eternal fitness of things, the moral sense, or utility. After preferring his objections to these different opinions, in a manner that discovers great abilities as well as an intimate knowledge of the subject, he concludes with delivering his own, which resolves the source of moral obligation into private interest or happiness. In the second Tract, Mr. Cooper examines the question, whether the Deity be a free agent; in which, taking it for granted that the necessary determination of the will in human conduct is fully established, he is led by analogy to extend this notion to the determinations of the Supreme Being. The third Tract contains a short and accurate view of the controversy on the subject of materialism; of which doctrine our author is an able supporter. In the fourth Tract, which discusses the subject of identity, after giving a brief history of the controversies which have arisen from it, and particularly examining the opinions of Mr. Locke and Dr. Butler, Mr. Cooper proceeds to state his reasons for insisting on its non-existence. These he draws from the consideration that

our sensations and ideas, at any two periods of time, are never precisely the same; from the nature and known properties of all external objects, which are continually changing; and from various other considerations. The last Tract contains a summary of the arguments in favour of the Unitarian system. From this view of the subjects treated of in this volume of Tracts, our readers will perceive that the author indulges to the utmost freedom of enquiry on questions which have employed the pens of some of the ablest writers which this country hath produced. And we must do him the justice to acknowledge, that he is not unworthy of being added to their list. Whether the opinions for which he contends be true or false, he supports them like a fair and manly disputant, and with a degree of ingenuity and acuteness which must command respect when they may not produce conviction.

The next publication, though it be of a more miscellaneous complexion, cannot with propriety be referred to any other department in our history of Literature. It consists of "Essays, Philosophical, Historical, and Literary." The most valuable of these Essays which are devoted to subjects of Philosophy, contain a concise and impartial view of the controversy relating to Liberty and Necessity, and Materialism; a Defence of the Study of Metaphysics against the Objections of Mr. Knox; and several acute observations on that celebrated chapter of Mr. Locke's Essay of the Understanding, which treats of Power. Beside these, the volume before us contains two excellent treatises on Government and Civil Liberty, which defend the principles of Mr. Locke against the attack of the late Mr. Jenyns. The

other Essays, though not possessing equal merit, are, in general, deserving of praise, as sensible and well-written productions; and we recommend them, not only for their literary excellence, but for their useful moral tendency.

Our attention, in the next place, is drawn to such of the publications of the year as are to be referred, partly to the Ethical Class, and partly to the Treatises relating to Government, Jurisprudence, and Political Economy. In this list the first place is due to "An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation, by Jeremy Bentham, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq." These principles were originally intended by the author as an introduction to a plan of a penal code; and are published by him, as preparatory to, and necessary to illustrate the doctrines of other treatises, which are either in manuscript, or already printed. In this work our author examines, in the first place, the great principle by which a legislator, or a judge, ought to be directed in the framing and interpreting of penal laws; which is utility. After pointing out the advantages of this principle, and taking notice of certain false principles which have been substituted in the room of utility, he proceeds to examine the circumstances which ought to direct its application to particular cases; to specify those particular actions upon which punishment ought to be inflicted; and the proportion between punishment and offences. To these subjects he devotes several separate chapters, which include much curious and important matter. Having thus prepared his way for what appears to be his principal object, Mr. Bentham proceeds to a division and arrangement of offences, which are classed under the heads

of private, semipublic, self-regarding, public, and complicated, or offences by falsehood, and offences against truth. These classes are again subdivided by the author into a great multiplicity of branches, which are intimately connected with each other, and of which our limits will not permit us to give a minute analysis. Such are the outlines of Mr. Bentham's very elaborate work, in which he may, perhaps, be thought, sometimes to refine too much, and unnecessarily to increase the divisions of his subject: so much so as to involve it in obscurity. On the whole, however, it will be universally acknowledged, that it does great honour to his abilities, industry, and philosophical spirit.

The "Observations on Mr. Paley's Theory of the Origin of Civil Government, and the Duty of Submission," contain a spirited and successful attack on the political opinions of the archdeacon. In his Treatise on the Origin of Civil Government, Mr. Paley had endeavoured to prove, that all government was originally patriarchal or military; that the idea of a social compact was a visionary hypothesis; and that the ground of the subject's obligation is, the will of God, collected from expediency. These positions the ingenious author of the Observations examines with great acuteness and ability; and, beside controverting them by the most powerful and convincing arguments, adduces striking instances from the history of nations, in which the outlines of the social compact are distinctly, though rudely delineated. On the whole, we give our hearty assent to the admirable reasoning of the author, by which he satisfactorily confirms the doctrine of Mr. Locke; and we think him entitled to warm commendation.

commendation for his style and language, which are highly elegant, animated, and energetic.

The attention of the public is also due to "The Principles of Moral Philosophy investigated, and briefly applied to the Constitution of Civil Society; together with Remarks on the Principles assumed by Mr. Paley, as the Basis of all moral Conclusions, and on other Positions of the same Author, by Thomas Gisborne, A. M." In this treatise the author, in a chain of masterly and candid reasoning, shews that the principle of expediency, which is the basis of Mr. Paley's moral reasoning, is liable to continual misapplication; that, in many cases, it leads to conclusions unfavourable to human happiness; that it is inconsistent with the precepts of scripture; and that it never was designed, nor can possibly be adopted, as a proper regulation of human conduct. After this Mr. Gisborne endeavours to establish a number of propositions relative to the natural rights and obligations of men, which he applies to the constitution of civil society. From these propositions he draws the conclusions, "that the only just foundation of civil government, is the consent of the governed; and that every man capable of moral agency, is originally possessed of various rights by the immediate gift of God; rights which no stipulations of his ancestors can shackle and abridge, nor can any power justly infringe against the consent of the possessor, until he has forfeited them by his crimes." This system Mr. Gisborne illustrates with good sense and perspicuity; the arguments by which he supports it are nervous and pointed; and the language which he uses is correct and pleasing.

The "Lectures on Political Principles; the Subject of eighteen Books in Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws; read to Students under the Author's Direction, by the Rev David Williams," contain a number of miscellaneous observations on the writings of that celebrated politician; many of which are honourable testimonies to the author's acuteness, and diligence of investigation. Several of the mistakes into which Montesquieu fell are corrected in these Lectures; particularly the errors in that part of the Spirit of Laws which relates to the British constitution. But we cannot say that Mr. Williams is always successful in his remarks; neither do we admire the imperious and dogmatical spirit in which they are frequently conveyed.

The publication entitled, "Political Reformation on a large Scale; or a Plan of an House of Commons, &c." is the first of a series of plans which the author would recommend to his countrymen; and which he accompanies with a number of reflections and arguments that deserve attention. The principal outlines of his scheme are, that no men who hold offices or emoluments, mediately or immediately from the crown, be at the same time members of the house of commons; that all men of eighteen years of age and upwards, of every denomination of religion, aliens as well as natives, be invested with the right of voting for members of the house of commons; that the kingdom be divided into five hundred and fifty-eight districts, each comprehending as equal a number of electors as possible; that the election of members of the house of commons be annual, and oftener, if necessary; and that the general annual election be holden in all the districts

districts of the kingdom, on some stated day, commencing at sun-rise, and finally closing at sun-set on the same day. Such discussions as that of our author, whether the general theory which they contain be reducible to practice, or otherwise, may have the good effect of suggesting important reforms in the abuses which take place in the best regulated constitutions, and have, on that account, a claim to a candid construction, and a dispassionate hearing.

The "Appendix to the History of the Revenue of the British Empire, by sir John Sinclair, Bart." is complete with valuable and interesting information. In our account of the literature of the year 1785, we announced the author's publication of the first and second parts of his History, and his conditional promise of a third part, to complete his work. From the Preface to this Appendix we learn, that it is now three years since the concluding part of the History of the Revenue of the British Empire was prepared for the press; and that the publication of it has been delayed, from the hopes of receiving every assistance which the records of the different offices could furnish, to render it more worthy of the attention and favour of the public. We are sorry that the worthy baronet has had reason to complain of the disappointment of these hopes; and that he should, by any means, or from any motives, have been debarred access to the most authentic sources of information. In confidence, however, that succeeding administrations will afford him the advantage which he requires, he is induced to defer the publication intended for some time longer; and in the mean time presents the public with this Appendix. We shall lay the substance of the

contents before our readers; assuring them that they may promise themselves much gratification from the perusal of a work which is entirely composed of curious and important particulars, that discover great political judgment, and indefatigable assiduity. The Appendix is divided into five parts. No. I. contains a general view of a proposed analysis of the sources of public revenue. No. II. is a catalogue of the works which have been printed in the English language, upon the subject of finance, together with a list of such foreign publications as regard the revenue of this empire. No. III. contains an abstract of the prices of the different stocks since the year 1730. No. IV. is entitled an Antidote to Despondency; or progressive Assertions, from respectable Authorities, tending to prove that the nation was actually undone prior to the Revolution in 1688; and that it has remained in a state of ruin and decay ever since that memorable æra. No. V. exhibits a state of the public income and expenditure during the reign of King William.

The "Extra-official State Papers, addressed to Lord Rawdon, and the other Members of the two Houses of Parliament, associated for the Preservation of the Constitution, and promoting the Prosperity of the British Empire," are offered to the public eye by Mr. Knox, who was deputy-secretary of state under lord George Germaine, and other principal secretaries in the American department. The original object of the publication was, to furnish lord Rawdon with an account of the several transactions in which Mr. Knox had been engaged respecting this country, Ireland, and America; and to acquaint him with the plans which had been formed, by

different ministers, respecting the interests of this country, and its various dependencies. In these papers we meet with much information on different political subjects, intermixed with narratives and anecdotes which will gratify the curiosity of the reader. They also contain several proposals and plans relative to public matters, of a commercial and æconomical nature, which appear to have originated in the purest and most patriotic motives; and to be the result of extensive knowledge and experience.

The "Discourse containing a Summary of the Proceedings of the Directors of the Society for extending the Fisheries, and improving the Sea-coast of Britain, since the 25th of March 1788, by George Dempster, Esq; together with some Reflections intended to promote the Success of the Society, by John Gray Esq." are honourable evidences of the zeal and assiduity with which those gentlemen apply themselves to meliorate the condition of their miserable fellow-subjects in the Highlands, and to advance the improvement of their country. To Mr. Dempster, in particular, the national gratitude is due, for the benefits that are likely to result from his public spirit, and patriotic conduct. In this elegant and useful pamphlet, beside the account of the proceedings of the society of fisheries, the reader will meet with many particulars respecting the northern parts of the island, which are highly interesting and important, and which we heartily recommend to the attention of our countrymen.

The cause of humanity is likewise much indebted to the founders and supporters of the Philanthropic Society, whose "First Report" has been submitted to the public during the present year. This society is

formed rather on principles of police than of charity. The promoters of it seek for wretchedness in its last and lowest stages. Their object is, to snatch children from the "resorts of the vicious and profligate, where they must inevitably imbibe the contagion of moral turpitude; to restore them to civil community, to their proper condition as men, and to the right knowledge of their God." It is with great pleasure that we learn from the report, that the benevolent endeavours of this society have been rewarded with the most flattering success; and that in a few months only it hath advanced to an extent which has seldom been exceeded in as many years, and is still making a rapid progress. And we partake in the hope which the friends of this institution indulge, that from the establishment of similar plans "co-operating with a general spirit of reform and diffusion of just sentiments that everywhere appear particularly from the good effects of Sunday schools on the poor of less depraved description than those for whom the present plan is designed, human nature will, at length assert her rights, society learn true interests and the sum of happiness be augmented beyond what has been known in any former period of the history of mankind."

The "Essay to direct and extend the Enquiries of Patriotic Travellers, by Count Leopold Berchtold, Knight of the military Order of St. Stephen of Tuscany, &c. in two vols." is a work perfectly novel in its design, and executed by a person of experience and judgment. To rational and scientific travellers who go abroad in pursuit of valuable knowledge, it will prove an acceptable present, and most useful companion. The object of the

author will sufficiently appear from what we shall further extract from the title of this work, that it contains "Observations on the Means of preserving the Life, Health, and Property of the Inexperienced, in their Journeys by Land and Sea; also a Series of Questions, interesting to Society and to Humanity, necessary to be proposed for Solution to Men of all Ranks and Employments, and of all Nations and Governments, comprising the most serious Points relative to the Objects of all Travellers; with a list of English and Foreign Works intended for the Benefit and Instruction of Travellers, and a Catalogue of the most interesting European Travels, from the earliest Times to September 1787."

The "Remarks on the Coinage of England, from the earliest to the present Times, by Walter Merrey," are the productions of a sensible and intelligent writer, who calls the attention of the public to a subject of considerable moment and importance. The scarcity, and the corrupt state of the silver coinage are sufficiently notorious. These evils our author traces to, what appears to be their true source, the disproportion between the standard values of gold and silver, and the too high price of the former metal: the consequence of which has been a ruinous exportation of our good silver. To remedy this evil he proposes a reduction of the nominal value of the guinea; which, he thinks, would keep gold and silver at their proper level. Might it not be safer and more expedient to lower the standard of silver? Whichever is deemed best; the facts which the author adduces merit the attention of government; and his reasonings are judicious and weighty. In an appendix to this treatise Mr. Merrey discovers a considerable ac-

quaintance with ancient coinages.

The "View of the Importance of the Trade between Great Britain and Russia, by Anthony Brough," contains a popular representation of the advantages derived to this Country by our imports from Russia, in which the author hath liberally availed himself of the assistance of Mr. Coxe and Sir Josiah Child, and other eminent writers on commerce and political œconomy. We think, however, that he should have dwelt more fully and explicitly on the advantages to Russia from the commerce with the British dominions. Such a representation would have enabled the reader more accurately to determine its relative and political importance. In reply to the question of Mr. Brough, why then does not this country renew the treaty with Russia? it would probably have suggested the question, why then does not Russia endeavour to renew the treaty with Great Britain?

Mr. Beaumont's "Treatise on the Coal Trade," after pointing out the difference between the mines of England and Scotland, with their respective products, shews the advantages which the coals of this island possess over those of Germany and France, when applied to the working of metals, and to manufactures in general: to which he adds practical rules for the better working of our mines. To these succeed proposals for taxing the coals exported into foreign countries; for the more equable extension of the tax of one shilling per chaldron, which is at present confined to the river Tyne; and for settling the differences between the coal owners and the London buyers in such a manner, as would afford a reasonable profit to all concerned in the trade, and supply the metropolis

ropolis regularly, and at a moderate price, the whole year round. As we profess ourselves incompetent to determine on the importance and feasibility of these propositions, we must leave them to the consideration of government, and those whom they more immediately concern.

The subject of imprisonment for debt, which hath lately employed the pens of several able writers, is discussed in a dispassionate and sensible manner in "A Letter to the right. hon. Lord Thurlow, Lord High Chancellor of England, on the Conduct of Parliament towards the insolvent Debtors, and Imprisonment for Debt &c. by I. Piesley, Citizen and Scrivener." The proposal of this author is, that instead of the present mode of imprisonment, attachments should be issued against the effects of the debtor, on an affidavit being made of the debt, and security given by the creditor to substantiate his demand before a jury. That if bail be not put in, within a certain number of days, the effects to be sold to the amount of the debt and costs, unless the debtor shall declare himself insolvent; in which case the creditor must take an equal dividend with all the other creditors, after having been allowed the expences which he has incurred. He farther proposes that the insolvent debtor shall be made subject to all the penalties of the bankrupt laws, and on a full disclosure be entitled to the same immunities. The plan which Mr. Piesley would recommend appears to us to be founded in humanity, and good policy; and we hope that the spirit of it will be adopted in the long wished for alteration of the laws respecting insolvent debtors.

"Imprisonment for Debt unconstitutional and oppressive; proved from the fundamental Principles of

the Constitution, and the Rights of Nature, by Edward Farley, Esq." is a spirited and well written treatise in which the author hath intermixed with his arguments a variety of anecdotes, and political strictures which will entertain his reader. We think, however, that we perceive in him too uniform a prejudice against the law and its practitioners to pronounce him an impartial and dispassionate writer. His attacks sometimes, appears to be personal as well as unreasonable severe.

The "Address to the Country Gentlemen of England and Wales, by James Bland Burges, Esq. M. P." calls their attention to the enormous abuses attendant on the county courts. These courts have a power of holding pleas for sums under forty shillings; and, if properly conducted, might prove extremely beneficial to the poor and industrious part of the community, by enabling them to recover their just debts, in a cheap and easy manner. As they are conducted at present however, they are too frequently converted into engines of legal rannery and oppression. To excite the attention of the landed gentry to this evil, Mr. Burges, in animated terms, points out the manner in which, through the villainy of attornies, the costs have been made to amount to more than a hundred times the sum demanded, and exposes to the indignation of his readers, that species of justice which effectually ruins both parties while nine times out of ten, commits the one party to gaol, and obliges the other to fly his country. Mr. Burges's humane attention to the cause of the poor and the oppressed, does him the greatest honour; and we doubt not but that his endeavours to remedy the evil which he describes, will be supported by the

manity and justice of British senators.

With respect to such publications on the subject of law, as are intended for professional men, we must content ourselves with barely laying the titles of them before our readers. Of this number are "Reports of the Proceedings in Committees in the House of Commons, upon controverted Elections, had and determined during the present Parliament, vol. II. by Alexander Luders, Esq." "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Common Pleas, from Easter Term 1788, to Trinity Term 1789, both inclusive; in three Parts, by Henry Blackstone, Esq." "Cases in Crown Law determined by the twelve Judges, by the Court of King's Bench, and by Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and general Gaol Delivery, from the 4th Year of Geo. II. to the 29th Year of Geo. III. by Thomas Leach, Esq." "Reports of Cases in Chancery, to the 29th Geo. III. by W. Brown, Esq." "a Treatise of the Law of Election in all its Branches, by John Simeon, Esq.;" "Essays upon the Law of Evidence, new Trials, special Verdicts, Trials at Bar, and Repleaders, by John Morgan, Esq.;" "Reports of Cases upon Appeals and Writs of Error in the High Court of Parliament, from the Year 1697 to the Year 1709, with Tables, Notes, and References, being a Supplementary Volume to Brown's Cases in Parliament, by Richard Colles, Esq." "An Abridgment of the Statutes relating to Scotland, in two vols. 4to. by J. Swinton, Esq." And "An Institute of the Law relating to Trials at Nisi Prius, by Arthur Onflow, Esq. a new Edition with Alterations and Additions."

To these we may add the following treatises which chiefly refer to the mechanical part of the law:

"An Analysis of the Practice of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, with some Observations on the Mode of passing Fines and Recoveries, by Baker John Sellon, Esq." "A full, clear and familiar Explanation of the Law concerning Bills of Exchange, Promissory Notes, and the Evidence on a Trial by Jury relative thereto, with a description of Bank Notes, and the privilege of Attornies, by Peter Lovelace, Gent.;" "A Short Treatise on the Law of Bills of Exchange, by I. Bailey.;" "The law of Distresses for Rent, by T. Woodward.;" and the "Considerations on a Commission of Bankruptcy; in which the several Advantages and Disadvantages attending the Recovery of Debts by a Commission, according to the situation of the Person and Estate of the Creditor and his Debtor are stated and compared."

In pure Mathematics, we meet with "Elements of Geometry; containing the principal Propositions in the first six, and the eleventh and twelfth Books of Euclid; with Notes critical and explanatory, by John Bonnycastle, of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich." The design of the author in this publication is, to bring the essential principles of the science into a shorter compass, than as they now stand in Euclid's Elements. For this purpose he has omitted many propositions, which have been introduced only as necessary links in the chain of reasoning, and substituted others in their place, which appear to him to be more useful and concise. He has, likewise, introduced several alterations in the arrangement of the propositions, and the mode of demonstration. Great praise is undoubtedly due to Mr. Bonnycastle for his endeavour to render the sub-

lime science of geometry more easy of access to learners; and to convey its precepts in concise, unembarrassed, and elegant language. In these respects he hath greatly the advantage of most writers who, in latter times, have attempted that arduous task. He hath also the merit, while introducing several amendments, to keep closer to the manner of Euclid. But we are apprehensive that his fondness for contraction hath occasionally betrayed him into obscurity; and led him to omit some parts of his original, which those who have pursued the science to any extent will consider as highly important, and necessary to a fundamental treatise.

Those gentlemen who are in military departments will obtain a valuable acquisition in "The Field Engineer, or Instructions upon every Branch of Field Fortification, demonstrated by Examples that occurred in the Seven Years War between the Prussians, the Austrians, and the Russians, with Plans and explanatory Notes;" translated from the fourth edition of the German original of captain Tielke, by Edwin Hewgill, Ensign and adjutant in the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards. To the extraordinary merit of captain Tielke in military tactics, we have given repeated testimony. Of the translation before us it is but justice to say, that it contains a number of improvements of the original, which Mr. Hewgill was enabled to introduce from the explanatory communications which he had with the author; and that it is, in general, accurate and perspicuous. The numerous plates which accompany this translation are executed upon an enlarged scale, and are neatly engraved; and the whole work is to be commended for its typographical excellencies.

"The Partizan in War; or the

Use of a Corps of Light Troops to an Army, by Lieut. Col. A. Emmerich," contains a number of clear and useful rules, adapted to most of the situations likely to occur in actual service, which are deserving of the attention of young officers, and of military men in general. These rules are illustrated by examples of their application taken from the author's own conduct as well as the conduct of others. It is proper to add, that the author of this performance is an officer of considerable experience, who was formed in the schools of Prince Ferdinand and the Duke of Brunswick, in the seven years German war, and served with great reputation in the British army during the late war in America.

The "Sea Manual; recommended to the young Officers of the Navy, as a Companion to the Signal Book, by Sir Alexander Schomberg," contains a variety of useful information, comprized within a narrow compass, and drawn up with clearness and perspicuity. Sir Alexander supposes a squadron to be in all possible situations, from the shifting of winds, or the alteration of position in the enemies fleet; and gives directions for preserving the order of sailing, line of battle, &c. in a manner designed to render the captain of each ship "so well trained as to meet the admiral's idea, and render unnecessary that profusion of signals, which must otherwise follow in detail, should his intention be, by any accident, misconceived." While all our neighbours are extending their scientific acquaintance in this line, it is of importance that every professional work should meet with encouragement which has for its object the preservation of that superiority in maritime affairs, which is so necessary to the political existence of this country.

With the last observation in view, we recommend Captain T. West's "Naval Signals, constructed on a new Plan." It is well known to gentlemen of the navy, that a more complete set, than is at present in use, is a very desirable object. The signals which Captain West proposes, appear to be simple, and to deserve the attention of the admiralty board. A plate of these, with proper explanations, accompanies his pamphlet.

"The Rudiments of Ancient Architecture; containing an Historical Account of the Five Orders, with their Proportion, and Examples of each, from the Antiques, &c." are intended chiefly for travellers and gentlemen, whose desire is rather general information, than the minutiae of the science. In this view the publication before us, will be found a perspicuous and useful compendium of the knowledge necessary to understand the writers on that subject. These Rudiments are illustrated by plates, which appear well adapted to the design of the work, and a dictionary, explaining the terms used by artists.

[In our last volume the various claims, of different academical collections, made us anxious to defer the considerations of the new volume of the Irish Transactions; and, at this time, though a second has appeared, we believe within the period of our enquiries, yet as it has not circulated among many readers, we must beg leave to confine ourselves to the first. In the literature of the year, we cannot always omit our examinations, by the precarious and uncertain date of advertisements. The new observatory at Trinity-college, Dublin; of which Dr. Acher gives some account, and whose latitude and lon-

gitude he has fixed with precision, to compare the astronomical observations, in this new building, with those of other countries, is not only the first article in the volume alluded to, but deserves, from its future importance, to be first noticed. It gives value and importance to the same author's "observations on the lunar eclipse of the 18th of March, 1783." Mr. Herschell, in the Philosophical Transactions of this kingdom, has improved our knowledge of the heavenly bodies, by his "Catalogue of a second Thousand new Nebulae." When we consider how few *nebulae* were formerly known, the extent of his researches will be more conspicuous; and while we reflect that each *nebula* is not only a system of planets, but a collection of innumerable systems, each with its attendant worlds and satellites, our ideas of the Creator will be raised to a height which the warmest imagination cannot reach. Our author, in the remarks on a construction of the heavens, added to this paper, has shewn, that he can not only number systems, but supposing the laws of nature observed here, to prevail through the universe, can explain their forms, and comparatively at least, calculate their *eras*. The last year was however destined to disgrace, rather than to add a lustre to astronomy, for the comet expected did not appear. Mr. Herschell indeed, discovered and observed a little comet, which he described in the Philosophical Transactions of last year; and Sir Henry Englefield, early in the year, published "Tables of the apparent Places of the Comet of 1661, and 1789, with a new Method of using the *reticule Rhomboide*;" but his labours were fruitless, and the present year has not consoled us, by enabling astronomers to point out the

source of errors, since the comet has not returned. Mr. Woolaston's preface to a "Specimen of a general Astronomical Catalogue, arranged in Zones, of North Polar Distances," promises greatly to assist future observers, particularly in delineating the path of a new body in its progress through the heavens; and Mr. Smeaton's "Description of an Improvement in the Application of the Quadrant of Altitude," in the Philosophical Transactions, may, in another way, serve the same purpose. M. Prazzi's "Result of Calculations, from Observations made in various Places on the Eclipse of the Sun, June 3, 1788," is applied directly to purposes of utility, in ascertaining the longitudes of these places. Mr. Adams, in a more humble line, continues his very useful elementary treatises, on the use of philosophical instruments, and has, in the course of last year, published his "Astronomical and Geographical Essays." With the same views, he has published an "Essay on Vision," in which we find some judicious observations on the structure and use of spectacles. But, in this department of philosophy, Mr. Maskelyne's paper in the Philosophical Transactions is not more curious than accurate. He confutes, very satisfactorily, the position of Euler, who supposed the distinctness of the picture on the retina was owing to humours of different density correcting the different refrangibility of the rays of light; he shows, that fluids of these densities, in such order, would increase the evil, but that when the errors are calculated, they are found not to be sufficient to confuse the picture, and even to be less than in a good telescope. The inversion of objects on the retina, Mr. M'Causland has endeavoured to ex-

plain, in his "Conjectures on some of the Phenomena of the Barometer."

As we proceed towards the earth, we may notice "A Lecture on the Atmosphere of London, by Mr. Taylor," a work, which deserves little attention, as it is no less trite in some of its parts, than erroneous in others. Mr. M'Guire's description of a new portable barometer, in the Irish Transactions, is of much more importance, as the instrument is convenient and useful: Dr. Hamilton's Description of the Parhelia at Cookstown, in the same collection, adds to our stock of these harmless but pleasing meteors. Mr. M'Causland's Conjectures on some of the Phenomena of the Barometer display acuteness and ingenuity; but we are sorry to observe that the theory of his instrument, so often in our hands, and so long known, is yet imperfectly understood. The annual "Register of the Barometer, Thermometer, and Rain at Lyndon," is continued by Mr. Barker, and to it, is added the quantity of rain which fell in the same year at Selborne. It was in 1788, when, as we have already had occasion to remark, the year was very dry, affording much less rain than is sometimes poured on the earth, in one day, between the tropics. Mr. Hutchinson, in the same volume has given some observations on the dryness of this year, and Mr. Marsham has given those marks which indicated the approach of spring, during a succession of years in three tables, where the different signs may be easily compared. Of the volumes on particular branches of Philosophy, we can only mention Mr. Parkinson's valuable system of mechanics and hydrostatics to which we may add some useful

and ingenious observations on electricity, by Mr. Nicholson, in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

In this portion of our work, we have been accustomed to mention those voyages and travels, which have added to our knowledge of different parts of the world, and its productions. The voyages and observations of captain Cooke, suggested to some enterprizing spirits, the idea of going to the Western coast of America, to purchase furs, again to be sold to the Chinese; which, independent of its profit to the individual, would ultimately lessen the quantity of specie annually sent to China. The probable consequences of this attempt, in bringing on a war, with all its horrors, we have every moment before our eyes; it is only necessary in this place, to remark, that one of the first adventurers, Capt. Dixon, or rather one of his officers, under his protection, has published an account of the voyage. In a literary view, it is not of great importance, as it is written in letters, with a displeasing mixture of stiffness and familiarity: as adding to our stock of geographical knowledge, and in some degree to the natural history of the earth, it is more valuable. Our author follows in many places the track of captain Cooke, which he sometimes attempts, without reason or success, to correct; but the most important part of the work, is the discovery of a new Archipelago, in that spot where the Straits of Fuente were placed, and which were supposed by that navigator, to communicate with Hudson's Bay. The accounts of Fuente were disbelieved; but, as the islands which he mentioned were seen by our voyagers, and the appearance of Straits were observed at the same

spot, some philosophers have again hoped, that the discovery of a North West passage is not desperate. We shall resume this subject in our next volume, as another apparently more accurate narrative of the same voyage has lately appeared.

Mr. Trench's narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay, gave us the first distinct account of this experimental voyage, and of the eastern coast of that vast island; the short time that had elapsed, between his arrival and the publication, while the great distance of the spot is considered, renders its clearness, and the extent of the information conveyed, a subject of surprise and admiration. It has been followed by a more splendid volume, published for Stockdale, where the accounts are more full, and more extensive, but not more authentic. We mention this publication chiefly on account of the narratives subjoined of the voyages of different transports on their return, which add considerably to our knowledge of the islands in the Eastern Seas. The publication, by the authority of the lords of the admiralty, will occur in our next volume. The new edition of Mr. Coxe's "Travels in Switzerland," has added to our knowledge of the philosophy and natural history of that beautiful and romantic country; and Mr. Luffman's "Brief Account of Antigua," is not without utility, in the same view. Mr. Paterson's "Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots, and Cafraria," and Mr. Howel's "Journal of a Passage from India," give a little farther information than we had before received of some of the internal parts of the vast continent which forms three quarters of the world. Mr. Sanders, from India, has penetrated the country of Thi-

bet and Bopran, to the confines of the wandering Tartars, who still retain the primitive simplicity of patriarchal manners, though perhaps without their innocence. His account of the végerable and mineral productions of these countries, and his observations on the objects which he observed in his journey through the continent of Asia, occur in the Philosophical Transactions, and are curious as well as entertaining. Mr. Anderson, in the same volume, has given us an account of a bituminous lake, in the island Trinidad, an island probably raised by a volcano, amidst the shallows lying between Tobago and the Spanish Main.

A foreign collection has furnished us with "Observations on the Mineral and Chemical History of the Fossils," found in one part of this island, Cornwall, and it has been very correctly translated: the information is frequently new, and sometimes interesting. Mr. Cavallo's Mineralogical Tables, without being confined to one spot, give a very general, synoptical view of the Science of Mineralogy: it is not indeed a work of the last year, but was by accident omitted in our former volumes. Though we cannot boast of many new works in this department, we have acquired some knowledge of the imitation of precious stones, by Mr. Drewe's translation of M. Fontanieu's "Art of making coloured Crystals." In a more general view of the Chemical Science, we find only M. Wiegleb's Chemistry, translated by Dr. Hopson, in some respects indeed improved, but deformed by an unpleasant, and uncommon nomenclature, and perhaps scarcely improved by the translator's new system of heat. On the various arts we receive some curious instructions, and

on the subject of heat some information collected by the translator from foreign journals. Dr. Crawford's new edition, which we alluded to in our last number, we have since been enabled to examine. It is entitled Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat, and the Inflammation of combustible Bodies; and as a system, it is a great measure new, while the experiments which chiefly relate to heat and combustion, are more clear, more numerous, and more satisfactory than in the former edition. The additional facts are really important, and though some difficulties remain, though there are some obscurities left to be elucidated, we have little doubt but our author's system will be found to be the true one. While heat seems now to be generally considered as a body, and a real ingredient in the composition of many different mixtures, the existence of phlogiston, is still violently opposed. The inaccuracies, which Dr. Priestley discovered in the result of the experiments on the decomposition of water, and the nitrous acid really produced, gave some support to this suspected principle of Stahl and Becher. The explanations, that have since been given, are not the proper objects of this sketch. It is our business rather to remark, that Dr. Priestley has pursued the subject in three papers in the last volume of the Philosophical Transactions, entitled—"Objections to the Experiments and Observations relating to the Principle of Acidity and the Composition of Water and Phlogiston considered, with farther Observations" "On the same Subject," "Experiments on the Phlogistication of Spirit of Nitre," and "Experiments on the Transmission of the Vapour of Acids, through a hot earthen Tube." In each of these articles, he adds to

knowledge of chemistry, and fully supports the falling doctrine of phlogiston. Dr. Harrington, a name little known in the scientific world, has addressed however a Letter to Dr. Priestley, and to some of the French academicians, who agree in many points, though they differ in the subject of phlogiston, in which he endeavours to support a new system, and to prove their newly adopted opinions fallacious.

The severe cold of the winter of 1788, enabled us, with the help of freezing mixtures, to deprive quicksilver of so much of its heat, as to reduce it to a solid form. The experiments, on this subject, made by Mr. Walker, are published in the last volume of the Philosophical Transactions. In the same volume, we have some additional information on the subject of airs from Milner, who, in his paper on the production of nitrous acid, and nitrous air, has shewn, that the volatile alkali, may contribute to their formation: in reality, though apparently so different, their principles are nearly related. The medical powers of fixed air, are sufficiently known, and it is enough to mention a tract of Dr. Melville, entitled, "Observations on the Nature and Properties of fixible Air, and the salutary Effects of Aqua Salubris," a solution of fixed air, in water. But an union, which accident, rather than chemistry has suggested, is still more surprizing. We are informed by Mr. Chamberlain, and we find his observations strictly just, that camphor will render myrrh, soluble in water, and join with it in the same menstruum: it is the first instance of a resin and an oil uniting, in this way, to contribute to the solution of each other. This fact, which we find occurs in the Medical Transactions of the Royal

Society at Paris, we have taken from the second volume of the Memoirs of the Medical Society at London; and though it is not common for us to give a particular account of the contents of such collections, we find it necessary in tracing the progress of science to select a few of the most important articles.

Before we mention, however, particular remedies more fully, it is necessary to point out the long expected edition, of Dr. Cullen's *Materia Medica*, a work, which the late death of its author, has rendered more valuable. In a moment of distress, when the professor of the *Materia Medica* died, Dr. Cullen voluntarily assumed the office, and gave a course of lectures on a plan new and original; full of curious and scientific information. It has been styled, perhaps with propriety, the Philosophy of the *Materia Medica*; and in this new edition the author has added what his more mature judgment, long experience, and more extensive information suggested. The accounts of the effects of particular remedies, must be chiefly taken from the Medical Memoirs, for, if we except Mr. Jameson's "Treatise on Diluents, and Enquiry into the Diseases of the Human Body, to ascertain the Operation of Diluents," a work of no great importance, our chief information on this part of medicine must be drawn from that volume. On turning it over, with this view, we perceive some remarks on the use and virtues of the fox-glove, by Dr. Lettsom, from which its merits do not seem to be so considerable, as its sanguine admirers probably wished to have found them. Dr. A. Forthrigill praises the gum kino in intermittent fevers, and certain preternatural discharges, though his cases do not speak altogether in terms equally strong.

strong. With better reason, Dr. Farr seems to commend the use of cantharides in the dropsy, which we apprehend have been often employed with advantage. Calomel, bark, wine, and cold bathing have been employed with success in tetanus, in imitation of Dr. Bush, whose miscellaneous "Medical Essays" have also been republished in the course of this period: the same complaint, Mr. Hutchison tells us, has been removed by electricity. Dr. Percival has again recommended the Hartfill Spa, near Moffat, as an astringent; and Dr. Sims tells us, that a particular water, near Cloyne, in Ireland, issuing from a turf-bog, has cured jaundice, by wetting the patient, and putting him to bed in his wet linen, till a sweat broke out: any other water, it is said, will succeed equally well; and it is the cold also which acts, when water, applied to the extremities, succeeds in relieving obstinate constipations, as Dr. Falconer found in a case mentioned in the volume of "Memoirs" now before us. In a similar complaint, Dr. Adair and M. Bureau observed great advantages, from the propelling powers of an hydraulic machine, which filled the intestines with a mild fluid. The cicuta, we find, has been given with success, in a case where the cardia was constricted; and which was probably owing to its continued action on the diseased part. Where medicines are injurious to the stomach, Mr. Sherwin tells us, that their peculiar effects may be induced by dissolving them in water, and suffering them to be absorbed by immersing the hands in the fluid. This he instances in the exhibition of emetic tartar, and tartarized arsenic. The latter proved diuretic, and the former diaphoretic; but each produced a slight nausea.

Dr. Toulmin's "Instruments of Medicine," for we now return to separate works, consists rather of formulæ, and general directions for the practitioner, in particular diseases, which are shortly described, than in the exhibition of any particular medicine. It is an imperfect and erroneous attempt, introduced by a violent preface, which shows the author to be a follower, or an admirer of the late Dr. Brown. Dr. Kentish's "Advice to Gouty Patients" contains also general directions, and does not rise, in eminence, above Dr. Toulmin's work. Dr. Kite's prize-essay on the recovery of persons, apparently dead, include the most approved directions for this purpose, with some judicious reflections: if it is not the most curious or ingenious, it is undoubtedly the most useful publication in this line.

There are few works, which exclusively relate to the practice of medicine, and the history of diseases. In the Memoirs of the Medical Society, we perceive some judicious remarks on a complaint, hitherto little understood, the scirrho-contracted rectum, which we shall probably be now able more clearly to explain, if we cannot treat it more successfully; another case is also related by Dr. Lettsom. Dr. Winship's case of incysted dropsy is not of great importance; and Mr. Fearon's observations, in which he endeavours to prove that cancers, in the beginning, are inflammatory, appear scarcely more interesting. Mr. Reeve's Essay on the Erysipelatous Sore Throat, is a more plain and useful work; and even Dr. Buchanan's Dissertation on Typhus, if not new, may perhaps, in America, be the source of his observations, be useful. Dr. Andree's Considerations on Bilious Diseases, is a work of a similar

kind, often trite, but frequently practical and useful. Dr. Dickson's short treatise on pemphigus, a disease little known, deserves particular attention: "it occurs in the Irish Transactions; and among the more miscellaneous practical works we must mention the annual volume of the Medical Commentaries, a new and complete edition of the late excellent Dr. Gregory's, and some miscellaneous remarks on the plague, in Mr. Howard's last work.

The king's late illness occasioned many volunteers to offer their services; and they were either engaged in prescribing for a disease, which they could not understand, as even a description had never reached them; or in general discussions on similar complaints: the few which occur to us, we have classed together. Dr. Rowley's Treatise on Female Nervous, Hysterical, Hypochondriac, Convulsive, and Bilious Diseases, in which Insanity is concluded, was written probably before the event we alluded to; but it has occasioned a slight controversy on the definition of Insanity, in which the opinion of physicians, on the nature of the king's disorder has been examined and censured. Mr. Harper's treatise "On the real Cause and Cure of Insanity," was a publication of a similar kind; and an anonymous author came nearer to the point, by publishing "An Attempt to ascertain the Cause of the King's (then) present Illness." Dr. Freeman, an author whom we meet with more often in a newspaper than the dignity of a regular physician would allow, published, at the same period, a "Letter to Hypochondriacal and Nervous Patients," in which he prescribed some very trifling and insignificant remedies for his majesty's complaint, a prescription that, if we rightly recollect,

he tells us, was sent to the physicians attending; and Dr. Jones, in more courtly language summed up the whole, by "An Enquiry into the Nature, Cause, and Termination of Nervous Fevers."

Nervous and hysterical affections, are the peculiar diseases of females; and treated of, by Mr. Gregg, in his Advice to the Female Sex, a work in general of some authority, and probably of some utility. Mr. Lucas's "Hints on the Management of Women in certain Cases of Pregnancy," in the Memoirs of the Medical Society, deserve more attention; but the most important case is that recorded by Dr. Vaughan, in the same collection, where the irritability of the stomach was so great, that the mildest food produced vomiting, and the woman was supported by nutritive glysters, without a particle of solid food given by the mouth, till that organ recovered its tone. The action of vomiting, by some curious but cruel experiments, in the same volume, is shown to depend in a great degree, on the resistance, perhaps the action of the abdominal muscles. If we pursue the subject of Midwifery, *ab ovo*, we must mention some "Speculations on the Mode and Appearance of Impregnation in the human Female," by a Physician, where the author endeavours to revive the old exploded doctrine of absorption, we need not add without success. If any argument were required to confute the opinion, in this place, we think two observations, which occur in the records of this year, would be sufficient. Dr. Baillie found several remains of a *fœtus*, for a *fœtus* it must of necessity be, in the human ovarium, which he quaintly styles an "Account of a particular Change in the Structure of the human Ovarium." Another instance of a similar kind occurs in the

the Irish Transactions, where there is a particular description of numerous teeth, bones, hair, &c. Each instance, however disguised, can only result from the remains of a foetus, and if the physician will alledge, that it may have been deposited in the ovarium, instead of the uterus, it will be necessary to show how it happens, that it is never deposited in any other cavity. The most judicious and satisfactory account, that we have seen of these obscure and intricate subjects, occurs in Dr. Denman's "Introduction to the Practice of Midwifery." The first volume only has yet appeared; but its merit has made us anxious for the continuation. On this subject, we must mention Mr. Hooper's "Case of an Uterus, lacerated by Labour Pains," in the Medical Memoirs; and to compensate for this gloomy picture, we may notice a new edition of Mr. Douglas's "Observations on the Rupture of the gravid Uterus," where we find the subject of his former case, has safely born children; and other instances are added, which shew that this accident is not necessarily fatal. The imperfections of a child may be numerous; but the most extraordinary monster recorded, is that described by Mr. Anderson, in the Philosophical Transactions, where the lower extremities of a child, are affixed to the pit of the stomach of a boy, in other respects, perfect. The curable misfortunes, are the subject of Mr. Underwood's new edition of his work, on the Diseases of Children, where every part of the subject is also explained with great care and accuracy. We cannot conclude this subject without mentioning Dr. Downman's pleasing poem of "Infancy," where the general dietetic rules, are adorned and enforced, by polished energetic numbers.

In the more limited department of Surgery, little, that is important offers. Mr. Sheldon's "Essay on the Fracture of the Patella, with Observations on the Fracture of the Olecranon," contains an anatomical description of the parts, with the method of treatment, in which it has been observed he differs little from M. Sabatier. It is enough to mention Mr. Humpage's accurate "Treatise on the Hydrocele," and Mr. Clare's practical work on the Gonorrhoea. Mr. Moore's "Dissertation on the Process of Nature, in healing Wounds" gained the prize at the Lyceum. It is an elegant and ingenious, rather than an accurate work; the dawn probably of a brighter day.

If we proceed to the inferior animals, Mr. Hunter's supplementary letter occurs in the Philosophical Transactions, in which we find additional proofs of the "Identity of the Species of the Fox, Wolf and Jackal." Dr. Gray's "Observations on the Amphibia," in the same volume, with his remarks "on the means of distinguishing these serpents which are venomous," are accurate and scientific. They lessen our fears, as they shew that the number of serpents, really poisonous, have been greatly exaggerated. Mr. Church, in the Medical Memoirs, has given a description of the *ascaris lumbricoides*, and he informs us that the white threads seen sometimes folded round the body, are the young. Many miscellaneous and pleasing observations in Natural History, occur in Mr. White's "Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne;" and Dr. Berkenhout, in his "Synopsis of the Natural History of Great Britain and Ireland," (a new edition of the Outline), enumerates, and describes with accuracy, the different species of each kingdom. The Flora Ca-

roliniana

Liniana is a more partial account, containing the plants only of one country; Dr. Smith's *Plantarum Fiores*, of which we have seen only one fasciculus, chiefly exhibits those, which have either not been engraved, or represented incorrectly. Dr. Martyn's thirty-eight plates are subservient only to his edition of Rousseaue's Letters. We cannot however conclude this department, without mentioning the "Loves of the Plants," an elegant and highly poetical description of the most curious genera, illustrated with scientific notes. It is attributed, with good reason, to Dr. Darwin of Litchfield.

In the department of Agriculture, we meet with so little, that it scarcely deserves a distinct account. The Transactions of the Society for Encouragement of Arts, furnishes, in usual, much valuable information on different parts of this subject. Mr. Marshall continues his provincial enquiries, and has published his account of the Agriculture of Gloucestershire: Mr. Wright has given an useful account of the practice of watering meadows. If any thing else has occurred on this subject, it has escaped our most diligent search.]

In the next department of Literature which claims our attention, we shall, in the first place, congratulate our readers on the appearance of an English Translation of the first Volume of M. de Mouradgée D'Ossifon's, "General History of the Ottoman Empire." For a particular account of the nature and contents of this valuable and curious work, we refer to the first article in our History of the Literature of Sweden for the year 1788. In addition to what was said there we have only to observe, that the translation before us is executed with great

accuracy and neatness; and is accompanied by the same beautiful and splendid plates which adorn the original work.

The "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, from the first Appearance of Christianity in that Kingdom, to the present Times, &c. by the Rev. John Skinner, a Presbyter of the Episcopal Church, in Scotland, in two Volumes," appears to have been written, chiefly, with the view of vindicating the episcopalians, at the expence of the presbyterians; and of reviving the exploded doctrines of the divine right of kings, passive obedience, and non-resistance. The first volume contains a short compendium of ecclesiastical history from the origin of Christianity to the Reformation, in which we meet with some curious political information and church history relating to England, and the controversies, councils, decretals, &c. of the Roman church. In the second volume, which includes the period from the Reformation to the present time, the author gives full scope to his principles, and we may say to his prejudices, while describing the state of things from the reign of queen Mary to the Revolution, and the subsequent situation and distresses of the nonjuring clergy. On the whole, we consider Mr. Skinner rather as an ingenious and able advocate on behalf of the rigid and nonjuring episcopalians of Scotland, than an impartial writer of the ecclesiastical history of that country. And we think that in discharging this task, he hath too frequently indulged to that spirit of sarcasm and severity, which cannot add force to his arguments, but must prejudice the cause which he espouses. With respect to the style of this work, it is principally to be blamed for such imperfections as might have

have been easily corrected by a judicious friend; such as Scotticisms, Latinisms, and vulgar forms of expression.

Dr. Campbell's "Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland, from the most ancient Times to the Introduction of the Roman Ritual, and the Establishment of Papal Supremacy, by Henry II. King of England, &c." contain a variety of interesting and instructive materials. The object of this ingenious author is, to shew the absurdity of those zealots for Irish fame who, relying "upon the traditional songs of unlettered bards, and the ill-devised tales of half-learned monks," elaborately declaim on the exploits, the politeness, and splendor of their pagan ancestors; and who, yielding to an unmanly credulity, recur "to a sort of miracle for the existence of literature and refinement in this sequestered island, when the other British isles, and the whole North-west of Europe, were sunk in barbarism, and canopied in ignorance." After refuting such romantic and inconsistent representations, Dr. Campbell commences his history at the earliest point of time which he thinks truth will warrant; viz. the first preaching of the gospel in Ireland, by St. Patrick, in the fifth century. From this era, he traces the ecclesiastical history of the country, to the English invasion under Henry II.; and the civil history, to the year 1783. In this laudable attempt to fix the Irish history on the sure ground of credibility, our author displays such an extent of knowledge, cool discriminating powers, and uncommon liberality of mind, as peculiarly qualify him for such a task. His reasonings are fair and weighty; and his style is perspicuous and energetic.

The "Short Review of the British Government in India, &c." contains very important and instructive matter relative to our settlements in that part of the globe. Notwithstanding the many publication on the subject of India, which have for some time past been offered to the public, the author of the treatise before us asserts that the true state of that country, with regard to its laws, customs, and manners, the character of its Mahomedan conquerors, and the conduct of the British government has neither been fairly explained nor rightly understood. This defect he proposes to supply in the volume before us. And we must acknowledge that he appears to have collected his particulars from authentic sources; and to have arranged his detail with judgment and impartiality. The general character of our countrymen in India, he hath successfully vindicated against the basest misrepresentations; and brought forward the most substantial proofs of the comparative mildness and humanity of the British government, which has secured to the natives a degree of peace and tranquillity to which they were strangers under the Mahomedan princes. This dispassionate and well-written work is deserving of the attentive perusal of every Englishman.

During the present year, the high-wrought expectation of the public hath been abundantly gratified by the publication of the Third and Fourth Volumes of Doctor Burney's "General History of Music." It is not possible, within the narrow limits to which we are confined, to give our readers a tolerable idea of the contents of these volumes. They complete a work which had been for a long time

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desideratum in literature ; and which hath been received with unbounded applause, in every country where the science of music is cultivated. The connoisseur and the polite reader will be equally interested and entertained by the historical, biographical, and scientific materials, which afford testimony to the author's accurate and extensive knowledge of his subject, his sound unprejudiced judgment, and his nice critical taste. We have, on former occasions, paid our warm tribute of respect to Doctor Burney as a writer ; and, were we to enlarge on his merits in this place, we should but repeat our former panegyric.

Mr. Howard's " Account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe ; with various Papers relative to the Plague ; together with farther Observations, on some foreign Prisons and Hospitals ; and additional Remarks on the present State of those in Great Britain and Ireland," contains a variety of facts and observations, of the highest importance to the interest of society and of humanity. In the first part of this work we have a recital of the indefatigable labours of the excellent author in visiting the different lazarettos in Turkey, and in Europe, to ascertain the benefits which would arise from such institutions in England, as well in securing the health of the nation, as in extending its commerce. To this succeed his remarks on foreign prisons and hospitals, and on those in Great Britain and Ireland, together with his sentiments on poor-houses and schools ; in which he carefully notices every excellence and defect, and offers such a number of hints for their correction of abuses, and their better regulation, as are of the utmost importance and utility. This

work also contains a number of very valuable observations on the advantage which would result to society from the establishment of penitentiary houses, and on other miscellaneous subjects. With respect to its mechanical excellences, it is recommended by a beautiful type and paper, and illustrated by twenty-two views and plans, which are executed in a superior style, worthy of so benevolent and noble a work. After the publication of this book, Mr. Howard began a new tour, intending to continue the same pursuits, and to make another zealous effort to increase the sum of human happiness. It is with great pain we are obliged to add, that accounts have been received of his having fallen a sacrifice to his generous and expanded philanthropy. While employed in administering relief to the sick, in the hospital of Cherson, which place he had reached on his journey to Constantinople, he was seized by a contagious disorder, which, in a few days, deprived the world of one of its greatest ornaments and benefactors.

Dr. Aikin's " England Delineated ; or a Geographical Description of every county in England and Wales, &c." is chiefly intended for the use of young persons. The design of the author is, " to sketch out such a general view of each county, with respect to its geography, products, natural and artificial, commerce, towns, and other principal objects, as might impress upon the mind a distinct notion of its discriminating character and relative consequence." As to antiquities, family-history, and local descriptions, they have been necessarily omitted, as it was not possible to bring them within the prescribed limits of such a work. The information

tion conveyed in this volume, has been collected from the best sources already known, and from the liberal communication of Doctor Aikin's friends in different parts of the kingdom. In the arrangement of his materials, our author discovers his usual judgment and taste; and the style of his composition is correct and pleasing.

The treatise entitled, "Political Geography, Introduction to the Statistical Tables of the principal Empires, Kingdoms, and States in Europe," contains a compendious view of the geographical, and political state of Europe, arranged somewhat in the form of a dictionary, in the following manner. In a number of distinct columns, we have the denomination of the country referred to; the population, and rate of it per mile; the principal divisions; the population of the capitals; the army; the navy; the annual revenue; the military charges; the general expences; the public debt; the form of government; the administration of justice; religion; literature; natural productions, soil, and climate; commerce; colonies; and observations of an historical nature. These columns occupy four tables, each on a large sheet; and appear to have been formed with that judgment and accuracy which will justify us in recommending them, to persons of general information as well as to those who are desirous of acquiring it, on account of their convenience and utility. The result of his computation of the naval strength which the different powers of Europe may be supposed to possess, is peculiarly flattering to the pride of Englishmen. The whole of that strength he divides into one hundred parts. Of these he assigns to Great Britain, thirty-two; France, sixteen; Holland, eight; Italy, nine; Spain,

thirteen; Portugal, three and a half; Sweden, five; Denmark, four and a half; European Russia, four; Turkey and other Mahomedan powers, five.

The year 1789 hath not been fruitful in biographical productions. The appearance, however, of the fourth volume of the second edition of the "Biographica Britannica, with Corrections, Enlargements, and the Addition of new Lives," will, in a great measure, compensate for the want of that variety in this department of literature, which a number of publications would have afforded. The general nature and design of this great work are already well known to the public; and the merit of Dr. Kippis, the editor, hath been sufficiently established, by the publication of the former volumes. His principal coadjutor, Dr. Towers hath, likewise, obtained a considerable share of praise. The volume before us bears equal, if not superior testimonies to the care, accuracy, learning, and judgment with which it hath been prepared for the public eye. In the preface, Dr. Kippis apologizes for the long delay of its publication, which, he tells us, arose from the various difficulties incident to such an undertaking, of which those who have not been engaged in such a task can form but a very imperfect conception; from the immense quantity of new matter which occupies more than two thirds of the book, and of which a vast disproportion was furnished by himself; and from a particular engagement, which hath demanded a principal share of his time and attention. The new lives are thirty-five in number; and contain a vast fund of curious and entertaining matter. The Corrigenda and Addenda to the former volumes, and the numerous additions, to the old lives

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lives, are also exceedingly valuable, and contribute much to the perfection and usefulness of the work. Of the various entertainment to be derived from this admirable collection, our readers may form some judgment from the extracts we have given among our Biographical Anecdotes and Characters. It is with regret that we learn from the preface, that Doctor Kippis means to decline the very active part which he has hitherto taken in this work; and that he is not to be considered as amenable to the public, with regard to the appearance of the succeeding volumes. We hope, however, that a publication which hath derived a considerable increase of value and reputation, from his attention and diligence, and his peculiar qualifications as a biographer, will still enjoy the advantage of his superintendence, and repeated contributions.

Doctor Gillies's "View of the Reign of Frederick II. of Prussia; with a Parallel between that Prince and Philip II. of Macedon," is principally compiled from Frederick's Posthumous Works; and frequently delivered in his own words. The author hath, likewise, availed himself of the assistance afforded by Baron Hertzberg's Discourses. From these sources he hath drawn a most flattering picture of his illustrious hero. Even such parts of his conduct as have been deemed erroneous, or severely censured by preceding writers, receive from Doctor Gillies indiscriminate commendation and praise. But what is chiefly original in this work is, the parallel between Frederick and Philip of Macedon. In this parallel Doctor Gillies discovers considerable learning and ingenuity. His plan is clear and perspicuous; his descriptions are animated, and energetic; and his re-

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flections sensible and judicious. We cannot, however, dismiss this work without observing, that it is too frequently disfigured by the same blemishes which we freely reprehended in the author's History of Greece: an affected pomp of language, meretricious ornaments, and provincial modes of expression.

Mr. Toulmin's "Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of the rev. John Biddle, A. M. &c." is a respectable and well written narrative, sacred to the memory of the father of the English Unitarians. Mr. Biddle was a sensible and learned man, of great piety and integrity, who, on account of his differing from the commonly received opinions, underwent a variety of persecutions, during the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, and the reign of Charles II. which terminated in a disease which proved fatal to him. We heartily recommend this publication, as we perfectly concur in the opinion of the author, that "memoirs of those who have displayed singular virtues, and supported singular sufferings, for what they deemed divine truth, will always be useful; to shew the power of religious principle, and to convince men, that true piety is not peculiar to those who embrace any particular creed, but the genuine fruit of those principles which are common to all Christians."

Mr. Norris's "Memoirs of the Reign of Bossa Ahadee, King of Dahomy, an inland Country of Guiney, &c." contain an account of the horrid scenes of bloodshed and murder which were transacted during the reign of that African tyrant. As the author's principal object seems to be, to diminish the odium affixed to the slave-trade, we suspect that he hath been too credulous in

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admitting the exaggerated representations of the natives. He seems, however, to have given a faithful relation of what he heard; and hath added several curious particulars, the result of his own attentive observation. But the greatest value of this work arises from the incidental details which the author gives of the natural history of the country. From these we have received both information and entertainment.

The "Memoirs of Prince William Henry, Duke of Gloucester," son of the princess, afterwards queen Anne, and prince George of Denmark, consist, chiefly, of a detail of the amusements of the young prince, which were of a military kind, and of those instances of spirit and vivacity of sentiment, which gave promises of a manly and generous character, had he arrived at a maturer age. These Memoirs have been compiled from an original tract written by Jenkin Lewis, who was placed as an attendant on the prince's person, and from other authentic documents. They are drawn up with uncommon simplicity; and contain whatever can be supposed to be interesting in the life of a youth who died at eleven years of age.

The "Sketch of the Life and Character of the late Doctor Monsey, Physician to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, &c." consists of a number of curious circumstances relative to Doctor Monsey, to his patrons, and to his acquaintance in the higher and lower ranks of society. The author, who appears to have been intimately acquainted with that singular character, is a sensible and lively writer. And, notwithstanding that his Sketch is too irregular and desultory to obtain pre-eminence in the biographical class,

it will be found to recommend itself by a variety of interesting and entertaining anecdotes, as well as judicious and useful reflections.

Our account of such publications as combine together the subjects of History and Antiquities, we shall preface by announcing a new and splendid edition of Camden's "Britannia; or, a Chorographical Description of the flourishing Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Islands adjacent, from the earliest Antiquity, in three vols." By Richard Gough, Esq. F. A. and R. S. S. dedicated by permission to his majesty. This work is translated from the edition published by the author in 1607; and is considerably enlarged, by the improvements which the more extended knowledge of the present day, and the editor's indefatigable industry, have enabled him to introduce. It is also illustrated by a set of new maps, and other copper plates. Those who recollect how well qualified Mr. Gough is for a work of this kind, from the peculiar zeal with which he is well known to have devoted himself to the study of antiquities and topography; and who consider at the same time, that his additions and corrections are the result of many years travel, and personal enquiries, will readily apprehend the value and importance of this edition.

In our history of the Domestic Literature of the year 1787, we mentioned the publication of Mr. Pinkerton's "Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths," which we commended as an ingenious and learned performance. That treatise was intended by the author to be introductory to a larger work, which has appeared this year under the title of "An Enquiry into the History of

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Scotland preceding the Reign of Malcolm III. or the Year 1056; including the authentic History of that Period: in two Volumes." These volumes contain a variety of curious and elaborate researches into the most obscure and difficult parts of the Scottish history, in which the author establishes a number of facts respecting the different tribes who peopled that country, which are of considerable importance. The most interesting part of these researches relates to the Picts. And the principal object of Mr. Pinkerton seems to be, to shew that the Picts were not Celts, or Welsh, as is affirmed by Camden, Lloyd, and the two Macphersons, but Goths. Their origin he traces to a particular tribe, who originally inhabited the western borders of the Euxine Sea; whence they trace their progress to Scandinavia, to the Orkney islands, to Ireland, to the Ebrudæ islands, where they founded a kingdom, and whence they gradually spread over the Northern parts of Scotland, forcing to the southward the Cumraig Celtæ, who had been the original inhabitants of that country. The epoch of their settlement in Scotland he fixes at three hundred years before Christ. After this Mr. Pinkerton proceeds to refute many of the absurd and childish fables which have been circulated concerning the old Gael or Celts; and to lay before his readers several entertaining dissertations on the Pictish language, manners, and antiquities in Scotland. On the whole, we consider this work to be a considerable acquisition to the republic of letters; and a testimony to the authors unwearied industry, and great acuteness of mind. It is, however, disgraced by every fault which we have repeatedly and severely censured in his former publications. The great self-import-

ance and vanity of the author, and the supercilious contempt in which he holds most other writers who have treated on the same subject, are continually apparent. His work, by the needless digressions in which he indulges himself, and the frequent repetitions which he introduces, is swelled considerably beyond the bounds which ought to have been prescribed to it. And his style and manner of writing are distinguished by continual and gross transgressions against the rules of grammatical construction, and the authorized modes of expression, and of orthography.

Mr. Pilkington's "View of the Present State of Derbyshire, with an Account of its most remarkable Antiquities, &c. in two vols." is a work which is deserving of a favourable reception from the student in topography. The first volume contains the natural history of the county, and its subterraneous geography, with an account of its different mineral and metallic productions, which appears to be drawn up with great attention and accuracy; and which is of general interest, as intimately connected with the natural history of the kingdom at large. The second volume is of a more local nature, and describes the state of arts and manufactures in the county; the customs and manners of the inhabitants; its topography as it is divided into different deaneries; the genealogical history of families, with which are connected some curious and entertaining biographical sketches; and the curiosities and antiquities of the county. These volumes appear to be the result of careful and attentive enquiry; and are adapted to inform and entertain readers of every description.

"The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of the Town of

Newcastle upon Tyne, &c. by John Brand, M. A. Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, in two vols." is a topographical work which will be chiefly valuable to the inhabitants of that town. The first volume contains an account of the ancient fortifications, churches, monasteries, and other public edifices at Newcastle; with a description of the town and antiquities of Gateshead, in the county of Durham. The second volume details the history of Newcastle as a corporate town, or borough; the state of its commerce, particularly the coal-trade; the history of the incorporated trading, or manufacturing companies; a miscellaneous account of the officers and servants of the corporation, &c. &c. To each volume is added an appendix, consisting of original documents, acts of parliament, antiquarian researches, and other papers relative to the subject of the History. Mr. Brand appears to have spared no pains in collecting the vast mass of materials which compose these volumes. He seems to have drawn them from the best sources; and to have omitted no circumstance of the least importance to his design. But as a composition, his work is ill digested and injudicious. And we frequently found ourselves fatigued with the author's prolixity, and tedious minuteness of detail. This, however, may be accounted for from his evident partiality to his subject; and may not, probably, prove equally unacceptable to the inhabitants of Newcastle. It is proper to add, that these volumes are embellished by a number of well executed and expensive engravings.

The "Historical Account of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich, by John Cooke, A. M.

and John Maule, A. M. Chaplains," contains whatever is curious or useful, in the history of that noble structure, from its foundation to the year 1778; with an account of its present state and constitution, of the various grants and donations, public and private, and other sources, whence its large revenue is derived. To this account of the hospital, the authors have added that of the ancient royal palace called Placentia, which stood upon the spot occupied by the present institution. Of this palace they have given a beautiful view from an engraving published by the Society of Antiquaries; as well as a large perspective of the hospital from the river Thames, and other elegant plates. On the whole, this distinct and accurate account of an institution so honourable to the grandeur and generosity of the nation, is entitled to a favourable reception from the public.

In our account of the Literature of the year 1787, we took occasion to explain the design, and to speak in warm terms of a collection of "Original Letters written during the Reign of Henry VI. Edward IV. and Richard III. by various Persons of rank and consequence, with Notes historical and explanatory," by Mr. now Sir John Fenn, knight in two volumes. This curious and interesting work has been enlarged during the present year, by the publication of two additional volumes. As the former volumes contained a selection of such letters chiefly related to public affairs, and were valuable in illustrating historical events, the present particularly respect private occurrences and domestic affairs, and exhibit a striking and artless picture of the manners of those remote and dark ages. They also contain a number of miscellaneous circumstances, which

will afford amusement as well information to the reader. Such curious papers, however, as relate to public affairs are not entirely omitted; as may be perceived from the extracts which we have given under our head of Antiquities. On the whole, the public are under considerable obligations to the editor of this work, for the patient attention, accuracy, and elegance with which he has executed it; and we doubt not but that the reception it will meet with will encourage him to communicate the other letters which he has in his possession, written during the remainder of the reign of Edward IV. and those of Richard III. and Henry VII.

The Society of Antiquaries continue with unabated zeal, to encourage such laborious and literary pursuits as tend to throw light on the history and antiquities of this country, or on general history and antiquities. Their ninth volume of the "*Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities*," exclusive of its Appendix, contains thirty-one articles on interesting and entertaining subjects. Among the articles which particularly engaged our attention, we may point out, the learned and ingenious Mr. Daines Barrington's *Historical Discussion of the Game of Chess*; a sensible and pleasing *Dissertation on Antiquarian Medals*, by Pere Francois Phillippe Gourdin, Benedictine, of the order of St. Maure, at Rouen; governor Pownall's *Observations on what is commonly termed Gothic Architecture*, and on the *Corporation of Free Masons*; a *Vindication of the Authenticity of the Saxon Chronicle*, by Richard Bough, Esq.; the *Observations on the Waldenses, formerly tenants of the manor of Darenth, in the County of Kent*, by the rev. Samuel

Denne; and an *Essay intended to prove that the English Language was formerly Gothic*, by the rev. Mr. Drake. The Appendix contains extracts from such communications which it has not been thought proper to publish entire, which offer many curious particulars to the eye of the antiquary. This volume, likewise, as well as the preceding ones, is enriched by a number of excellent prints, by which the reader will be improved and entertained.

Among the books of travels of the year 1789, the "*Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*; in a series of Letters from the right hon. Elizabeth Lady Craven, to his serene Highness the Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach," excited considerable curiosity in the minds of the public. In this volume we meet with a number of lively and entertaining observations made in a rapid tour through France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia, the Crimea, Constantinople, the Grecian islands, Romania, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Hungary, by which we have been frequently amused, if we have received no great degree of information. Many of her descriptions are spirited and picturesque; and her anecdotes of the different courts and capitals through which she passed, are happy and pleasing. Those who take up these Letters with the view of being entertained with the cursory remarks of an enterprising and intelligent female, on scenes interesting to the philosopher, the antiquary, and the politician, and with a disposition to overlook the errors and inelegances which frequently occur in a loose epistolary correspondence, will not be disappointed.

We have been, likewise, agreeably entertained by the remarks of an-

nother female traveller. Mrs. Piozzi, in her "Observation and Reflections made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany, in two vols." hath gratified her readers with many animated and judicious remarks on the scenery through which she passed, the manners and customs of the people with whom she conversed, and on the other objects which arrest the attention of the accomplished and literary traveller. Beaten as the track has been through which Mrs. Piozzi passed, and rapid as was her progress through the countries which she describes, still she hath gleaned a number of beauties from the productions of ancient and of modern art, as well as those of nature, which render her volumes instructive and amusing. And the traits which she has given of national character are sketched with a bold and masterly hand. We were sorry, however, to meet with many opportunities for censure, in the style and language of these volumes. This remark might be attributed to fastidious criticism, did not Mrs. Piozzi's accomplishments and erudition assign her a rank superior to that of the generality of female writers.

The "Travels in Spain, &c. by the Chevalier de Bourgoanne; to which are added copious Extracts from the Essays of M. Peyron; translated from the French, in two vols." will be found to contain much new and interesting information, even by those who are familiarly acquainted with the different writers who, of late years, have been directing the public attention to that country. M. de Bourgoanne resided many years in Spain, in the quality of secretary to the French ambassador; and he seems to have possessed the greatest advantages for ob-

taining information respecting the government, revenues, commerce, internal police, and manners of the people. In describing these, he has abundantly supplied the defects of former travellers. His account of the political situation of the country, in particular, will furnish the intelligent reader with many important reflections. The extract from M. Peyron, of which the third volume consists, supply us with the remarks on the natural history, antiquities, literature, theatres, and modern manners of the Spaniards, which occurred to that writer in a journey from Barcelona to Madrid. Among other curious particulars they present us with translations of the inscriptions in the Alhambra of Grenada. With respect to the authenticity of the information which these volumes convey, and the general merits of the work, the declaration of M. Mentelle, the French censor of the press, afford the most satisfactory testimony. "According," says he, "to the knowledge which my employment has given me of that kingdom, and the care I have taken to assure myself of the accuracy of this new work, I can certify that its contents are exactly true, and present a correct picture of the present state of Spain. The critical observations which it contains are, beside, offered with so much modesty, that they cannot but be acceptable to every nation that is a friend to truth, and which would not be offended but by our exaggeration of its defects." The translation appears to be executed with fidelity and accuracy.

The "Letters from Barbary, France, Spain, Portugal, &c. by an English Officer, in two vols." contain an account of different journeys, some on business, others from pleasure.

pleasure or curiosity, with the reflections suggested to the author by an attention to the government, genius, and manners of the people with whom he mixed. The journey to Barbary was an embassy from general Cornwallis, governor of Gibraltar, to the emperor of Morocco; which afforded the author much subject for political and moral reflection, and led him to paint, in lively colours, the pernicious effects of a despotic government, and an intolérant religion. The letters from France, Spain, and Portugal, contain a variety of observations on national character, taste, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and other subjects of political speculation. On the whole, the remarks of this author are the productions of a sensible, intelligent mind, and will be read by those who are more desirous of information than of entertainment, with pleasure and advantage.

The volume of "Travels in Sicily and Malta; translated from the French of M. De Non, Gentleman in ordinary to the King of France, &c." is a publication which will be perused with pleasure by the historian and antiquary. For notwithstanding that many of the classic scenes in Sicily have been, not long ago, agreeably described by one of our own countrymen, there were still abundant gleanings left, in a country so distinguished in history, to interest the curiosity of learned and scientific travellers. In describing the sublime and beautiful objects of nature, which supply ample matter for the picturesque painter, as well as speculative philosopher, M. De Non is an interesting and instructive companion. The lively and animated account which he gives us of the manners of the Sicilians,

appears to be drawn with attention and fidelity. And his political view of the government of the island is concise and judicious. But his studies have been principally devoted to its antiquities, and natural history. And he seems to have been possessed of all the enthusiasm and knowledge necessary to his examining such objects with peculiar advantage. His description, likewise, of Malta, and the few antiquities to be met with on that rocky island, is accurate and pleasing.

Mr. Anburey's "Travels through the interior Part of America, in a Series of Letters, in two vols." do not contain much new information respecting the genius and manners of the inhabitants, or the natural history of the country. The scenes which he describes are confined to those parts which were traversed by general Burgoyne's army; and the events which he relates are chiefly such as are connected with the history of that army, before and after the convention at Saratoga. In the narrative part of this publication, and the reflections with which it is interspersed, the wish of the author to vindicate the conduct of general Burgoyne is a principal feature. Of the Americans he is not disposed to speak in the most favourable manner, though he occasionally does justice to the merits of individuals. On the whole, these volumes are written in a correct and easy style; they abound in interesting and diverting anecdotes; and will afford much amusement to those who are but little acquainted with the history of America.

Mr. Consett's "Tour through Sweden, Swedish Lapland, Finland and Denmark, in a Series of Letters, &c." was undertaken in consequence of a wager; and performed with such expedition, that much time

could not be found for the examination of particular objects. Much information, therefore, cannot be expected relative to matters not already known, or concerning which it would be difficult to acquire knowledge. We have, however, received considerable entertainment from the lively observations, pleasant anecdotes, and short descriptive sketches which this volume contains.

The "Journey through Sweden, containing a detailed Account of its Population, Agriculture, Commerce, and Finances, &c. by a Dutch Officer, and translated into English by Wm. Radcliffe, A. B.," is the production of an intelligent and discerning traveller, by which we have been informed, as well as entertained. There is scarcely any thing curious in Sweden, either among the productions of nature or of art, which has escaped his notice. His account of the famous copper mine at Kopparberg, and of the iron mine of Dannemora, which have been examined but by few travellers, we found to be peculiarly interesting. His observations on the genius and manners of the people are written with vivacity and precision; and his view of the state of agriculture, and the commercial objects with which the country abounds, will be acceptable to the political economist. Several of the letters towards the conclusion of this volume present us with an abridgement of the Swedish history from the accession of Gustavus Vasa, in 1523, to the year 1786. The last letter relates to the history of Denmark, and is principally employed in vindicating the memory of the unfortunate Struensee.

The "Account of the Shipwreck and Captivity of M. de Brisson," beside relating the almost incredible distresses and cruelties to which he

and his companions were subjected, and to which most of them fell victims, contains a number of miscellaneous remarks on the character and customs of the African Arabs, and on the Desert between Senegal and Morocco, which may assist in illustrating the genius of that savage people, as well as supply some useful hints for commerce and agriculture. In this narrative the author confines himself to facts, which are related with the utmost simplicity, and which are, frequently, exceedingly curious and interesting.

Mr. Shaw's "Tour to the West of England, in the Year 1788," contains a lively and agreeable detail of the various objects that interested the author's attention: but is of too miscellaneous a complexion for us to lay the outlines of it before our readers. His description is frequently accompanied with quotations from the poets; and diversified by the insertion of a number of entertaining anecdotes. But, perhaps, by his readers in general, he will be thought to be minute to a fault, in encumbering his work with the genealogies of families, the exact measurement of public buildings, and the dimensions of the pictures in the different seats which he visited. Such particulars we rather expect to meet with in that species of publications which bear the humble titles of Guides to Blenheim, Oxford, London, &c.

The "Tour through Part of France, containing a Description of Paris, Cherbourg, and Emmonville, &c." though principally confined to subjects which are commonplace and familiar to the English reader, is, nevertheless, written in an agreeable and lively manner. The account, in particular, of the stupendous

stupendous works carrying on at the entrance to the harbour of Cherbourg, will be found distinct and interesting. In describing the scene at Ermenonville, where the celebrated Rousseau passed the evening of his life, he appears an enthusiastic admirer of that writer; and describes every object, even the most minute and trivial, with the strongest partiality. From contemplating this spot the author seems to have derived the principal gratification which his Tour afforded him; and in his reflections on it, he chiefly discovers his sentiment and taste.

The last place under this head we have reserved for the "Observations chiefly relative to Picturesque Beauty, made in the Year 1776, on several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the Highlands of Scotland, by W. Gilpin, A. M. in two volumes." This elegant and pleasing work is a continuation of those scientific tours in which we formerly accompanied our author with uncommon entertainment and advantage. And it is distinguished by the same marks of refined taste and accurate judgment which have already extorted our enthusiastic praise. It is also recommended by a greater variety of incidental matter, suggested by the history and events of the country through which our author passed. Were we to select some of the most valuable of these observations, they would be those containing his criticisms on the effect of ruins, and his general remarks on the scenery in Scotland. To all travellers of taste, Mr. Gilpin's Observations will be highly acceptable.

Of the Political publications with which the press hath teemed, neither the design of our work, nor

our limits will permit us to make particular mention. We shall, therefore, only class the principal of them in groups.

In our last Annual Register we mentioned the titles of a variety of pamphlets, by writers who enlisted themselves under the banners of the different contending parties in the grand political struggle to which the king's unhappy malady gave rise. His recovery did not close this warfare. It called the attention of speculative minds to the questions which had been agitated; and on which they could now indulge their sentiments with less anxiety, though with an equal conviction of the importance of the principles which they had advanced. Others gladly seized the occasion to triumph over the supposed disappointment of their opponents: and others to vindicate themselves and their party from insinuations which they deemed illiberal and malignant.

At the head of this various list we may place "An impartial Report of all the Proceedings in Parliament, on the late important Subject of a Regency, &c." which appears to be the compilation of a judicious and impartial writer, who hath risked no opinion of his own, but confined himself to a plain and simple narration of the occurrences, and of the parliamentary debates, in which nothing of moment appears to be omitted. The "Reflections on the Consequences of his Majesty's Recovery from his late Indisposition," deserve, likewise, to be classed among the best political pieces which the subject called forth, from the apparent good intentions of the writer, and the seriousness and importance of the thoughts which he dispassionately offers to the attention of the public. The "Free Thoughts on his Majesty's Recovery and Resumption

sumption of the Royal Powers," the "Letters to the People of Great Britain and Ireland, on the expected Addresses to his Majesty, &c." And the "Letter to the right hon. Charles James Fox, on the late Conduct of his Party," were the productions of sensible and spirited writers. On the same subject were published "An Address to his Majesty on his happy Recovery, with a short View of his Reign;" "Observations upon the late National Embarrassment, and the Proceedings in Parliament relative to the same, by J. L. de Lolme, LL. D.;" "An Answer" to that publication; "The Royal Interview, a Fragment, by the Author of a Letter of a Country Gentleman to a Member of Parliament;" "A retrospective View of the late Political Enquiry; with Remarks on the Conduct of the Managers on both Sides;" "The Fall of Faction, or Edmund's Vision, &c.;" "The Funeral of Mrs. Regency;" and "Four pleasant Epistles, written for the Entertainment and Gratification of four unpleasant Characters, &c."

The subject of the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts did not bring many combatants into the field, during the year 1789. Among the advocates for abolishing all invidious distinctions among the subjects of the state, we find the sensible and liberal author of "a Letter to the Bishops, on the Application of the Protestant Dissenters to Parliament;" and the author of "A Letter to Edward Jefferies, Esq. Chairman of the Committee of Protestant Dissenters, &c." whose language breathes a spirit of candour and of piety. On the other side of the question have appeared, "Two Letters, addressed to the Delegates of the several Protestant Dissenters who met at Devizes;" "A Letter to Earl Stanhope, on the Subject of

the Test, as objected to in a Pamphlet recommended by his Lordship;" and "Observations on the Conduct of the Protestant Dissenters." In these tracts the authors are strenuous advocates for the doctrines of a necessary alliance between church and state; the necessity of a religious test to political unanimity; and the danger of innovation. The last mentioned treatise, particularly, is filled with severe invectives against the Protestant Dissenters; and calls loudly on the commons, the lords, and lastly on the crown, to refuse them "their imaginary rights," and "the demand of privileges to which they have no pretensions."

Intimately connected with the same subject is the pamphlet of Mr. Berrington, entitled, "The Rights of Dissenters from the established Church, in relation principally to English Catholics." In this temperate and manly publication, Mr. Berrington discusses all the objections which can be advanced by the enemies to a free and unlimited toleration; and from a series of sensible and well arranged arguments deduces this conclusion, that all Dissenters from the national church, are entitled to every civil right which that church enjoys; and that not a single reason which should weigh on the mind of a patriot or a citizen, can be assigned for their exclusion.

The question relative to the Slave Trade hath again employed the pens of able advocates on both sides. Among the most capital publications in favour of the abolition scheme we meet with "Considerations on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, upon Grounds of natural, religious and political Duty," at the end of which is the signature, T. Burgess, C. C. C.; "An Essay on the comparative Efficiency of Regulation

lation or Abolition, as applied to the Slave Trade, shewing, that the latter only can remove the Evils to be found in that Commerce, by the Rev. T. Clarkson, M. A." On the same side appeared "Scripture the Friend of Freedom;" "An Enquiry into the Origin, Progress, and present State of Slavery, by a Member of the Society of universal Good Will;" "Doubts concerning the Legality of Slavery in any Part of the British Dominions." "Letters on Slavery, by Wm. Dickson, &c." and "Liberty or Death, a tract, in which is vindicated the obvious Practicability of trading to the Coast of Guinea, for its natural Products, in lieu of the Slave-trade &c. by John Lowe, Jun."

The other side of the question, among other sensible and well-written pamphlets, hath produced "No Abolition; or an Attempt to prove to the Conviction of every rational British Subject, that the Abolition of the British Trade with Africa for Negroes, would be a Measure as unjust as impolitic, &c.;" "Observations occasioned by the Attempts made in England to effectuate the Abolition of the Slave Trade, &c. by G. Franklyn, Esq." of Jamaica; "An answer to the rev. Mr. Clarkson's Essay, &c." by the same gentleman; "Considerations on the fatal Consequences of abolishing the Slave-trade, in the present situation of Great Britain;" and "Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave-trade, by an old Member of Parliament." On the same side were published "Reflections on the present State of the Slaves in the British Plantations, and the Slave-trade from Africa;" and "Observations on the true Method of Treatment and Usage of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands, &c. by Thomas Atwood."

The affair of honour, as it has been called, between the duke of York and col. Lenox, produced a violent and angry "Letter to the King, &c. by Theophilus Swift, Esq." in which a plentiful share of abuse is cast on the colonel, and likewise on Mr. Pitt. For our author hath thought proper to give a political turn to the quarrel, and to consider it as a ministerial manœuvre. A captain of a company in one of the regiments of guards, in his "Short Review of the recent Affair, &c." hath embraced the other side of the question, and is liberal of his censures on the conduct of the royal duke. This writer, also, hath given a political turn to the quarrel; but he conceives it to have been an opposition manœuvre. What foundation either of the gentlemen had for their suggestions, we have not been able to discover.

Among the other Political treatises which have appeared during the present year, the following, were it compatible with our plan, would deserve to be distinctly noticed. "Considerations on the Prussian Treaty, &c." Sir John Dalrymple's "Queries concerning the Conduct which England should follow in foreign Politics, in the present State of Europe;" Mr. Rous's second address to the public, or "An Explanation of the mistaken Principle on which the Commutation Act was founded; and the Nature of the Mischief that must follow from a perseverance in it;" "Thoughts on the State of the Nation, or the real situation of Great Britain delineated and demonstrated;" "A short Political Review of the Year 1788;" "A Letter to John Horne Tooke, Esq, occasioned by his Two Pair of Portraits, and other late Publications;" "A Review of the Parliamentary Conduct of the right hon. Charles James

James Fox, and the right hon. Edmund Burke;" "Secret Influence, or Bute and Pitt Administrations virtually the same, &c." "The Conduct of the present Parliament considered, previous to its Dissolution;" and "An Address to the Electors of Great Britain and Ireland, on the approaching General Election; containing plain constitutional Truths, and seasonable Observations, respectfully offered to their serious Consideration, by an independent Freeholder."

In enumerating the publications which are to be referred to the head of Critical, Classical, and Polite Literature, we would, in the first place, recommend to the notice of our readers, "*Caii Crispi Salustii Opera omnia*;" a new and beautiful impression, from the edition of Corneilius, collated with those of Havercamp, and Gabriel Antonius. This work has been executed with singular diligence and care; and from its correctness and typographical excellencies, is entitled to a place in the libraries of curious collectors, as well as in those of the scholar. The editor hath likewise preserved an uniform mode of spelling throughout; a point to which too little attention has been most commonly paid: and hath added a table of various readings from Havercamp's edition.

The classical reader will also willingly acknowledge his obligations to the editor of "*Titii Livii Patavini singularum, quæ supersunt, Decadum Liber prior, &c.*" which is offered as a specimen of a more extended compilation that is preparing for the press. The object of the author is to publish the first book of every entire Decad of Livy, with an abridgment of the notes of Gronovius, Perizonius, Dukerius, Drakenborchius, and of other com-

mentators, whose works may prove useful in illustrating the various readings, or in preserving the purity of the text. Such of these notes as are connected with subjects of criticism or chronology, and will not admit of abridgment, he intends to add at the end of each book. The books contained in this specimen are the first, the twenty-first, and the thirty-first. The orthography is that of Drakenborchius. To this version the editor hath prefixed several useful essays taken from Faciolatus, Sigonius, and Crevier; and the fragment of the ninety first book of Livy, lately discovered and published by Bruno, and afterwards by Brotier in his Amsterdam edition of Tacitus. From this brief view of the design of the editor, the classical scholar will easily entertain an idea of the information and assistance, which he may expect to derive from the publication before us, while studying the works of the Roman historian.

The learned world are also much indebted to the editor of the "*Appendix ad Lexicon Græco Latinum; a Johanne Scapula constructum, & ad alia Lexica Græca, e Codice Manuscripto, olim Askeviano, in Lucem nunc primum Vindicata.*" The authorities in this work are chiefly collected from the Attic poets, and particularly from the tragedies of Æschylus. The pages of Scapula's Lexicon are marked on the margin of the Appendix, which will be found to contain several words omitted by all the Greek lexicographers. And in the preface, which is in Latin, there are some hints which may prove of service to future publishers of Lexicons. The learning, accuracy, and diligence which have been bestowed on this work, render it a valuable acquisition to the classical reader.

The

"The Poetic of Aristotle, translated from the Greek, with notes, by Henry James Pye, Esq." is an accurate and elegant version of that valuable treatise, which may be justly termed the first work in philosophic criticism. When we consider the peculiar difficulties that attended the task which Mr. Pye undertook, occasioned by the scholastic closeness of the original, and a text which mult in some measure have been injured in the hands of successive transcribers, we think that very great merit is due to him, for the beauty and the precision with which he has completed the first good translation of the Poetic which has appeared in the English language. In his Preface he explains the nature and peculiar features of the Grecian drama in a manner that bespeaks a mind well instructed in the principles of true criticism; and his concise but satisfactory notes, afford sufficient testimony to his literature, diligence, and taste. This specimen leads us to form very exalted expectations from Mr. Pye's promise of a continued commentary on the original, illustrated by examples drawn from the modern, and particularly the English stage. Such a performance may prove of the utmost importance to dramatic writers, by leading them to a familiar acquaintance with the nature and first principles of their art; and it may contribute to correct the increasing degeneracy of the public taste.

A very high share of commendation is, likewise, due to another translation of the same work. "with Notes on the Translation and on the Original; and two Dissertations on poetical and musical Imitation; by Thomas Twining M. A." This author, as well as Mr. Pye, possesses great learning, and a correct taste; and he appears to be intimately ac-

quainted with the more modern versions of Aristotle, in the different languages of Europe. That he should frequently differ from the former translator, will not be wondered at, when it is considered how abstruse the original frequently is; and that different interpretations of such passages as are mutilated or corrupt, must naturally be expected from different men of learning who have no communication with each other. This translator, however, seems to have produced a version "sufficiently close and accurate to satisfy those readers who are acquainted with the original, and at the same time sufficiently English to be read by those who are not." The language of Mr. Twining is perspicuous and elegant; and he frequently discovers great minuteness of attention, in illustrating the meaning of particular passages. His numerous notes also display extensive knowledge, great judgment, and laboured accuracy. The author's dissertations are, on Poetry, considered as an imitative art, and on the different senses of the word Imitative, as applied by the ancients and by the moderns to Music; in both of which he distinguishes himself by great ingenuity, delicacy, and address.

Mr. Taylor's translation of "The philosophical and mathematical Commentaries of Proclus, &c." with preliminary dissertations, in two volumes, appears to have been undertaken by him with the view of attracting the notice of the public, by entering into an avowed "vindication of philosophical polytheism, as embraced by the wisdom and supported by the general voice of antiquity." As a translator Mr. Taylor hath few pretensions to merit. He hath frequently failed in attempting to elucidate the obscurities of the original, though assisted by

by the Latin version of Barocius, of which he hath made liberal use. His dissertations are, on the Platonic doctrine of ideas, on the demonstrative syllogism, on the nature of the soul, and on the true end of geometry. To these he hath added a history of the restoration of the Platonic theology by the latter Platonists, and a translation of Proclus's Elements of Theology. In reading these dissertations, the smile will often be excited at the consequence and self-importance which Mr. Taylor assumes, and the credulity with which he swallows the absurd tales and the dark mysteries of paganism, which he attempts to unveil, and to explain on principles of reason and common sense; while he laments over the misery and confusion, barbarous impiety and folly, which have followed the introduction of Christianity into the world. The reader's pity will also be called forth when he observes his illiberal and impotent attacks on Christianity; and the contemptuous estimation in which he affects to hold the venerable characters of Bacon, Locke, Cudworth, and Johnson. But the bucklers of modern theology, and modern philosophy, will easily repel the darts of this romantic and vaunting champion.

The treatise "*De Rythmo Græcorum, in usum Juventutis Coll. Æn. Naf. Oxon.*" contains a sensible and learned digest of what has been said by former writers on the rythm of the Greeks, illustrated by many valuable observations of the ingenious author. This work is divided into six chapters. The first treats of the essence and general properties of rythm; the second considers rythm as relative to music; the third as relative to poetry. The fourth and fifth chapters are on the existence and nature of rythm in

prosaic compositions; and the sixth contains a variety of examples, selected from Isocrates and Demosthenes, to shew that such sort of measured periods, among the Greeks, were the result of study and design, and not of accident. This point, the principal object of the learned author, he appears to have demonstrated with considerable success. In an Appendix he treats of the Greek cæsura. The author of this work is entitled to the praise of the learned world, for the philological acumen and perspicuity which it discovers; and for the instruction as well as amusement which he affords his readers.

Mr. Wakefield's "*Sylva Critica; five in Auctores sacros profanosque Commentarius Philologus*," is a publication which reflects great honour on the extensive classical knowledge, and critical taste of the learned author. In this philological commentary Mr. Wakefield blends together sacred criticism and remarks on the profane writers of antiquity; and illustrates the meaning of different passages in the Old and New Testament, by adducing parallel passages from the Greek historians, poets, and fathers. He hath, likewise, introduced a variety of conjectural emendations, which, if they sometimes may be thought bold, from their novelty and disagreement with commonly received readings, are, nevertheless, supported with great ingenuity and force of reasoning. We heartily recommend this instructive and interesting work to the lovers of classical learning; and entertain the hope that the author will find leisure to continue his studies in a line for which he appears to be eminently qualified.

The "*New and Literal Translation of Juvenal and Persius*," with

copious

copious explanatory Notes, &c. by the rev. Mr. Madan, in two vols." is a work which entitles the author to the thanks of the public, for the immense labour and pains which he hath taken, in order to elucidate the meaning of those difficult satirists. But we are doubtful whether the method which he hath adopted, of literally rendering line for line, and word for word, will be successful in making school-boys and young beginners, real and well-grounded scholars; even were we to admit the propriety of indulging them with translations of any kind. And we think that it entirely destroys that ardour, point, and beauty which are the principal recommendations of his originals. We perfectly agree, however, with the author, in thinking that it will afford desirable assistance "to numbers in a more advanced age, who, by being thrown into various scenes of life, remote from classical improvement, have so far forgotten their Latin, as to render these elegant and instructive remains of antiquity almost inaccessible to their comprehension, however desirous they may be to renew their acquaintance with them." And his copious and valuable notes, in which he hath availed himself of the assistance of various learned commentators, though they do not always carry conviction to our minds, will sufficiently justify us in recommending Mr. Madan's translation.

The "Dissertation concerning two Odes of Horace, which have been discovered in the Palatine Library, at Rome," is intended to recall the attention of classical readers to, what appears to the author to have been overlooked, or forgotten, the publication of Mr. Villouin at the end of the *Addenda* in *Animadversionibus ad longi*

Pastoralia, and to assign those Odes their proper arrangement in the works of Horace. We recollect that when M. Pallavicini first announced the discovery of these Odes, the question respecting their authenticity occasioned several discussions in the literary world. On this head our editor says nothing farther, "than that they are, in consideration of their reputed author, entitled to the attention of the literati;" and that he leaves them "in their hands, with a certain assurance, that each of the Odes will stand the test, as to pure Latinity and authenticity, of the severest criticism." For the satisfaction of our classical readers, we have inserted them in our Poetical department.

In our History of the Domestic Literature of the Year 1788, we bestowed our impartial praise on the ingenuity and learning discovered by an anonymous author, who called in question the authenticity of the *Parian Chronicle*. We at the same time expressed our wish, that a subject which had employed the talents of a writer of unquestionable abilities and taste, would give rise to liberal and dispassionate investigations on a point which involved in it many interesting particulars connected with general erudition. The praise which we bestowed on that work was impartial, because we ourselves did not admit the conclusions which the learned author drew from the different positions which he laid down. During the present year, an article has appeared in the *Archæologia*, in "Vindication of the Authenticity of the *Parian Chronicle*, by Rich. Gough, Esq." in which the author displays great learning, and solid arguments, which appear to us, on the whole, to outweigh the

the objections of his sensible and plausible opponent. On the same side of the question the controversy has been undertaken by the rev. John Hewlett. This author examines the considerations laid down by our objector, in the order in which he had arranged them. But though he stands on that ground which we deem to be most tenable, and shews that he is not deficient in ingenuity, we do not think him qualified to oppose so formidable an antagonist. In learning, and in candour, he is greatly his inferior.

Mr. Cogan's "Address to the Dissenters on Classical Literature," contains many just and sensible observations on the advantages of classical learning, which deserve the attention of the public in general, as well as the body of people for whom he principally writes. We have, however, heard it ably contended, that he is not perfectly accurate in what he takes for granted as an indisputable fact, viz. that the dissenters are peculiarly deficient in classical knowledge. And it has been suggested to us, that he insists too much on the superior advantages which those of the establishment enjoy, from such public schools as Westminster and Eton, as it ought to be considered, that dissenters are not debarred from drawing their stores from the same sources, or from schools conducted on similar plans. We do not, by these observations, in the least condemn that zeal which prompted him to engage his brethren to remove from themselves a supposed stigma. It is highly to be commended: and the dissenters are much obliged to him for his well meant advice.

During the present year a curious and valuable literary work hath been imported from Calcutta, entitled "Asiatic Researches; or

Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for enquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia; vol. I." This Society owes its institution to the activity of sir William Jones, whose abilities, and taste for oriental literature are well known. It was formed on the 15th of Jan. 1784. Its objects are, "Man and Nature; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other." And when we consider the scope which the members have for their learned investigations, bounded only by the geographical limits of Asia, "which has ever been esteemed the nurse of science, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men," we may be justified in forming very high expectations of information and entertainment from the establishment of such a literary society. The volume before us contains a promising specimen of their useful and extensive labours. Beside such papers as are intended to improve our acquaintance with oriental literature, it consists of various communications which may be classed under the heads of mythology, mathematics, philosophy, natural history, manners and customs of nations, antiquities, manufactures, and polite arts, which, are interesting, instructive, and amusing. To these we may add two excellent and elegant Discourses, by sir William Jones, the President of the Society; in the first of which he lays down the nature

ture of their institution, and of the objects of their enquiries; and in the second, which was delivered on the first anniversary of this establishment, he congratulates them on what was already done, and proceeds to mark out the line for their future conduct.

"Deinology; or the Union of Reason and Elegance, &c." by Hortentius, is evidently the production of a scholar and man of taste; and has afforded us much pleasure and instruction in the perusal of it. The author's object is, to recommend the principles of logic and rhetoric to the attention and study of the gentlemen of the English bar, whom he considers to be greatly inferior, in point of eloquence, to their neighbours the French, and their fellow-labourers, almost in the same vineyard, the Scotch advocates. With this view he hath selected from other writers on this subject what he conceived to be their best remarks; and hath added some useful observations of his own, in the form of advice to a young barrister. In the divisions of this work, and in pointing out in what manner oratory should make use of logic, and the use that logic, in its turn, may make of rhetoric, he gives evidence of his having been well trained in the school of dialectic philosophy. He hath also illustrated the different figures of speech, with judgment and perspicuity. To this work the author hath added a postscript on the examination of witnesses; which contains an ingenious attempt to reduce to rules a subject of great nicety and skill, that merits particular attention from the gentlemen of the bar.

Mr. Pickbourn's "Dissertation on the English Verb," is not intended by him to give a complete theory of the verb; but to discuss

such questions as either have not been perfectly considered, or, in his opinion, mistaken by grammarians. His first object is to shew the simplicity of the verb; as it consists of an infinitive mode, a present and preterite tense, and two participles. In the next place he treats of the copiousness of the verb, arising from its compound tenses; which he explains as they relate to present, past, and future time. In this part of his subject, particularly in what he says relative to present and past time, the reader will meet with many clear and judicious observations, which are deserving of his notice. The next subject which he investigates is the passive voice, and the proper exemplification of the present, past, and future tenses. After this Mr. Pickbourn comes to, what appears to be one of his principal objects, and is indeed interwoven with the whole of his work, an enquiry into the nature of participles, which he considers as no more significant of time than adjectives; and the use of the infinitive mode, on which subject he suggests a variety of sensible and useful remarks. This dissertation concludes with some observations on the subjunctive mode, a definition of the verb, and conjectures on its origin in language. We ought not, however, to omit observing, that through the whole of this performance, the English verb is, by way of illustration, contrasted with the French and Latin verb. We have been thus particular in analysing the subject of Mr. Pickbourn's work, because we consider it to be an important and valuable addition to our treatises on grammar. The author's accuracy and precision are highly to be commended. And, if he may be thought to advance some novel doctrines, in which he is not countenanced by

our most eminent grammarians, he supports them, nevertheless, with great ingenuity, and with great modesty. He invites "minute enquiry, liberal communication, and candid debate," and is entitled to respect for the diligence and candour which he discovers, when endeavouring to render himself servicable to the interests of literature.

"The Art of Criticism, as exemplified in Dr. Johnson's Lives of the most eminent English Poets," is a curious and heterogeneous work, which consists of notes on detached parts of the Lives of the poets, apparently thrown together at the time of reading them, and presented to the world in the crude incorrect state in which they were written. Sometimes we have been pleased and entertained with our author's boldness of thought, and singularity of remark; but have been more frequently disgusted with the coarseness and vulgarity of his censures. And we have looked, in vain, for that arrangement of matter, and perspicuity of language, which are essential requisites in a professed didactic performance.

The author of "A Caution to Gentlemen who use Sheridan's Dictionary," hath pointed out a number of errors in that work, and in Mr. Sheridan's system of pronunciation, which well deserve the attention of the public, and especially of those who have been educated in the school of that gentleman. He hath also added, for the assistance of foreigners and natives, select rules for pronouncing English with precision and elegance; which are founded in judgment and good taste, and conveyed in simple and perspicuous language.

During the present year there hath appeared a new edition of "The Spectator; with Notes."

The principal merit of this edition consists in its restoring to their rightful owners, the different papers in this universally admired collection; and in the anecdotes and explanatory references, which the lapse of more than half a century from their first publication, had rendered necessary to the reader. We could wish, however, that these improvements had not been introduced upon quite so contracted a plan.

"The Trifler, a new periodical Miscellany, by Timothy Touchstone, of St. Peter's College, Westminster," is reputed to be the production of some of the Westminster scholars, who, induced by the praises bestowed on the *Microcosm* of the Etonians, have been emulous of sharing with them in the honours of authorship. If the essays which compose this volume be, in reality, juvenile productions, they possess considerable merit. They consist, like most collections of this kind, of serious papers, characters, histories, adventures, philological discussions, politics, and poetry, which to lovers of light reading, may prove instructive and amusing.

"The Busy Body, a Collection of periodical Essays, &c. by Mr. Oulton, in two vols." is intended for readers of the same description, but it possesses very few recommendations to their notice. If we were required to point out what is most deserving of praise in this author, we should refer to his poetical parodies and imitations, which are tolerably well conducted.

Among the numerous Poetical works to which the year 1789, hath given birth, we meet with "The Fems of Ferdosi, translated from the Persian, by Joseph Champaigne, Esq. vol I." Ferdosi was a native of the kingdom of Khorasan, and pat-

nized by Mahmoud, the accomplished Sultan of Ghezny, who flourished at the latter end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries of the Christian æra. The poems before us were translated by him, at the desire of that Monarch, from the historical annals of Persia, which were originally collected by the command of Yezdegerd, and written in the Peihlouvi language; the same it is supposed, as was spoken in the time of Zoroaster. The history which they contain, when divested of its poetical ornaments, appears from some collateral evidences, to be, in general, authentic; and will be found to elucidate many curious circumstances, and point out many interesting occurrences, in times with which European writers are but little acquainted. So much for the design and merits of the original work, as far as we have been able to collect any account of it, from an Essay on the Life and writings of Ferdosi, prefixed to this volume; and from other authorities. Of Mr. Champion's translation we cannot speak in favourable terms. It is totally destitute of poetical merit; vapid, indistinct, and sometimes ungrammatical; and must convey a very inadequate idea of the original, on which the natives of Persia bestow the highest encomiums.

The poem called "Philotoxi Ardenæ; the Woodmen of Arden; by John Morfitt, Esq. Barrister at Law, accompanied with two Translations, one in blank Verse, another in Rhyme, by Joseph Weston," celebrates the Warwickshire heroes and heroines of the bow and arrow, and was written with the view of promoting "the truly British exercise of archery." The original is far from being an inelegant production; and though intended only for the amusement of a private cir-

cle, will not disgrace the classical talents of Mr. Morfitt, when examined by the public eye. The translations; likewise, are not destitute of merit. In his preface Mr. Weston enters into a laboured defence of the negligences of Dryden; and an attack on the character and versification of Pope. The former object appears to us to be unnecessary; the latter groundless, and conducted in a manner that is too acrimonious and offensive.

The two volumes of "Poems, by Charles James, Esq." were composed "during the interval of sixteen and twenty-seven;" and, of course, will be found very unequal in their merits. The titles of the principal of them, and on which the author hath bestowed the most labour are, the *Vanity of Fame*; an *Epistle from Petrarch to Laura*; the *Year 1800*, or, it will be so; and the *Suicide*. These poems discover the author to be possessed of considerable abilities; and abound in many beautiful and striking thoughts; which are delivered in elegant language, and harmonious versification. It were to be wished, however, that he had not so frequently availed himself of the labours of his predecessors; and particularly of Mr. Pope. With the talents that he evidently possesses, he might have thought more freely for himself, and produced poems not unworthy the public attention.

The volume of "Poems, by the Rev. Joseph Sterling," is distinguished by a number of striking and beautiful passages, which will ensure it a favourable reception from the public. The first and most considerable piece in this collection, which is built on the *Squire's Tale*, left imperfect by Chaucer, possesses many of the characteristics of an epic poem; and is marked by great

strength of imagination, bold and animated language, and brilliant imagery. To this succeed, the Rhapsodist, a poem; two Odes from the Icelandic, with a sensible Dissertation and Notes: la Gierusalemme Soggettita, in the manner of Spencer; translations from the Italian, the Latin of Milton, the Epitaph of Bion from Moscow, part of the third book of the Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius; and other poems. These different pieces recommend themselves by very different merits. They have their beauties, and their blemishes; but the former greatly preponderate. From the preface to this volume we are informed that the greater part of these poems, were published in Dublin, several years since.

"Arthur, or the northern Enchantment, a poetical Romance, in seven Books, by Richard Hole, LL. B." is one of the most ingenious and pleasing epic poems, which the press has, of late years, produced. For his materials the author is indebted, partly to the legendary tales of Arthur, and partly to his own invention. The story, as far as we can relate it, is this: the Weird Sisters, or Northern Parcae, perceiving through the veil of futurity, that should Arthur obtain in marriage, Inogen, Merlin's daughter, to whom he is contracted, the event would be fatal to the Gothic nations, and their religion; employ all their art to favour the wishes of Hengist, king of the Saxons, who is also in love with her. Their efforts, however, and their malice are continually opposed by Merlin's supernatural wand; which enables Arthur to triumph over their enchantments, and to secure his destined bride, as well as the British throne. In this beautiful and entertaining romance, Mr. Hole

displays great powers of imagination, much bold and picturesque description, and a correct poetical taste. The incidents which he introduces are highly interesting; and his reflections moral and instructive. He hath also discovered, by his judicious and learned Preface and Notes, that he is a considerable proficient in Scandinavian Antiquities.

"The Botanic Garden, Part II. containing the Loves of the Plants, a Poem," is a performance singularly novel, entertaining, and instructive. The general design of it is "to enlist Imagination under the banner of Science, and to lead her votaries from the looser analogies, which dress out the imagery of poetry, to the stricter ones, which form the ratiocination of philosophy. The particular design is to induce the ingenious to cultivate the knowledge of botany; by introducing them to the vestibule of that delightful science, and recommending to their attention the immortal works of the celebrated Swedish naturalist, Linnaeus." The publication of the first part of this work which is to treat of the œconomy of vegetables, is deferred to another year, for the purpose of repeating some experiments. In the part now before us, the sexual system of Linnaeus is explained, with the remarkable properties of many particular plants. It was with uncommon pleasure that we followed the author through the cantos of this agreeable poem, which is rendered exceedingly interesting by lively descriptions, beautiful allusions both to classic fable, and to modern persons, manners and inventions, and a great variety of collateral, poetical ornaments. The author likewise, hath discovered his learning, judgment, and taste, in the notes which are subjoined to this poem;

poem; and in different prose interludes which he hath introduced between the cantos.

"The Day of Penitence, or Man Restored; a Poem in Twelve Books, by W. Gilbank, M. A." is designed "to give a clear and comprehensive view of the theory of our most holy religion, as it is supported by a long chain of extraordinary facts, and striking interpositions of Providence recorded in the sacred history; and to exhibit that representation in a form and dress likely to attract the notice of such as cannot easily be prevailed upon to become acquainted with it in a more systematic garb." The piety of this author, and his intimate acquaintance with the scriptures, are discernible in every part of this poem. But he hath evidently undertaken a most arduous task, to which his abilities are by no means equal. His plan is devoid of perspicuity; and in conducting it, notwithstanding the sublimity of his subject, he offers little to the reader that is interesting or pleasing.

The "Essay on Sensibility, a Poem, in Six Parts," was written in order to discuss the question, "Whether sensibility or the want of it, is, upon the whole, most productive of comfort and happiness in the course of life." The first part is employed in considering the different pleasures of sensibility; the second in contemplating its pains resulting from those general evils, whether natural or moral, to which mankind are exposed; the third, in surveying the different species of disgust produced by the view of private characters; the fourth in enumerating the pangs which accompany the dearer and domestic relations; the fifth considers the nature and effects of apathy; the sixth examines into the causes, and

points out the remedies, of the pains of sensibility, and concludes with establishing in its favour, the ballance of happiness. The author of this poem is, unquestionably, a sensible writer; and has discovered considerable skill in drawing characters. Many of his lines also, are forcible, and well finished. But he hath extended his subject to an unnecessary and tedious length; and betrayed a blameable negligence in suffering it to appear before the public disfigured by a number of blemishes, with respect to language, versification, and sense, which a careful revision would have led him to correct.

Mr. Bowles's "Verses to John Howard, F. A. S. on his State of Prisons and Lazarettos," contain a pleasing and elegant address to that worthy and respectable man, which does credit to the poetical talents of the author, and to the genuine sentiments of humanity by which he appears to be influenced. At the end of this address Mr. Bowles hath added some lines on the death of Mr. Headley, the ingenious author of "Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry," of which we gave a particular account in our History of the Literature of the year 1787.

"The Village Curate" is the production of a sensible and engaging writer, who, in relating an account of the curate's mode of living, manners, and pursuits, during the course of a year, takes the opportunity of introducing a number of descriptions, characters, and reflections, which are beautiful, impressive, and original. This poem, however, is not so finished and correct as the author's abilities might have rendered it. Of this he seems thoroughly sensible, and gaily disclaims all pretensions to fame from "this rude song," while he

seems to promise some future performance more worthy of the attention of the public. No one who has read the *Village Curate*, will think him unqualified for that task.

The author of "*A Collection of Sixty Sonnets*," hath chosen a variety of interesting subjects, on which he hath delivered a number of pleasing and beautiful thoughts, clothed in simple and elegant language. But though we perused several of them with much pleasure, we became tired and disgusted, by running over, again and again, the same species of versification, without any variety or change to relieve our attention.

The "*Sonnets, and Miscellaneous Poems*," by the late Thomas Russell, Fellow of New College, Oxford," are evidently the productions of a man of genius and taste, who appears to have been well versed in classical knowledge, and intimately acquainted with best French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese authors. From the merit which these specimens discover, we are led to regret that such promising abilities should have been lost to the world, before the author had completed his twenty-sixth year.

During the present year Mr. Polwhele hath completed his "*English Orator*," by publishing the Fourth Book of that didactic poem. The subject of this book is, the eloquence of the pulpit, which he considers in an extensive point of view, and discusses with considerable address. His observations respecting the previous qualifications of preacher, the choice of subjects for sermons, the necessity of acquainting themselves with the character of their hearers, and adapting their discourses to their situations and understandings, the propriety of addressing the pas-

sions, and the manner in which this may be done with the greatest advantage, and the importance of an unblemished and respectable character, are judicious and useful, and highly deserving of the attention of the clergy. Nor do the author's poetical talents appear in a less respectable light than in the former books.

Mr. Birch also, hath published the second part of "*The Abbey of Ambresbury*." When we gave an account of the first part of this poem, we were liberal in commendation of our author's poetical abilities; and expressed, in warm terms, the satisfaction which we had received from attending to his beautiful and pathetic story. The continuation now before us, is interesting and affecting, and will afford pleasure to most readers. But, notwithstanding its merit, we do not think it equal to the first part. The story does not appear to be told so well; neither does it exhibit equal proofs of accuracy and correctness.

"Bell's Classical Arrangement of Fugitive Poetry," is a most elegant production, which deserves the encouragement and support of all true lovers of the English Muse. The design of it is, to give to the public a selection of detached pieces of English poetry, of acknowledged merit, formerly printed separately, or in prior collections; and here republished under a classical arrangement. Of this work eight volumes have already appeared. From the specimen which these afford us of the editor's taste and judgment, is the choice of his subjects, and the merit of the pieces which he has admitted into his collection, we can venture to pronounce that the whole work, which is intended to consist of about twenty volumes, will be worthy

worthy of admission into the best libraries. To each of these volumes are added, by way of appendix, notes, anecdotes, and remarks, critical and explanatory, which will be highly acceptable to most readers.

We have already extended our History of Domestic Literature so far, that we are obliged to content ourselves with mentioning only the titles of some of the other poetical works which have appeared during the present year. To this list the prolific Muse of Peter Pindar hath contributed "A Poetical Epistle to a falling Minister, &c." the best and most pleasing parts of which are the dialogues between Prudence and Peter; "Subjects for Painters," in which, with his usual success, he laughs at, or teizes the Royal Academicians; and "Expostulatory Odes to a Great Duke, and a Little Lord," which is far from being the least pointed of his satirical productions. In addition to these there have appeared two volumes of "Satirical Poems, by Anthony Pasquin, Esq." "The Brunoniad, a Poem, in six Cantos;" "A Congratulatory Epistle to his Grace the Duke of Portland, on His Majesty's Recovery;" "Peter Pindar's Penitence, a Miscellaneous and Burlesque Poem, by Pindaromastix;" "The Rout, or a Sketch of Modern Life;" "The Female Parliament, by Theophilus Swift, Esq.;" "Poems on Various Subjects, by Mrs. Rowson;" "The Deluge, by the rev. John Roberts, M.A.;" "Redemption, a Poem, by Joseph Swain;" "Suicide, a Poem, by Mary Dawes Blackett;" "Matilda, in seven Cantos, by Mr. Best;" "The Guinea Voyage, in three books, by James Field Stanfield;" "Sable Victims, a Barbadoes Narration, &c. by F. Nicholls;" "Sorrows of Slavery, &c. by the rev. J. Jamieson, A. M.

F. A. S. S.;" "Gallic Liberty, a Poem, occasioned by the Revolution in France;" "Thoughts on the Seasons, &c. principally in the Scottish Dialect, by David Davidson;" "The Harp, a Legendary Tale;" "Conway Castle, by James White, Esq.;" "Leith Hill;" "Crouch Hill;" "The Grove of Fancy;" "An Epistle in Verse, written from Somersetshire, to a Gentleman in Scotland; and "A Collection of Poems, chiefly pastoral and elegiac, by J. Rannie."

The Dramatic List of the year 1789, contains the following Tragedies: "Mary Queen of Scots, by the Hon. John St. John," which was the only one produced on the stage;" "Panthea, or the Captive Bride, &c. founded on a Story in Xenophon, by the rev. Thomas Maurice, A. M. late of University College, Oxford;" "Alfred, an Historical Tragedy, &c. by E. Rhodes;" and "Chaubert, or the Misanthrope, by J. C. Villiers, Esq.," which is founded on circumstances, related in the Observer, by Mr. Cumberland. The Comedies were, "The Impostors, by Richard Cumberland, Esq.;" "False Appearances, altered from the French, by the right hon. Gen. Conway;" "The Married Man, by Mrs. Inchbald;" "The Sword of Peace; or, a Voyage of Love;" and "The English Tavern at Berlin, in three acts." The Musical Pieces, Interludes, and Farces were, "The Island of Marguerite;" "The Family Party;" "Half an Hour after Supper;" "As it Should Be;" and "The Man of Enterprize, by C. Shillito."

Under our short head of miscellaneous productions, we shall, in the first place, announce the publication of the second volume of Mr. Twiss's work, styled "Chefs."

The object of the author, as we explained it when we gave an account of his first volume is to present to his readers a compilation of all the anecdotes and quotations that could be found relative to the game of Chess; with an account of all the chess books that could be procured. We have nothing more to add with respect to the general character of this work, than that the author hath been indefatigable in the attention and patience which he hath bestowed on the continuation before us; and that chess-players, and his readers in general, will readily acknowledge the additional obligations which he hath conferred upon them, by the fresh sources which he hath opened, of information and entertainment.

The name of Lavater, and the character of his curious and singular "Essays on Physiognomy", are already sufficiently known to our readers. We have it now in our power to announce to them, the first complete edition of that work in English, "translated by Thomas Holcroft; illustrated by Three Hundred and Sixty Engravings, in 3 vols. 8vo." The translation of a work on a subject so novel, and composed in the self-created style of the author, was a peculiarly bold and laborious task. Mr. Holcroft, however, is entitled to considerable merit, for the fidelity and spirit with which he hath, in general, rendered the meaning of his original. The edition which he hath used, is that of Mr. Ambruster, the friend of Mr. Lavater, who had judiciously divested it of many unnecessary luxuriations, with the knowledge, and apparently with the approbation, of the author. Without entering upon an enquiry into the solidity of the author's principles, we may ob-

serve, that the judicious and serious reader, will find much to admire, and much to approve, in the sensible and curious remarks, and the benevolent and pious reflections which occur in these volumes. But, independently of the merits of the work as a scientific performance, the numerous, rich and beautiful plates with which it is decorated, give it a high degree of value and importance. These consist of shades, unshaded heads, and finished heads and figures; and are executed with great elegance and accuracy.

The volume of "Anecdotes, &c. Ancient and Modern, with Observations, by James Petit Andrews, F. A. S.", will be found an entertaining, and occasionally, an instructive companion. A retirement for some years, with the uninterrupted perusal of a library composed chiefly of such volumes as are not in the way of every student, supplied the editor with a very considerable stock of extracts and remarks. These he hath arranged under proper heads; connected them with observations of his own; and offered them to the public, with hopes of their being received with candour and good humour. It would be ungrateful to give this work a different reception. Readers of all descriptions may derive amusement from it. And what is much to the credit of the compiler, and very unusual in productions of this kind, nothing will be found in it, that can have an unfavourable influence on the morals or the religion of the young and inexperienced, or give offence to the most delicate ear.

The collection of "Anecdotes, Bon Mots, and characteristic Traits, of the greatest Princes, Politicians, Philosophers, &c. by the rev. John Adams," appears, likewise, to have been formed with a careful atten-

tion

pion to exclude from it every thing unfavourable to morality and decency, and will supply young readers with a fund of innocent amusement and instruction.

The "Essay on Shooting &c. with Instructions for attaining the Art, the Method of training Pointers, &c. with summary Observations on the various Subjects of the Sport," is a work which will be peculiarly acceptable to sportsmen; and which we may venture to recommend, as the most useful practical treatise that we have yet seen on the subject. For the rules which are contained in this essay, as well as the collateral information with which it abounds, the author acknowledges himself to be considerably indebted to a French publication, entitled "La Chasse au Fusil." He hath, likewise, added a number of sensible and just observations of his own, which appear to be the result of personal experience.

The volume of "Miscellaneous Pieces, in Prose and Verse, by the rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift &c. not inserted in Mr. Sheridan's Edition of the Dean's works," depends for its authenticity solely on the internal evidence of the papers which it contains. And, with respect to many of them, this will be sufficient for the satisfaction of those who are conversant with Dr. Swift's works. A great part of this volume consists of letters from the Dr. to his friends; which may assist us in forming a more comprehensive judgment of that extraordinary character. The remaining part is composed of miscellaneous pieces; some of which might have been suffered to remain in obscurity, without injury to the reputation and fame of the supposed author.

The volume of "Literary Re-

King Charles II. James II. the Queen of Bohemia, Swift, Berkeley, Addison, Seel, Congreve, &c. by George-Monk Berkeley, Esq. LL. B. in the University of Dublin," contains a number of papers that are interesting and entertaining. Those of the late excellent and learned Bishop of Cloyne, will be particularly acceptable. The reader will also receive with pleasure, an ingenious and animated defence of Dr. Swift, by the editor.

The publication of the "Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, LL. D. Lord Bishop of Derry, in Ireland, &c. by James Dallaway, M. A. of Trinity College, Oxford, in two volumes," will prove an acceptable circumstance to the literary world. That respectable and worthy prelate, though not distinguished as an author, was most intimately connected with the most eminent political and literary men of his period; by whom he was highly respected. These letters contain many literary remarks, which are curious and important, and shew him to have been a man of great taste, learning, and virtue. They also offer such evidences of his zealous and rational attachment to the cause of liberty and free enquiry, as reflect the highest honour on his memory, and will be perused with pleasure and improvement. Our readers will naturally recollect the character given of this Bishop, by Mr. Pope, that "Rundle had a heart:" and we can assure them, that the perusal of these volumes, will abundantly confirm the justice of that encomium.

The "Thoughts in the form of Maxims, addressed to young Ladies, on their first Establishment in the World, by the Countess Dowager of Carlisle," do equal honour to the writer's discernment and goodness of heart. This little work is intended, chiefly,

chiefly, for the use of young ladies of fortune, who have had the advantage of a good education, and is designed to guard them against "such minute follies and blemishes, on their first entrance on the great and critical world, as are the less avoidable, as their consequences do not strike at first." And it will be found to convey much useful instruction, relative to manners, and propriety of behaviour.

Mr. Bennet's "Letters to a young Lady, on a Variety of interesting and useful Subjects, &c. in two vols." may be considered as a continuation of a former work, by the same author, entitled "Strictures on Female Education," of which we gave an account in our Register for the year 1787. Mr. Bennet's instructions are comprehended under the following heads: I. Religious knowledge; with a list of proper writers. II. Polite knowledge, as it relates to the belles lettres in general. III. Accomplishments, as displayed in music, dancing, dress, politeness, &c. IV. Prudential conduct and maxims, with respect to amusement, love, courtship, marriage, &c. We have already bestowed a due share of praise on this author, for his sensible and friendly endeavours to contribute to the improvement of the female sex. In the volumes before us, he is engaged in the same commendable employment. And, notwithstanding that they contain nothing new, or uncommonly striking, and may be thought to have been rendered unnecessary by the elegant productions of Dr. Gregory, Dr. Fordyce, and Mrs. Chapone, they are written with that fervour, and goodness of intention, that entitle them to a favourable reception; and we can safely recommend them as "calculated to improve the heart, to form

the manners, and enlighten the understanding."

Mr. Williams's "Lectures on Education; read to a Society for promoting reasonable and humane Improvement in the Discipline and Instruction of Youth, in three vols." contain a number of ingenious and useful remarks on the objects of attention in education, with an account of a new plan which he hath adopted for educating youth, by means of actual exercises, instead of formal precepts; which are accompanied by singular and interesting narratives of different experiments, made by him on the principles which he recommends, and their results. Notwithstanding that the author hath successfully pointed out the defects which attend the modes of discipline and instruction commonly pursued, and offered a variety of just and original observations, which merit the attention of the public, we cannot say that we have been able to form a perfect idea of the practical part of his scheme. Some parts of it appear to us to be too refined and visionary. We think also, that many of the sentiments which he introduces on the subject of religious principles, are highly exceptionable. No system of education, in our opinion, can be solid or valuable, which doth not direct its first attention to establish in the minds of young persons clear and rational principles of piety. These principles are the best foundation on which the beautiful and useful superstructure of moral virtue can be erected.

The "Tracts by Warburton, and a Warburtonian &c." consist of miscellaneous translations, in prose and verse, and a critical and philosophical enquiry into the causes of prodigies and miracles, omitted in the last splendid edition of the

shop's works; and a dissertation on the delicacy of friendship, addressed to Dr. Jortin, together with a letter to Dr. Thomas Leland, in support of Dr. Warburton's idea of an inspired language, as delivered in his *Doctrine of Grace*, which have been generally ascribed to a learned prelate, who was formerly the friend of Warburton, and superintended the late edition of his works. The object of this publication is, partly, to recall to public notice and attention such ingenious and philosophical essays of Warburton, of which a suppression hath been very improperly attempted; and, partly to vindicate the characters of Jortin and Leland from the unprovoked and virulent attacks of the Warburtonian. This design takes up the dedication addressed by the editor to a learned critic; a preface; & *Testimonia Auctorum*. It is not easy to speak too highly of the learning, philosophy, and classical taste, which are discovered by the editor of these Tracts. His defences of Jortin and Leland, are masterly and complete; his criticisms display uncommon powers of judgment and discrimination; and his style is distinguished by a boldness of imagery, an energy and elegance of diction, which must extort the praise of all descriptions of readers, even of those who may not admire the spirit by which he appears to be actuated.

The "Facts relating to the rev. Dr. White's Bampton Lecture, by R. B. Gabriel, D. D." have been laid before the public in vindication of the character of the editor, who was accused of calumniating Dr. White, by asserting, that he was under particular obligations to the late Mr. Badcock, for assistance in the composition of his sermons, preached at the Bampton Lecture. Notwithstanding that these facts do,

in a considerable degree substantiate Dr. Gabriel's assertion, they are far from warranting the conclusion that the chief merit of that celebrated work is not to be ascribed to the learned professor. What they principally tend to prove is, that Dr. White, whose genius and literature are unquestionable, is highly to be blamed for that indolence of disposition which permitted him to accept of the services of Mr. Badcock; and for the indiscretion with which he entrusted his reputation to the care of a man, who, to speak in the mildest terms of his conduct, had the weakness to gratify the illiberal and malignant with an opportunity of defaming his employer, by disclosing, or making a boast of the assistance which he had afforded him, and for which he had received an ample pecuniary recompence.

In our history of the Foreign Literature of the year 1788, we expatiated, as far as our limits would permit, on the character and merits of "The Posthumous Works of Frederick II. King of Prussia, in fifteen vols. published at Berlin." We have now the satisfaction of informing the English reader, that the opportunity is afforded him of becoming acquainted with those interesting and entertaining volumes, by the progressive translation of Mr. Holcroft. We have only seen two volumes of this translation, containing Frederick's History of his own Period, to the conclusion of the seven year's war, which we can venture to recommend for the fidelity and correctness with which the original appears to be rendered.

Among the numerous Novels and Romances of the year, the public approbation has been particularly bestowed on "Zealeuco, or various Views of Human Nature, taken from Life

Life and Manners, foreign and domestic, in two vols." "Mammuth, or Human Nature displayed on a grand Scale &c. by the Man in the Moon, in two volumes;" "Ethelinde, or the Recluse of the Lake, by Charlotte Smith, in five volumes;" "The Son of Ethelwolf, an historical Tale, in two volumes, by Miss Fuller;" "Earl Strongbow, in two volumes;" "Agnes de Courcy, a domestic Tale, by Mrs. Bennet, in four volumes;" and "Argus, or the House Dog, at Eadlip; Memoirs in a Family Correspondence, in three vols."

In addition to these, the authors of the following publications have been candidates for the notice of the public, in the same line of writing: "Honorina Somerville;" "The young Widow, or History of Cornelia Sedley;" "Eliza Beaumont,

and Harriet Osborne, by Indiana Brooks;" "Mount Pelham;" "The history of Sir Charles Bentinck, Baronet, and Louisa Cavendish;" "The Child of Woe, by Mrs. Norman;" "The Vicar of Lansdowne, by Maria Regina Dalton;" "The predestined Wife; or, the Force of Prejudice;" "The Belle Widows;" "Radzivil;" "The Hermit of Snowden;" "Juliet, or the Cottager;" "Lord Walford;" "The Priory of St. Bernard, an old English Tale;" "Paul and Mary, an Indian Story;" "Calista, by Mr. Johnson;" "Rosenberg, a Legendary Tale;" and "The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes."

With this list we shall close our history of the Domestic Literature of the year 1789.

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1789.

IN giving our general view of Foreign Literature, we are obliged to confine ourselves within still narrower limits than while describing the progressive efforts of our own countrymen, in the different branches of knowledge. And our materials, even for the short and imperfect abstract which we profess to lay before our readers, will be found exceedingly scanty, while passing over the northern nations of Russia, Sweden and Denmark.—To begin with the Russian empire: the only theological work concerning which we have had any information, was published at Riga. This work contains “The Gospel of Mark, in Greek and Latin, from MSS. never before examined, chiefly at Moscow, by Christian F. Matthaus; to which are added some Specimens.” From M. Matthaus the learned world hath already received the Gospel of Matthew, the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Hebrews, Colossians, and Timothy, and the Apocalypse, which, as well as the volume before us, reflect great honour on his zealous and arduous labours in the cause of sacred literature. With the present volume are given, some useful remarks on MSS. and on the method of determining their dates; to which the author hath added a promise of a complete catalogue of the MSS. at Moscow. When it is considered

that this country afforded a friendly assylum, to the professors of the Greek church, subsequently to the destruction of the eastern empire, we may reasonably expect very considerable advantages from the fulfilment of M. Matthaus’ promise.—At the same place have appeared “Essays on the History of Russia, translated from the Russian, by C. G. Arndt, vol. I.” This work originally appeared in the new Petersburg Journal for the year 1783. Its object is, to give the Russian youth a better knowledge of the history of their own country than can be obtained from the writings of foreigners, whose sources of knowledge must be imperfect, and who cannot be supposed entirely free from the influence of prejudices. Beside an abstract of the reigns of the successive sovereigns of Russia, and tables of their genealogies, this work contains a chronological view of their contemporaries, in and out of Europe.—At Petersburg a valuable addition hath been made to Geographical Science, by the publication of a map of the discoveries made by the Russians, as well as captain Cook, in the South Seas. Beside the discoveries of our British navigator, this map contains a number of islands between Asia and America, discovered by captain Behring in his voyages to the North in 1728, and to the East in 1741; those

those of Tschiritrow to the East in 1741; of captain Crinizin to the East in 1768; of captain Spanberg to the South in 1738; of lieutenant Walton to the South in 1738; of M. Schelling to the South in 1741; and of M. Petouschkow to the South in 1777.—At Petersburg there hath also been published the second part of the first volume of M. Pallas's "*Flora Rossica*." This second part is continued on the same admirable and splendid plan with the former labours of that indefatigable and intelligent naturalist. It completes the list of the trees and shrubs known as yet in the Russian empire, and contains some very superb figures of the rarest of them. The plates, which amount to an hundred, are executed with the utmost accuracy and beauty. The farther this work proceeds, the greater is our conviction of its importance and utility; and the greater is our admiration of its illustrious patroness, who, amid the numerous objects that claim her anxious attention, hath inclination and spirit to protect, with unabated munificence, such a valuable scientific work.

In Sweden, the first publications that claim our attention are of an historical nature. Of this kind there hath been published at Stockholm, a work, entitled, "*Pieces illustrative of the Wars in Sweden, in two volumes*." These pieces, which amount to twenty-eight in number, contain a variety of curious and important original papers, which will be particularly acceptable to the student in Swedish history. And readers of general history will meet with much interesting information in them; particularly in such as relate to the eventful period of Gustavus Adolphus.—Of the same description are the "*Historical Memoirs of the Royal Regi-*

ment of Sundermania, in two volumes," which will be found to contain much information relative to the history of that extraordinary prince, on whom this regiment attended during all his campaigns.—The "*Naval Memoirs, of Sweden, by C. Gust. Tornquist, Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, Knight of the Order of Merit in France, &c. in two volumes*," contain a particular and accurate account of the naval transactions of that kingdom, from the regency of Torkel Knutson in 1298, to the peace of 1720. As this author appears to have had access to the most authentic documents, his labours cannot but prove acceptable to the public. And his countrymen will consider such a publication to be peculiarly well timed, as a recital of the heroic deeds of their ancestors may stimulate their present fleets to rival their most arduous and honourable exertions.—At Stockholm there have also been published, in separate pieces, "*Brief Medallie Histories*," of Gustavus Adolphus, and his Queen; of Queen Christina; of Charles Gustavus, and his Queen; of Charles XI. of Charles XII. and of Frederick, and his Queen; written by the late celebrated C. Reinhold Berch, Knight of the Order of the Polar Star; which will be particularly valuable to medallists.—The "*New Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy, for the Year 1787*," contain many excellent papers in pure mathematics, chemistry, natural history, and medicine. The most important and valuable of these may be referred to the departments of natural history and medicine. Among other contributors to this volume, we find the names of M. Morveau, M. Olaus Swartz, M. Moller, M. Andrew Wahlin, M. Zacharias Nord-

mark, M. Thunberg, M. Nichol Swederus, M. Arvid Faxé, M. A. H. Florman, professor in the university of Lunden, and M. Afzelius, botanical lecturer at Upsal.—At Stockholm, Sven Rinman, knight of the royal order of Vasa, &c. has published a valuable “Mineralogical Dictionary, in two volumes quarto,” illustrated by thirty-four copper-plates. This copious and extensive work contains not only all the technical terms of the miner, but an account of all known mineral productions, the manner of working them, and the instruments necessary to be employed. Proceeding, as this work does, from a school in which the science of mining is cultivated with the greatest success, it will be found an important and useful assistant to the mineralogists of our own country, to whose attention we recommend it.—The “New Genera and Species of Plants, or a Prodomus of a Description of Vegetables, chiefly hitherto unknown, which were collected in the West Indies in the Year 1783—1787, by Olof Swartz, M.D.” published at Stockholm and Upsal, is a work which the botanical world will receive with peculiar pleasure. The author, in the course of his travels through the different Antilles and Jamaica, discovered no less than sixty-one new genera, and near eight hundred and fifty new species of plants. In this Prodomus he gives their specific characters, with as much conciseness as possible, accompanied with quotations from other authors, a description of the places where the plants grow, and their duration. He hath, likewise, compared his collection with that of sir Joseph Banks, from which it is enriched with several West India plants.—The “Miscellany of Swedish Literature,” trans-

lated into French, by M. Agander, contains a specimen of the progress made by some of the members of the Swedish Academy of Sciences, in ornamental literature. It consists of orations and odes, composed on particular occasions, which create favourable impressions of the genius and taste of these authors. The principal persons who have contributed to this collection are, M. de Rosenstein, secretary to the Academy. M. le Comte J. G. Oxenstierna, Messrs. Paykul, Stöberg, Cleyberg, Kellgren, Thorild, Leopold, and Elers.

In turning our attention to the Literature of Denmark, the first publication which calls for our notice is, a treatise “on the Sahidic Version of the New Testament, with Fragments of Paul’s Epistles to Timothy, from the Sahidic Manuscript in the Borgian Museum at Velletri; by Frederick Munster.” This very ancient and important version of the New Testament, agrees principally with the Cambridge and Vatican versions. It contains also several new lessons, which are not to be met with any where else. The fragments, therefore, which M. Munster hath given in this volume, will be favourably received by Biblical scholars. They will also hear with pleasure, that the same editor intends to publish the Book of Job, and a considerable part of Proverbs, in the Sahidic version, and the Book of Daniel in the Memphitic.—At Copenhagen, M. J. L. Gofsch, has published a “Sketch of a Plan for a Complete System of the General Knowledge necessary to a Statesman, illustrated with Examinations into the First Principles of various important Political Objects, &c. &c.” This sketch shews that the author has read much, and is possessed

possessed of an acute and vigorous mind. And though we doubt not but that his ripe judgment will suggest to him a variety of improvements in his undertaking, we think that from the great sense and ingenuity which he discovers, his work deserves to be classed in the number of valuable publications on the subject of Political Economy.—In the same place a variety of pamphlets have been published on the subject of “Banks,” occasioned by the establishment of a new bank at Altona, the ablest advocate for which is M. Zoega, whose principles have been warmly attacked by a number of anonymous authors.—The “Account of Greenland, from a Journal kept from the Year 1721, to 1788, by Paul Egede,” contains a variety of interesting particulars concerning the different colonies sent from Denmark to Greenland, the progress of the missionaries in promoting the conversion of the inhabitants, the products of the country, and its moral and political importance, which will amply recompence the reader for the time and attention which he may bestow upon it. It may also be recommended as a proper supplement to the well-known publications of Cranz, and Haas Egede, the father of the present author.—The “Chemical Dissertation on Antimonial Medicines, by J. Moeller, M. D.” is employed in pointing out the general properties of antimony, and describing its various preparations. In the course of this dissertation the author also takes notice of several waters which contain this mineral.—We have also met a with valuable and useful work, published at Copenhagen, entitled, “Extracts from the Journal of the Royal Hospital of Frederic, at Copenhagen, by Frederic Lewis Bang, Professor of Medicine, and

First Physician to the said Hospital, in two volumes.” But for a particular account of these volumes, as well as of other medical treatises published on the continent, we must observe our established rule of referring our readers to Dr. Simmons’s Medical Journal.—The last work which we have to announce in our short and imperfect sketch of the Literature of Denmark is, a “Danish and Latin Dictionary, by J. Baden, Professor of Eloquence at Copenhagen.” The former part of this work containing the Latin and Danish part, in two volumes, was published in the year 1786. From the account of the whole work, as given by foreign journalists, it appears to be executed with great care and accuracy; and will prove a valuable acquisition to those who, understanding the Latin, are desirous of becoming masters of the Danish language.

The first place in our account of the Literature of the United Provinces we must assign to the ninth volume of “Prize Dissertations relative to natural and revealed Religion, published by Teyler’s Theological Society at Haarlem.” The object of the Dissertations in this volume is, to give a comparative view of the civil legislation of Lycurgus, Solon, and Moses, in order to demonstrate the superiority of the latter. This subject has been treated with the greatest success by M. Hieronymus Van Alphen, pensionary of Leyden, who obtained the gold medal. His dissertation is divided into three chapters. The two first are devoted to Lycurgus and Solon, and contain particulars concerning their lives; the peculiar circumstances of their respective countries; and the laws which they established relating to the constitution of government, to national education,

education, to police, to crimes and punishments, and to military discipline. In the third chapter the author takes a survey of the laws of Moses, which he introduces by an enquiry into the great ends for which civil society is instituted. These constitute the standard by which he estimates the laws of Moses, and compares them with those of Lycurgus and Solon. In every part of this dissertation M. Van Alphen shews himself to be well acquainted with ancient literature, as well as with the best modern authors who have written on the subject. We may, perhaps, think that his manner is sometimes too diffuse and declamatory. But we mean not by this remark to detract from his real, as well as comparative merit, which justly entitled him to the distinction conferred by the directors of the society. The second dissertation in this volume, on the same subject, is by an anonymous writer; and the third by the rev. Hendrick Van Voorst, minister of the Baptist congregation at Oostzaandam, with whose name and abilities our readers are not unacquainted. Both these dissertations possess considerable merit; and will be found satisfactorily to answer the objections of those who, either from not having studied the subject, or from a prejudice against revelation, are willing to degrade the legislative character of Moses, by greatly exaggerating the comparative merits of other lawgivers, and insisting on the superior advantages of their institutions to promote the grand purposes of civil society.—In the same country, though the title page does not inform us in what place it was printed, there has appeared a treatise containing “Remarks on the Prize Dissertations published against Dr. Priestley, by Paul Samosat-

nus.” The Prize Dissertations on which this author animadverts, were called forth by the zeal of some of the orthodox clergy, who, having tried in vain to suppress translations of Dr. Priestley’s works, by prosecuting and fining the publishers and printers, formed themselves into a society to encourage such hardy champions as should enter the lists against that arch-heretic. Judging from the specimens of their arguments and spirit, inserted in the treatise before us, we cannot think that the cause of orthodoxy will derive much support or honour from their labours. The author of these Remarks, beside expoling the contemptible dullness, and absurd virulence by which the dissertations are chiefly distinguished, enters into a learned enquiry into the opinions of the early fathers of the church; whom he appears to have studied with the most judicious and impartial attention. The result of his enquiry is a conviction that the opinions generally held in the first ages of Christianity concerning the person of Christ, were nearly the same with those afterwards maintained by Arius and his followers. The author’s own opinions, however, appear to approach more nearly to those of Dr. Priestley.—At Utrecht hath been published a volume of “Sermons preached at Batavia, on the Prayer-days appointed to be observed during the late War between Britain and Holland, by Jacob Casper Metzlar, &c.” These Sermons, which are twelve in number, were not originally intended for publication; but the author, being obliged suddenly to depart from Batavia without taking a formal leave of his flock, was induced to send them this performance, as a small memorial of his ministry amongst them. They

appear to have been well calculated to answer the end of such meetings, being applicable to the situation and circumstances of the times, and breathing throughout a pious and devout spirit.

At Leyden a discourse hath been published which was "presented to the Academy of Chalons-sur-Marne, in 1787, upon this Question, What are the best Methods of exciting and encouraging Patriotism in a Monarchy, &c. by J. de Meerman, Seigneur de Dalem; to which is annexed the Discourse of M. Mathon de la Cour, &c. which gained the Prize." Without attempting to follow these authors through their ingenious dissertations, we shall only observe, that the ideas of both are directed and confined to the form of monarchical government formerly established in France, in which the legislative as well as executive powers were lodged in the hands of the sovereign; and that both these dissertations are distinguished by good sense, perspicuity, and political knowledge. M. Mathon de la Cour, however, seems to have had superior claims to the prize which was adjudged to him, from his pre-eminence in metaphysical acumen, beauty of style, and energy of expression.

The second part of the fourth volume of the "Memoirs of the Philosophical Society at Utrecht," has been published there during the present year. As the subjects contained this volume are not numerous, we shall lay them before our readers, together with the names of their authors. The first paper contains an account of the speedy cure of a violent apoplexy, by Gerard Greene, M. D.; the second is on the cultivation of Alpine plants, by M. Thouin, principal gardener to the king of France; the third is the case

of a hydrocephalus discovered after death, by B. de Sola, M. D.; the fourth is a description of the *ganella Capensis*, accompanied with a drawing of that plant, by A. P. Nahuys, professor of medicine, &c.; the fifth is a dissertation on a particular construction of the rampart of a fortification, by Ulrick Hugonin, captain-lieutenant of the artillery in the Dutch service; the sixth is a dissertation on the nature of arsenic, and its effects on several sorts of neutral salts, by the above mentioned A. P. Nahuys, which obtained the gold medal; and the last is a dissertation, by the same, on a particular kind of neutral salt, extracted from the mesembryanthemum crystallinum, which obtained the silver medal.—The "Letter from Dr. Van Marum to the Chavalier Marsilio Landriani, containing a Description of electrical Rubbers of a new Construction," afford fresh evidence of the continued industry and ingenuity of that celebrated philosopher, in perfecting the electrical machine. Of the effect of the improvements which he hath introduced, some idea may be formed by the doctor's statement, that to charge a jar containing a square foot of coated glass, to a certain height, determined by Lane's electrometer, required seven or eight revolutions of his machine when he used a pair of his old rubbers, but only one revolution and an half, with those here described.—The dissertation on the application of electricity to physics and medicine, to which the prize was assigned by the Royal and Patriotic Society of Valence, in Dauphiné, by A. Paets Van Troostwyk, &c. and C. R. T. Krayenhoff, M. A. &c." contains an ample historical view of the gradual progress of electrical knowledge, from the earliest discovery to the

the year 1786, and of medical electricity; interspersed with a variety of judicious observations of their own, which are well adapted to facilitate the study of that branch of physics.—The “Inaugural Dissertation, attempting to prove that the Changes observable in the Fluids of all organized Bodies, proceed from the vital Influence seated in their Vessels, by Julius V. Coulon,” published at Leyden, contains a detail of a number of experiments, as well as a number of arguments, which seem to establish beyond all doubt, the important doctrine that the vascular system of vegetables possesses irritability, as well as that of animals; and to justify the ingenious author in the proper application of this doctrine, that the great diversity of fluids observable in different animals and vegetables, and also of those specifically different in the same individual, proceed in a great measure, if not entirely, from the different modes of acting of the vessels on their fluids.

At Amsterdam there hath been published a “History of the United Netherlands, by the rev. Jean Florent Martinet, M. A.” who is already well known by several successful publications. The work before us contains a geographical description of the country; and its history from the earliest periods to the present times. It is methodical, instructive, and abounding with virtuous and patriotic sentiments.—At Utrecht there hath appeared a “Memoir in Justification of the Rhingrave of Salm, respecting his Evacuation of that City,” which, it is contended, was the result of absolute necessity: a necessity arising from the supineness of the States General, and the total ignorance, parsimony, and perpetual blunders of the commissioners under whose

controul the rhingrave was obliged to act.—The “Oration on the Character and Genius of the Arabians, by Henry Albert Schultens, Professor of Oriental Languages in Leyden, delivered on his resigning the Rectorship of that University,” is a judicious and elegant piece of criticism, intended to recommend the study of that branch of science in which the learned professor is so deservedly eminent. It contains a number of instructive and entertaining observations on the national character of the Arabs, the knowledge cultivated among them, the peculiar fineness of their language for poetical expression, their natural turn for eloquence, and passion for poetry, together with the circumstances by which these qualities are cherished, and the objects by which they are excited.—M. Christopher Saxius, whose indefatigable study, and profound erudition have given him an established reputation in the learned world, hath published, at Utrecht, the sixth volume of his “Literary Onomasticon; or, Historico-Critical Nomenclature of the most eminent Writers of all Times, Nations, and Arts; and of the most illustrious Monuments, from the earliest Records to the present Time, digested according to the most probable Dates and Æras.” This useful work, which contains a collected view of the whole history of literature, and on which the best judges of literary merit have stamped an high degree of value, is now approaching to its completion. The volume before us begins with the present century, and goes to the year 1740. We have reason to hope, therefore, that a seventh volume will be the last; and that it will contain a general register to the whole work.

A considerable time hath intervened since our attention was drawn

to those parts of the Netherlands lately under the dominion of the house of Austria, by the importance of any of their literary productions. In our account of the Foreign Literature of the year 1784, we announced the IVth vol. of the "Memoirs of the Imperial and Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Brussels." We have now the opportunity of introducing to our readers the 5th volume of those Memoirs. The prefatory part consists of Journals of the Academy from May, 1783; and of extracts from the memoirs which it was not thought proper to publish entire. The different articles which compose these memoirs are distributed under the two general heads of Philosophy, and History. The Communicators are, the Abbé Mann, M. de Launay, M. Martin, M. Pigott, the Abbe Marcy, M. de Beunie, M. du Rondeau, and the Abbé Chevalier. In variety and importance of matter, this volume does not equal the former publications of the Academy.—We have also met with a great number of political treatises, occasioned by the revolution in the Belgic provinces, which are adapted to increase the spirit of liberty, which the repeated acts of tyranny and perfidy in Joseph II. called forth, with such energy and lustre. We hope that true science and liberality will soon make equal progress, and concur in establishing a form of government in the Netherlands, favourable to the civil and religious rights of men of all descriptions, and of all opinions.

Our history of the literature of Germany, we shall introduce by taking notice of such publications as are devoted to the extension of Biblical criticism. And the first which demands our attention is the

volume of "Notes on the prophet Isaiah, with an introduction by J. Leonard Rieger," published at Memmingen. The introduction, which takes up half the volume, treats on the nature of the words of the prophet, on the idea of God held out by Isaiah, on his prophecies concerning the Messiah, and a variety of other subjects, which present many sensible and good ideas to the reader. The notes are chiefly critical: partly compiled from Michaelis, Lowth, and other commentators, and partly the author's own.—At Leipzig hath been published a treatise entitled the "Nature and Qualities of the Book of Job, by C. Dav. Ilgen;" which is the production of a sensible and liberal author, who hath applied himself with zeal and success to the study of classical literature. He contends that Job was not a poetical, but a real person, a descendant of Ismael or Esau, living in the vale of Damascus, during the first century of the Egyptian bondage; and supports his opinion with considerable plausibility. His philological remarks and notes are also very valuable.—At Brunswick there hath appeared "A translation of the Song of Solomon, for the use of the German Jews, with some explanatory Remarks, by Moses Mendelssohn," which does credit to the pen of that writer. M. M. considers the Song of Solomon as representing a trial of skill between a shepherd, and a shepherdess; and has divided it into several parts, conformably with this idea.—At Mayland, Dr. Caicatanus Bagati hath published "Daniel, according to the Edition of the Septuagint, taken from the Tetrapla, published in Syriac, from a Syro-Estrangelic, MS. in the Ambrosian Library, with a Latin Version, &c." This work bears ample testi-

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mony to the abilities of the learned editor; especially in the notes, which contain much valuable and important matter.—The “*Scholia on the Old Testament, part I. containing Genesis and Exodus, by E. F. C. Rosenmüller,*” published at Leipzig, though they do not contain much information for those who are conversant in Biblical literature, will afford desirable assistance to such as have not much opportunity for extensive reading.—At Hamburg, M. Michaelis hath published “*An Introduction to the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament, vol. I. containing the Introduction to the several Books seperately, part I.*” The part before us includes the books of Moses, and Job. The old versions, the Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Chaldee, are particularly examined by the author. He still retains the opinion formerly advanced by him, that Moses was the author of the book of Job. We cannot say that we agree with him in this part of his subject. But we think that he very satisfactorily establishes the point, that Moses was the author of the books given under his name, in opposition to those who contend that they were composed either by Ezra, David, or Hilkiah. He allows, however, that Moses, in compiling his history, had recourse to more ancient written and traditional accounts, and historical poems; but believes the history of the Creation to have been revealed to him immediately from God himself.—Lavater’s “*Pocket Bible for the afflicted,*” published at Winterthur, consists of three hundred and fifty short rhapsodies, or occasional meditations on texts of scripture, partly in prose, and partly in verse, which are entirely in the manner of that eccentric writer, and perfectly consonant with the opinions of systematic Calvinists.—At Halle,

Dr. Griesback hath published “*Critical Collations for the purpose of completing and appreciating the various Readings of the New Testament, vol. I.*” which is intended as a supplement to the learned author’s edition of the New Testament. In this work Dr. Griesback hath collated some readings that had been omitted by Wettstein, and others quoted in the manuscript marginal notes of a copy of the first edition of Mills’s New Testament, preserved in the Bodleian library. He hath also given the readings, that differ from the common copies, in two Latin MSS. in the Harleian library. To these collations is added an introductory discourse, in which the author hath examined the comparative merits of several MSS. of the New Testament; in which he displays that learning and critical acumen which have deservedly assigned him the very high rank which he holds among Biblical scholars.—At Tübingen, Dr. Storr hath acquired much praise by a little work entitled “*Historical Remarks tending to explain the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians.*” He justly thought that a good account of many historical circumstances alluded to in these Epistles, would be useful in elucidating their contents. His attempt to draw up such an account, and the ingenious conjectures which accompany it, are a proof of the great zeal and assiduity with which he applies himself to philological studies.—At Franckfort and Leipzig, M. Fred. Aug. W. Krause hath published “*Translations of the Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians, with Remarks.*” In these works the author appears to have consulted the best expositors, and to have executed his task with reputation and honour. It is his intention to publish all the shorter epistles of Paul in the same manner.

manner.—At Leipzig, there have appeared, “*Institutes of Religion, on the principles of Reason and Christianity; intended chiefly for the use of the upper Classes in Schools,*” in which the author avoids all learned investigations, and speculative subtilties, and establishes the truth of revelation by an appeal to the dictates of sound reason. As the author appears to be a firm but rational believer, and confines his enquiries to subjects that are of practical importance, his work may be recommended to young persons as an useful and instructive manual.—At Jena, the learned and respectable M. Döderlein hath republished six of his theological tracts, which have already been stamped with very general approbation. To these he hath now added a seventh tract, entitled “*Liberty of Conscience in Religious matters, the great Source of Concord.*” The sentiments contained in this little piece, are such as we should expect from the comprehensive and liberal mind of the worthy author. He hath also published at the same place, “*A Short Sketch of Christian Morality, for the Use of Lectures;*” on which we shall only observe, that the author, by pursuing his accustomed plan of separating the Christian system of morality from dogmatics, and by controverting such unscriptural principles as have an unfavourable influence on the temper and conduct of religionists, hath performed a service which entitles him to the warm commendations and thanks of the friends to truth and virtue.—The Christian world is also much indebted to M. Aug. Christian Bartels, who hath published, at Hamburgh, two volumes “*On the Worth and Effect of the moral Doctrine of Jesus;*” being an Apology for the same against the only true System of the

Christian Religion.” The “only true System” contained a most partial and illiberal attack on the moral doctrines of Christianity, abounding in gross calumnies, and palpable contradictions. It was calculated, however, to do mischief to the unlearned and unthinking. M. Bartels’s volumes offer an admirable antidote to the poison conveyed in that work; and a masterly and complete defence of the importance and value of the morality of Christ.—At Dresden and Leipzig, M. J. A. Cramer, Vice-chancellor of the University of Kiel, hath published a second volume of “*Occasional Essays on Theological Literature and Religion.*” This author is possessed of no mean abilities; and the subjects which he discusses are curious and important. His principal pieces are meant as answers to M. Döderlein’s doctrine of the Christian religion, and Semler’s paraphrase of, and notes on the first chapter of John.—At Offenbach on the Main have been published “*Remarks on the Doctrines of Jesus, with respect to the Language and Opinions of the Jews, being an Attempt to ascertain what are the Doctrines of Jesus;*” which are the productions of a modest and liberal mind, and possess a considerable share of merit.—At Gottingen hath appeared “*A Defence of the Divinity of Christ, as asserted in the Creed of the Lutheran Church,* by I. F. Flatt, Phil. Prof.” In this work the author defends the arguments used in support of the orthodox doctrine, and answers the objections of the Socinians and modern Arians, with coolness and moderation; but in rather too slight and cursory a manner. His position that the arguments drawn from scripture are the only ones of value, is setting out on fair and tenable ground:

ground: but in illustrating these arguments, and in defining his terms, he shews that he hath not entirely liberated himself from the trammels of the schools.—At Jena, M. C. Leonard Reinhold, Professor of Philosophy, hath published a “Defence of the Lutheran Reformation, in answer to two Chapters of M. J. Schmid’s History of Germany; with Remarks on the present Catholic Reformation in Austria.” The essays which compose this work, appeared, first of all, in different periodical publications, and met with very general approbation. The remarks which they contain are sensible and judicious, and do honour to his historical knowledge and liberality of sentiment. His observations on the Catholic reformation, contain a number of important truths, which deserve the serious attention of the more enlightened members of that communion.—At Ulm, Mr. Warkmeister, of Stutgard, hath published “Essays on amending the Catholic Liturgy in Germany, part I.” which contain sensible and candid exhortations to the German bishops, to set about such alterations, as the present state of knowledge and improvement render necessary, without waiting for the interference of the church of Rome.—At Leipzig there hath been published an ingenious exposition and defence of the system of Spinoza, entitled “Nature and God, &c. by Karl Hydenreich, vol. I.” To this volume is annexed the life of Spinoza, written by a contemporary and friend, which contains some anecdotes of that extraordinary character, not commonly known.—The object of M. Villaume, professor at Berlin, in his sensible and laborious work “On the Origin and Ends of Evil, in three vols.” is to prove, that all evil, both philosophical and

moral, is only an accidental effect of the improper direction of beneficent powers, whose great and final end is to produce good; that not only some, but all kinds of evil are designed for useful purposes; and that both moral and philosophical evil is the principal source, or at least, the occasion of our perfection and happiness. The forcible reasoning, perspicuity, and plainness, which run through these volumes, are powerful recommendations of them to general acceptance.—The same author hath published, at Berlin, “Essays on Parental Authority,” which are ingenious philosophical compositions, and contain many excellent and useful maxims.—“The Arabian Mentor, or the Destination of Man,” published at Cleves, is a translation from a Hebrew version of a work on the subject of morals, which was written in Arabic, many centuries ago, by an author well acquainted with the scriptures, and the Platonic philosophy. It may therefore, be considered as a literary curiosity: and in this light, principally, it is to be recommended.

In enumerating some of the principal mathematical and philosophical publications which have appeared in Germany, our attention is due, in the first place, to the memoirs and transactions of royal academies and societies. The “Memoirs of the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen, for the years 1787, 1788,” consist entirely of papers which are to be referred to the physical class. Their authors are, M. Blumenback, M. G. Fortier, M. Gmelin, Professor Camper, M. Wrisberg, and Professor I. A. Murray.—The last volume of the “New Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Science and Belles Lettres of Berlin,” of which we gave any account, was that of the year 1784, which appeared

in the 1786. Since that time the Academy have published two volumes, including their memoirs for the years 1785, and 1786. These volumes, beside the continued history of the academy, contain a variety of curious and interesting papers, in experimental philosophy, mathematics, speculative philosophy, and belles lettres. The principal contributors in experimental philosophy are M. Achard, M. Walter, and M. de Berguelin. The mathematical department hath been almost engrossed by M. de la Grange, and M. Jean Bernoulli. Under the head of Speculative Philosophy, we meet with the sensible and elegant productions of M. Formey, and the ingenious investigations of M. Schwab. Of the papers in the Belles Lettres, the most valuable have been communicated by the count de Hertzberg, M. Weguelin, and the Abbé D. nina.—Among the labours of individuals which are spoken of with approbation, we find the “Astronomical Ephemeris for the Year 1791, with a Collection of the latest Observations and Discoveries in Astronomy, by J. E. Bode,” published at Berlin; “A manual of Practical Astronomy, for beginners, and lovers of that Science &c. by Gottl. Fr. Rössler, vol. II.” published at Tübingen; “The Principles of Statics, or that Part of Mechanics which treats of Equilibrium in solid Bodies and Machines,” by M. Abel Buija, professor of mathematics at Berlin; the “Physico-chemical Essays and Observations, by Sigism. Fred. Hermbstadt, vol. II.” published at the same place; a “Photometrical Enquiry concerning the Clearness, with which we can observe distant Objects by means of refracting Telescopes &c. by I. Leon. Späth, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, at

Altdorf,” published at Leipzig; “An analytical Examination of the accuracy with which a Surveyor can measure Lines and Angles, by means of various Mathematical Instruments,” by the same author; and “The Officer’s Manual, for the practical part of Tactics, &c. by G. Schranhorst, Lieut. of Artillery, vol. II.” published at Hanover.

Among the publications which contribute to the extension of natural knowledge, the most valuable and important is, the “Geographical History of Man, and of the Quadrupeds which are dispersed over different Parts of the Earth, with a Zoological Map adapted to the same, by E. A. W. Zimmerman, Professor of Caroline College, Brunswick, in three vols.” published at Leipzig. This singularly instructive, and entertaining work, is divided into four principal parts. In the first, the author takes a view of the nobler animals, which are universally diffused over every part of the habitable globe, in the new and old worlds: in the second, the classes of quadrupeds which inhabit both worlds, but yet are not so universal as the others: in the third, the inhabitants of particular regions only. The fourth part, which constitutes nearly the whole of the third volume, is chiefly devoted to various curious speculations, and philosophical inferences, drawn from the view of animal nature given in the preceding volumes. These volumes are replete with useful information, and with striking and interesting remarks. And with a little more attention to method, arrangement, and the graces of composition, they might have been rendered still more valuable.—To the same class must we refer “A Natural History of the Animal Kingdom, for general Use, by J. F. W. Herbst, vol. X.”

X." published at Berlin, which completes that ingenious author's works; "A Description of Zoophytes, with Plates, coloured from Nature, by Eugenius J. G. Christopher Esper," published at Nuremberg; the "First Lines of Ornithology, by B. Merrem," published at Leipzig; the "Examination of the Hypothesis of the Mutual Conversion of Mineral Bodies into each other, &c. by M. Ferber, President of the Council of Mines, to the King of Prussia," published at Berlin; and the "Papers read at the Physico-Economical Society of Heidelberg, vol. III."

Among the historical productions of Germany during the year 1799, an "Abstract of the Ecclesiastical History of Cardinal de Fleury, with Remarks, by Frederic II. King of Prussia, translated from the French, partly from an authentic Manuscript, vol. I." hath been published at Berlin. As but few copies of this abstract were originally published, and it is not printed with the author's posthumous works, this edition will no doubt be acceptable to the public. In this work the royal author, when not under the influence of his sceptical prejudices, discovers great sagacity and love of truth; and interweaves with his narrative a variety of instructive remarks and reflections which are adapted to impress liberal and just views of things on the minds of his readers.—At Leipzig, "The History of the Christian Church, by J. Math. Schröckh," is still continued. During the present year he hath published his twelfth volume, which gives an account of the Arian Schism, and of the lives and writings of Athanasius, Hilarius, and Cyrillus.—At Vienna hath been published "The Bank of the Roman Religion, being a supplement to the Roman Law book, &c. in two

vols." The Roman Law Book consisted of an abstract of the great Roman Bullarium, which, from its expensiveness, was out of the reach of most readers. The present work, which is most probably by the same author, contains a curious account of the sources of the revenues of the papacy, and of various circumstances respecting the conduct and policy of the court of Rome, which the reader will find interesting and entertaining.—At Leipzig hath been published "An Introduction to the Universal History of all Nations, for the Use of Students, by Ch. D. Beck, vol. I." This work is worthy of a more dignified character than its modest title would import. It is not only deserving of the attention of the student, but may be read with profit and improvement by those who are well versed in history. The notes of the author, which are partly historical, and partly critical, discover an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the best writers of antiquity. This volume reaches to the Macedonian monarchy.—At Salzburg, M. F. M. Vierthaler is engaged in publishing a "Philosophical History of Men and Nations," which is intended to comprehend all the known people of the earth, with a particular view to the progress of civilization. The first volume contains a brief history of geography, and of the revolutions which have taken place in the situations of different nations. And from the manner in which this is executed, we may venture to pronounce, that the whole work will be a valuable addition to the list of standard publications in this branch of literature.—The 3d volume of the "Description of the Turkish Empire, with respect to its Religious and Political State, in the latter Part of the eighteenth Century, &c. by Christopher W. Ludeke,

W. Ludeke, D. D. &c. Leipzig," completes that learned author's well known work. It relates, chiefly, to the literature of the Turks; and abounds in much instructive and entertaining matter.—At Brunn and Olmutz, there hath appeared a "Sketch of a brief Political and Geographical History of the Marquisate of Moravia, by Jos. Wratislaw, Professor of Ecclesiastical and Civil Law, in two volumes;" which is the work of a well informed and impartial writer, and may be read with pleasure, and with profit. To the second volume is prefixed an excellent dissertation by Jos. Dobrouskv, on the ancient seat of the Sclavonians in Europe; their spreading since the sixth century; and, particularly, on the origin of the Moravians, with their history to the installation of the duke Ladislaw.—At Stutgard hath been published the first part of the "Records of Swabia, by Hausleutner." The plan of this work is comprehensive and judicious; and when finished, according to the design of the author, will tend greatly to improve our acquaintance with a part of Germany which at present is but little known, but which abounds in objects worthy of the attention of the historian and Antiquary. The volume before us treats of the history and antiquities of the duchy of Wirtemberg.—At Berlin there hath been published the first volume of a "Topographical and Political Description of Brandenburg," by M. Borgstede, one of the king's civil and military council in the electoral chamber of Berlin. The situation of this gentleman is excellently adapted to afford him all necessary information on the subjects which he undertakes to describe. And from the peculiar importance of his scene, and the

rich variety of materials with which it will supply him, we may expect to receive from his pen, a very valuable and interesting performance.—The "History and Description of the Bishoprick of Osnaburgh, with Original Papers, by J. Eberh Stüve," is principally excellent as a judicious collection of facts, and original papers relative to the state of that bishoprick and the history of the dark ages.—The "Critical History of Vienna, from the Year of Christ eight, to the Death of Charles the Great, &c. by Francis Baron Prandau, volume I." is a work which will meet with a favourable reception from the learned world, as the author is well known to be a man of science, and to be possessed of all the necessary materials for such an undertaking.—At Brunswick, M. C. P. Ribbentrop hath published "A Description of that City," of which the foreign journalists speak in respectable terms.—In addition to the publications already mentioned under this head, we can barely find room to insert the names of the following works: "The Political History of the House of Henneberg, by M. Schultes, Governor of Themar;" "The History of the Secession of the United Netherlands from the Spanish Monarchy, by Fred. Schiller;" and the "History of the Reign of the Emperor Joseph I, with a View of the different Interests of the principal Powers of Europe, in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, by J. Christian H rchenhahn." The above mentioned have been published at Leipzig.—At Nuremberg a work hath appeared entitled, "The Lives of the greatest and most celebrated Men of the Ancients, by Paul Joachim Siegmund Vogel;" at Munster, "Accounts of the Lives and Inventions of the most celebrated

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celebrated Mathematicians, in Alphabetical Order, including all except those now living;" at Berlin, "The Portrait of Frederic the Great, taken from the most authentic and interesting Anecdotes of his Military, Philosophical, and Private Life, by S. F. Bourdais;" at the same place, "The Life of Lewis Ernest, Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg;" at Prague, "The Life of John Hufe, of Hussinecz, by Aug. Zitte;" and at Mentz, "The History of Diether, Archbishop and Elector of Mentz."

The last article in our history of the literature of Germany we have reserved for such publications as may be referred to the head of critical, classical, and polite learning. And one of the most important works which have engaged the attention of classical scholars is, M. Schweighaeuser's new edition of "Polybius, volume I." published at Leipzig. The learned editor hath enjoyed the best and most valuable helps from ancient manuscripts for correcting the text of his original: and his own learning, talents, and industry, are well known. It is then almost unnecessary for us to add, that by employing his labours on the works of that celebrated historian, he hath done an acceptable service to the republic of letters. This edition also possesses peculiar merits in point of typographical excellences.—At the same place hath been published a new edition of "The History of Herodian, from the Text of H. Stephanus, with various Readings from three Manuscripts, &c. by T. W. Irmisch, volume I." The text of this work is taken from the edition of 1581. The numerous and extensive notes which accompany it are, partly selected from

various editions, and partly Mr. Irmisch's own. They are not, however, of any considerable importance. The various readings are collected from a manuscript in the library of Munich, another in that of St. Mark at Venice, and a third at Vienna. On the whole, this work promises to be a valuable edition of Herodian: and the editor is entitled to praise for the great care and accuracy with which he hath executed the volume before us.—At the same place, Mr. Brunk hath published a new edition of the "Remains of the Poems of Meleager;" in which he hath judiciously restored the parts of which they had been curtailed; particularly by the monk Planudes, in the fifteenth century.—At the same place a treatise hath appeared, "On the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, by J. G. Herder, in two volumes." In this work the learned and ingenious author appears in the character of a poetical and philosophical critic; and considers his subject in a light that will be found interesting to every reader who has a taste for polite learning. And, by examining and abstracting the rhetorical and poetical language in which many passages of scripture are expressed, he hath afforded useful assistance to the student, in ascertaining the plain fact which they are designed to transmit.—At Berlin, a work is publishing entitled; "Arethusa, or the Pastoral Poets of the Ancients," which is to consist of two volumes, comprehending an essay on pastoral poetry, and a translation of the Bucolics of Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Virgil. From the specimen which first volume affords, we are led to entertain a favourable opinion of this work, particularly of the essay, which

which contains a number of new and just ideas.—At Leipzig, “A New German and French Dictionary, in two volumes,” hath been published by M. J. Gottf. Haas, which is spoken of as an useful work, in which the different significations of words are, in general given with great accuracy.—At Nuremberg, M. J. Roth hath published “An Useful Dictionary for Readers of all Classes, particularly for the Unlearned; or a short but clear Explanation of Technical Terms, and Words not generally understood, used in common Conversation, or in Books of Science, &c. in Alphabetical Order, which, though not free from Defects, possesses a considerable Degree of Merit, especially when compared with other Works of a similar Kind.”—At Leipzig, M. J. G. J. Breitkopf hath published “A Specimen of Chinese Printing, composed by means of Figures of the Characters and Moveable Types;” which had been deemed an impracticable thing, but which hath been accomplished by his ingenuity and indefatigable labour. A particular account of this invention will soon be published by the author.

In attending to the literature of Switzerland, the first work which claims our attention, according to the order which we have prescribed to ourselves is, “The History of the Rulers of Judea after the Captivity; by the Author of the History of Jesus,” published at Zurich. This volume which ends with the birth of Christ, is the concluding one of a large and extensive work on the history of the Israelites, from the whole of the sensible and learned writer, hath derived a considerable share of reputation. The ingenious enquiries which we meet with here, concerning

the sects of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, display much diligence of investigation, and vigorous powers of reflection. — “The Patriotic Repository for Switzerland, by a Society of Swisses, volume I.” published at Basil, consists of a collection of patriotical, historical, political, and other essays, with topographical and biographical and fragments, partly new, and partly selected from other publications; which seems to have been formed with judgment, and promises to be a work of great utility.—The “History and Memoirs of the Philosophical Society of Lusanne, volume II.” is chiefly composed of papers on natural history, agriculture, and mineralogy. And from the variety and importance of the subjects which they embrace, they convince us of the diligence and success with which the society apply themselves to the object of their institution. Among the principal contributors to this volume are count Razoumoufski, professor Struve, M. J. Sennebier, Messrs. Van Berchem, senior, and junior, M. Reynier, and M. Wild, captain-general of the mines of Berne.—At Geneva, hath appeared “A Description of a New Hydraulic Machine, invented and erected at Orbe, by M. Venel, M.D.” which raises water by means of leathern buckets fixed to a rope, which is turned by a wheel, that is put in motion by the current. It is said to be an ingenious and simple invention, and to unite in it several advantages.—At Zurich, M. L. Meisters hath published “Elements of the History of Holland from the Commencement of its present form of Government to the present Time;” which can be recommended only to those who will be satisfied with a very brief and cursory view of the subject.—At the same place

place an anonymous author hath published "The Travellers Companion through Switzerland, with an Appendix, containing an Account of the most remarkable Things in the different Places mentioned, and a Map," in two volumes, which is a kind of work that was much wanted: and though not so complete as might be wished, it will be found useful to such as intend to make a progress through those mountainous regions.

The History of the Literature of Italy for the year 1789, presents us with but few works of a theological complexion. The foreign journals, however, announce the publications of some treatises under the title of "The Acts of the Archbishops and Bishops of Tuscany," which have peculiar claims on the attention of the public, as they relate to some of the most important points of the ecclesiastical history of the present century. These acts contain a plan of ecclesiastical discipline, by a nation desirous of profiting by the improved state of knowledge; all the bishops of that nation unanimously exerting themselves for that useful purpose, and excited to it by an enlightened prince, who assembled them in his palace, and submitted his ideas to their decisions. The titles of these publications are as follow: "Ecclesiastical Questions transmitted to all the Archbishops and Bishops of Tuscany, with their respective Answers:" the "Acts of the Assembly, in four Volumes, containing a Copy of the Deliberations; Memoirs presented to the Prelates; Answer to the Memoirs; Examination of the Pastoral Instructions of the Bishop of Chienza and Pienza on many Important Religious Truths:" "Apology for some Books published at Pistoia, in Answer to the Censures

passed by fourteen Tuscan Bishops."

"The Critical Examination of the Letter published under the name of Franzesi, Bishop of Montepulciano, in answer to different Queries on Ecclesiastical Subjects, communicated to the Bishops for their Opinion:" and "The History of the Assembly." The impression of these volumes is elegant and magnificent, being carried on at the expence, and under the inspection of the Grand Duke.—At Padua there hath been published an excellent "Abridgment of the Historico-Dogmatico Critical Essay on Indulgences, with a Short Catechism of the same, according to the true Doctrine of the Church," which has been taken from the professor Palmier's work, by professor Zola, and is intended to remove the shameful prejudices of the people and clergy in favour of indulgences.—At Brescia, have been published "Remarks on the Origin, Antiquity, and Progress of Monkhoo in General, and of the Cassinian Order in particular," which is a learned and well written performance. It contains also, short lives of the most celebrated Benedictines, who have flourished in the Venetian territories, and biographical anecdotes of those now living.—At Parma, M. Boldoni hath published "A Brief History of the Bishops of Saluzzo," beginning with G. A. Della Rovere, elected in 1511, and ending with Jos. Joachim Lovera, a patrician of Savigliano, the last bishop who was appointed to that see. He has also added a defence of the account of the martyrdom of the Christian legion, against the criticisms of various writers, and particularly of Voltaire.

In philosophy P. Basilio Terzi, hath added to the reputation which he had so justly acquired from his former

former publications, by a "Critical History of the Philosophical Opinions of all Ages, on the Origin of the World, volume I." printed at Padua. This ingenious and elegant work, which displays extensive knowledge and sound criticism, is divided into three chapters. The first contains the reasons of those who believe not the world, or matter to be essentially eternal. The second investigates the opinions of those who assert that God created the world from eternity, or at least might have done so. The third enters into an examination of the question, whether this be the most perfect possible of all worlds.

The next department which furnishes such publications as call for notice, is that of political economy, and natural knowledge. And we shall, in the first place, introduce to our readers "The Transactions of the Patriotic Society of Milan, volume II." This work contains a great variety of valuable dissertations, memoirs, answers to questions, and descriptions of new machines, which are intended to facilitate improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, that are too numerous to be specified by us. Many of them are of a more local nature, and calculated chiefly for the benefit of the country where they are published. Others of them, however, relate to objects of universal importance, and which have a considerable influence on the happiness of mankind in general. We can therefore assure our readers, that they will meet with much interesting and useful matter, while perusing the labours of this patriotic society.—The "Journal of Arts, Sciences, and Literature, by a Philosophical Society at Turin, collected and arranged by G. A. Giobert, and Dr. C. Giulio, volume I.

part I." is a production of a more miscellaneous nature. It is the intention of this work to give an account of all new discoveries relating to the promotion of knowledge; and to insert in each number two original essays, by men of reputation in the literary world. The present volume contains one on the beauties of different styles, by count Bava de St. Paul; and another on marl, and other fossil substances, by M. Giobert. It contains also meteorological observations made at Turin, in November and December, 1788; and a comparison of the thermometer at Paris and at Turin in December.—The "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres at Naples," were published during the last year. This volume opens with the preface of the secretary, M. Napoli Signorelli, giving an account of the proceedings of the members in attempting to investigate various subjects belonging to the four classes into which the academy is divided, and the obstacles which arose from the disagreement of the members. We are afterwards presented with several valuable papers in optics, mechanics, geometry, physiology, natural history, and antiquities. The principal members whose pieces have obtained a place in this collection are, D. N. Fregala, G. Anderlini of Bologna, G. Saladini, G. Saviero Poli, M. Cotugno, M. Angiol Fasano, and D. D. Diodati.—At Padua, M. J. A. Scopoli, has published the third part of his "Description of new or little known Species of Plants and Animals, observed in Austrian Lombardy, whether indigenous or exotic." With this volume M. Scopoli, to the great regret of the lovers of natural history, closes his botanical labours. To this determination he

hath been urged, partly by the difficulties of the undertaking, and partly by infirmity, originating in the intenseness of his application.—At Venice, P. Caronelli hath published an “Essay on the Agricultural Education of Youth,” which obtained the prize from the Agrarian academy of emulation at Conegliano. This essay, which abounds in sound principles, historical facts, and important matter, is deserving of the attention of those who wish to extend a rational and useful acquaintance with rural œconomy.—At Naples, Dr. Dominic Cyrillo hath published his “First Specimen of Neopolitan Entomology,” in large folio, engraved on eleven plates, which is highly elegant and valuable. The same author promises to gratify the lovers of this branch of study with many scarce insects, and nondescripts.—At Turin “An Appendix to the Piedmontese Flora,” has been published by C. Allionio, which, beside many notes and emendations, contains several plants omitted in that splendid work.

Among the historical productions of Italy, with which we unite Sicily, the first publication which we have to announce is, a “Collection of State Papers relative to the History of Sicily, under the Government of the Saracens, from the Year 827 to 1072; now first taken from the Manuscripts of the Western Moors, by Alphonso Airol-di, Archbishop of Heraclea, &c. vol. I.” This curious work, which contains the correspondence of the Saracen emirs, was accidentally discovered by the ambassador of the emperor of Morocco, who was induced to take a view of the Arabic MSS. in the library of the convent of St. Martin, by Abbé Vela, Arabic professor at Palermo. It is said to be faithfully decyphered and translated by professor Vela.

It contains the strongest internal proofs of authenticity; which have been confirmed by the ambassador who, on his return to Fez, sent an account to the professor of an exactly similar MS. in the valuable library at that place, and with it a continuation of the history of Sicily, from its invasion and conquest by the Normans, copied from two MSS. in the same library. After the mention of these particulars, our readers will be sufficiently apprized of the importance and value of this publication.—At Pisa, Dr. G. B. Fanucci hath published “An Academical Discourse on the Military History of Pisa.” His work which relates the fate of a republic, that from being a powerful and important free state, was, after repeated struggles, forced into an odious subjection to the Florentines, is highly interesting. It is written in the chronological form; and relates facts with accuracy, and precision.—“The History of the Year 1788,” published at Venice, makes the fifty-seventh volume of a work begun in 1730, which is written by an author of considerable abilities and information, and hath obtained the sanction of public approbation.—The “Historical, Physical, and Critical Remarks on Walachia and Moldavia,” published at Naples and Florence, do great credit to the abilities and political knowledge of the author, who resided eleven years in those countries, which are but little known to most Europeans, and who thought that he should perform an acceptable service to the public, by laying before them their present state, and the manners of the inhabitants. In a preliminary discourse the author has given all he could learn relative to their antiquities. He has also added some documents and memoirs tending to elucidate the origin of the

the present war between Russia, Austria and the Porte.

In Biography, "An Historical Dictionary of the Lives of the Ottoman Monarchs, to the present grand Signior Achmet; as well as of the most interesting Objects, which relate to that Monarchy," hath been published at Venice, in two vol. The facts related in these volumes appear to have been selected with care and accuracy; and are clothed in an agreeable and easy style. The author seems to have engaged in this work from a persuasion that the present war between the emperor of Germany, the empress of Russia and the grand Signior, would secure to it a favourable reception from the public.—At Pisa, S. Aug. Fabronio hath published the XIVth volume of his well known work, "On the Lives of learned Italians, who flourished in the 17th and 18th Centuries," with which he appears to have terminated his labours, or at least to have put a stop to them for some time.—At Turin, S. C. Tenevelli continues to publish "The Piedmontese Biographer." The first part of the fourth decad, which has appeared during the present year, is devoted to the history of ecclesiastics. This part contains the lives of pope Nicholas II. Ardonio Bishop of Turin, John de Garabelli, cardinal della Roveri, and Amedee Benuti.—The following elegant eulogies on illustrious characters have also been published in Italy, during the year 1789: At Florence, "An Historical Eulogy of the Chev. G. Filangieri, by Donato Tommasi;" and "An Eulogy of Abbé Ridolphino, Marquis Venuti, read at the Etrurian Academy of Cortona, by P. Pompilio Pozzetti;" at Venice "The Eulogy of D. M. Manni, of Florence, by G. Bern. Tornitano;" and at Padua

the "Eulogy of Gesner, by Abbé Berthola," the translator, friend, and imitator of that poet.

The next article which we shall introduce, is more intimately connected with the head of Antiquities. It is entitled the "Philosophical and Political History of the Navigation, Trade, and Colonies of the Ancients in the Black Sea, by V. A. Formaleoni, vol. I." published at Venice. This work comprizes the history of the Black Sea, from the earliest period to the sixteenth century. The object of the author is, to hold out to modern nations the conduct of the ancients, as a pattern for the trade of this vast sea: and to induce them from the example of the latter, to study and re-establish a commerce, which has been the source of the greatness of more than one people, but has been lost to Europe for more than three centuries. The following volumes are to give the ancient hydrography of the Black Sea, and whatever there is curious on the subject, in history or physics; the authorities on which the work is founded; and an ancient and modern dictionary of the countries described. This work promises to be curious, entertaining, and instructive.—At Milan, the celebrated Count Carli is engaged in publishing a splendid work "on the Antiquities of Italy." The only volume which we have yet heard of, is divided into four books. The first treats of the Italians prior to the foundation of Rome; the second, of the primitive Istrians, and the neighbouring people, with the conquest of Istria and Cisalpine Gaul by the Romans; the third of the particular laws of Cisalpine Gaul, with the state of the Illyrians, Dalmatians, Pannonians, Liburnians, and Japygians; the fourth of the chorography of Istria, when a Roman province

vince. In this volume, the author presents his readers with a great variety of curious conjectures, interesting enquiries, and useful remarks, that must ensure their favourable acceptance of his labours, however fanciful they may sometimes consider him to be.—At Florence, the Abbé Domenico Sestini hath published “A Journey from Bassora to Constantinople,” in which he met with a number of subjects for observation, relating to natural history, antiquities, commerce, ancient geography and manners, of which he hath given an account in a narrative that is extremely interesting and pleasing.

The last publications which demand insertion in our list of the productions of Italy, are such as relate to subjects in classical and polite literature. In this number is the “Dissertation on the Episode of Dido and Æneas, by the Abbe Andres,” published at Cesena; the object of which is to defend Virgil from the anachronism which he hath so frequently been supposed to be guilty of, in making these two persons contemporaries. His arguments he draws from the silence of the ancient grammarians, who were accustomed to contend and quibble about the most trifling circumstances; from the scrupulous attention of Virgil to the most inconsiderable fictions, to epithets, and expressions; and from Newton, who considers but twenty one years to have intervened, between the foundation of Carthage, and the destruction of Troy. We leave these arguments to have their proper weight on the minds of our readers.—At Rome have been published, “Historico-critical Annotations on the Salustian Obelisk.” This obelisk was recovered from some ruins, and placed by the present pope on the Colle Pincio. The author of the
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work before us expatiates on the propriety of its situation on a variety of grounds. To what he says on this head, he adds some historical remarks on the antiquity of obelisks, the time of their introduction into Rome, and the manner of their being transported thither, which are sensible and ingenious.—At the same place have been published “A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Curdistan Language, by P. Maurizio Garzoni, of the Apostolical Mission.” This language approaches so nearly to the Persian, that it may be deemed merely a dialect of it. The present work, to which is prefixed a short account of Curdistan, is published by the Society for propagating the Faith, for the use of their missionaries.—At Vercelli, an anonymous author hath published “Elements of Logic, or first Principles of the Art of Reasoning,” in which nothing new can be expected, excepting in the manner and arrangement. In these respects the author is said to have peculiar merit.—The “Critical History of the Drama, both of the Ancients and Moderns, by P. N. Sigronelli,” published at Naples, is not a new edition of a work with the same title, that was published some years ago, but a quite different undertaking, and on a much more extensive scale. It is to consist of five volumes. The first, which is that before us, relates to the origin of the drama in the various parts of the globe; and does honour to the extensive reading, abilities, and taste of the author.—The letters from Diodoro Delfico to Lesbia Cidonia, on Epigrams,” published at Bergamo, are the productions of the celebrated Abbé Bettinelli, and were written by him to the countess Paolino Grismondi. The Abbé, a zealous admirer of the French language and literature, was an inti-

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mate friend of Voltaire, and spent a great part of his life among the societies of wits at Paris. These letters contain no learned dissertation on epigrams, but a relation of the *bon mots* and *combats d'esprit* in which he took a part; together with many interesting and amusing anecdotes. Some of those, however, which he relates of Voltaire, do no great honour to the memory of his friend.

The history of the literature of France for the year 1789, will be found peculiarly barren in theological productions. In biblical criticism, we do not recollect that any work hath appeared. And we have met with very few treatises which have any reference to theology or ecclesiastical history. With respect to such works, however, as are intended to illustrate and recommend publications in sacred literature, by the splendid embellishments of art, we find that our Gallic neighbours are following the example which has been set before them by individuals in this country. From a Prospectus published at Paris, we learn, that a superb edition of the Bible, in French, is about to be published by M. Defer, de Maïsson-neuve. It is to be printed by M. de Didot, junior, and ornamented with three hundred plates, designed by M. Marillier, and engraved by the best artists under the direction of M. Ponce, engraver to the count d'Artois. It will be published in twenty-five numbers, each containing twelve plates; some of which are to be printed on large vellum paper. — "The Law of Nature developed and perfected by the Law of the Gospel, by M. l'Abbé Pey," published at Paris, is intended to show that the law of nature, of which the enemies of Christianity style themselves the defenders, is nowhere to be found but in the Gospel;

and that Christ has not only unfolded all the duties of man, but has carried them to a degree of perfection which human wisdom had never attained. The author's plan is divided into two parts. In the first he displays the maxims of the law of nature, according to the simple ideas of right reason; shewing its conformity to the law of Christ from texts of scripture, by way of notes. In the second he shews that the Gospel has heightened those laws by the sublimity of its views, the force of its motives, and the multiplicity of its means. This excellent work is written with good sense and with candour, and deserves to be read with attention. — The volume of "Essays on Honour, Opinion, Duty, Passion, Happiness, Pleasure, &c. addressed to a Young Nobleman," abound in good and useful matter. In the arrangement, style, and language, they might have been rendered more acceptable to young persons, for whose instruction and benefit they are intended. — The "Collection of Gallic Councils, published or unpublished, in Chronological Order, from the Year 177 to 1563; with Letters of Popes, Constitutions of Princes, and other Documents of the Gallic Church; by the Society of Monks of St. Maur," is a valuable addition to the general list of publications in ecclesiastical history. This collection differs from that of P. Sirmond, in a revival of the text; in a considerable addition of different pieces, either unpublished, or scattered in various works foreign to the subject; in dissertations on different matters, and preliminary observations for the better understanding the subjects of the pieces published; and in various notes with which the whole is accompanied. The text has been revised from

from collations of various MSS. both in France, and in other countries; and the notes abound in learned and useful criticisms. This volume reaches to the year 591.

Among the publications which appeared in France on the subjects of government, law, and political economy, we find "An Introduction to a single Code of Laws, or a Lawyer's Reflections on Subjects interesting to the Order and Union of Civil Society, &c. by M. Picard de Prebois, Counsellor at Law, in two volumes," published at Caen. This work exhibits very judicious reflections, and useful views. The author does not offer it as a code of laws, but as a sketch of such a code, exhibiting the evils to which civil society is liable, and pointing out their remedies.—"The Public Law of France, a Posthumous Work of M. L'Abbé Fleury; published with Notes tending to explain the Text, by M. de Arragon, in three volumes," is little more than a large skeleton of a work, which, probably, the Abbé intended to have filled up, had he not been prevented by other studies. Prefixed to it is an introductory discourse on civil education, by the editor, and an essay on the public law of France, by M. Pasquier. It also contains some other tracts on legislation and police, found among the Abbé Fleury's papers.—"The Dignity of Commerce, and of the Profession of a Merchant, by M. Anquetil du Perron," is a most valuable work, which will suggest many important considerations to a thinking mind. If our limits permitted we should be glad to lay an analysis of it before our readers. But as that is impracticable, we refer them to the work itself, from the perusal of which they will receive ample gratification.—"The Essay on the Means that

may be employed in France, for amending the situation of Husbandmen, Day-labourers, &c. which obtained a Prize from the Academy of Chalons-sur-Marne" is an important and valuable publication. It is divided into two parts. In the former the author paints, in strong colours, the baneful effects of feudal institutions, which he considers as the first cause of the misery of the peasants; examines their origin, their influence on agriculture, and enquires into the means of abolishing them. In the latter he paints out many subsidiary means that may be employed; as the division of commons, a more equal taxation, the diminution or suppression of tolls, &c. &c. At the present juncture, when the thoughts of every person are turned towards a thorough reform in the state, this essay is deserving of the attention of the people of France.—The Treatise "On the Restoration of the Jews to the Rights of Natural, Moral, and of Civil Society, which obtained the Prize of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences at Metz, by M. Gregoire, Curate of Embermenil," is a work replete with sentiments worthy of the philosopher and the Christian, abounding in useful remarks, and enlivened with entertaining and ingenious notes. The author pleads the cause of that neglected and despised people, with zeal, and eloquence, and invincible arguments.—The same subject hath employed the pen of M. Thierry, advocate in the parliament of Nancy, who also obtained a prize from the same society. His dissertation does honour to the author's humanity, and philosophic spirit; and will concur, no doubt, with other publications of the same kind, in extinguishing those illiberal prejudices which make man an enemy

to man, and lead to the violation of the most valuable rights of human nature.—Several other publications have appeared in France, during the present year, in the department which we are now considering. We must, however, content ourselves with inserting the titles of such as have been received with peculiar approbation, and contributed to spread or confirm the principles which have produced such glorious effects in that kingdom. In this number is the “*Memoir in Favour of the Commons of France*,” which has been much read and admired; the “*Thoughts on the Antiquity of the Third Estate, and on the Causes of the temporary Suspension of its Rights, &c.*” by M. Gautier de Sibert,” which is a very able and important work; the “*Address to the People of France*,” which hath been diligently dispersed, and greedily received; and a “*Dialogue between a Frenchman and an Englishman on the present and future State of France*,” by M. le Frank.”

In pure Mathematics we have not met with any articles that are entitled to be distinctly noticed by us: we shall, therefore, proceed to give a brief view of the publications in philosophy and natural history. An the first work that claims our attention is, “*The History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the Year 1786*.” The historical part of this volume contains two reports of the commissioners appointed to superintend the four hospitals in Paris, which do great honour to the philosophy and the benevolence of those gentlemen. One of them contains an account of their observations on the œconomy of the charitable institutions of this kind in England, which they highly praise: a circumstance extremely gratifying

to our feelings, as Englishmen. This part of the volume also contains observations on the northern inclination of the magnetic needle, by M. de Valois, dated from Mocha; an account of magnetism, communicated by an earthquake, to a steel bar, which was suspended by silk cords in the magnetic equator; and two eulogies, one on Dr. Guettard, and the other on the Abbé de Guay, which are rendered entertaining by the ingenious scientific illustrations of their learned and eloquent author. The memoirs of this volume are classed under the heads of general physics, chemistry, anatomy, natural history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and political œconomy. The subjects of the principal of them are, the formation and properties of the inflammable hepatic gas, by M. de Fourcroy; iron in its several metallic forms, by Mess. Vandermond, Bertholler, and Monge; the cyders of Normandy, by Messrs. Cader, Lavoisier, Beaumé, Bertholler, and D'Arcet; the decomposition of water by vegetable and animal substances, by M. Lavoisier; the secular equation of the moon, by M. de la Place; different astronomical communications, by M. de la Lande; two memoirs on integration by elliptic arcs, by M. le Gendre; and a continuation of the essay designed to ascertain the population of France, by Messrs. Du Sejour, De Condorcet, and De la Place.—The third volume of the “*History and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Inscriptions, and Belles Lettres of Toulouse*,” contains a variety of papers in chemistry, anatomy, mathematics, political œconomy, medicine, antiquities, mineralogy, and meteorology; many of which are important and interesting, and will abundantly repay the attention of the

the reader. Among other contributors to this volume, we find M. de Puymaurin, the Abbé Martin, M. Genty, M. Parmentier, M. Reboul, and M. de la Peirouse.—Among other works in natural philosophy which have appeared in France during the present year, we must not forget to announce the publication of “An Elementary Treatise on Chemistry, in two volumes,” by M. Lavoisier, which has been received by the French philosophers with the most flattering regard; and which is the work of an author well known to possess a daring and original genius, much information, and unwearied industry.—Neither must we neglect to inform our readers, that M. Fourcroy hath published a new edition of his “Elements of Chemistry;” with considerable additions. These have been excerpted by M. Adet, and published in a separate volume, for the benefit of those who had purchased the former edition.—In addition to the foregoing publications, we can only insert the titles of the following works: “An Analytical Treatise on the apparent Motions of the Celestial Bodies, by Dionis du Sejour, in two volumes;” “Elements of Subterranean Geography, Theoretical and Practical, &c. by M. Duhamel, volume I.,” “The Theory of Fire, with its application to the Human Body, by M. Dutasta Laferre, M. D.,” “Essays on Meteorology, as a continuation of, and Supplement to the Treatise on Meteorology, published in 1774, by M. L. P. Cotte, in two volumes;” and “An Essay on the Natural History of Rocks of Trapp; containing their Analysis, &c. by M. Faujas de St. Fond.”—Among the treatises on natural history, we meet with the last fasciculi of the “*Stirpes novæ*, aut

minus Cognitæ, &c. by Charles Lewis L’Heretier, Baron de Bruttelle, &c.” whose beauty and splendour are only equalled by their accuracy; “A Botanical Essay on the Genus *Cornus*; containing Descriptions and Figures of such Species of it as are little known,” by the same; “The Sertum Anglicum, or Descriptions of such rare Plants as are cultivated in the Gardens near London; especially those in the Royal Gardens at Kew,” by the same; a prospectus of a splendid work entitled “*Florindie*, or a Physico-æconomical History of the Plants of the Torrid Zone, containing a History of the Plants of St. Domingo, &c. by M. de la Haye;” and the “Essays on Natural History, in two volumes, by M. Bernard,” which contain several important papers.—Nor must we omit making mention of a “Treatise on the Cultivation of Oaks, containing the best Methods of Sowing, Planting, &c. by M. Juge de St. Martin.”

When we turn our attention to the historical productions of France, we meet with “An Historical and Chronological Sketch of the Ancient History of the principal Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and of that of the Middle Age, &c. by M. de Grace,” which is drawn up with great accuracy and method, and deserves to be recommended as an useful elementary work, proper to be placed in the hands of youth.—The “Description of Nigritia, by M. P. D. P. formerly Member of the Supreme Council at Senegal, &c.” seems to possess the merit of veracity, and is drawn up in a plain, artless manner. But it is remarkably deficient in point of method; and abounds with tedious digressions and repetitions.—“Lewis XIV. his Court, and the Regent, by M. Anquetil, in four volumes,” is a most

most interesting and entertaining work. For notwithstanding the numerous histories, memoirs, and anecdotes that have been published, relative to that period, our author hath provided us with new stores of information and amusement. His work also is arranged and written with uncommon judgment and spirit.—The “History of France from the Death of Lewis XIV. to the Peace concluded at Versailles in 1783, by Anthony-Stephen-Nicolas des Odoards Fantin, &c. in eight volumes,” will afford the reader much useful information concerning the state of France, and other European powers, in that period. But we cannot call the author an impartial historian. He exaggerates the merits of his countrymen beyond all bounds; and justifies or palliates those measures of the French court, and those mortifying events in the history of the nation, which a citizen of the world would have painted in very different colours.—“The Secret History of the Court of Berlin,” which has been attributed to count Mirabeau, together with a number of curious and important facts, details an abundant quantity of scandal respecting the present king of Prussia, the baron de Hertzberg, and other illustrious personages at the court of Berlin, which have deprived the work of that share of authenticity which it would otherwise have acquired. But be the author who he may, he is entitled to the praise of being an able projector; and his political and commercial observations are worthy of particular attention.—The “Private Correspondence between the count de Saint Germain, Secretary of State for the Military Department, and M. Paris du Verney, Privy Counsellor, in two volumes,” is entirely on the op-

erations of the army, and on military politics, and will prove interesting only to those, who are engaged in such subjects.—The “Private and Historical Correspondence of Marshal Duke de Richlieu, with M. Paris de Verney, in two volumes,” contains a variety of materials that will be valuable to the historian. As an entertaining work, much cannot be said in its praise.

In Biography, the “Life of Clovis the Great, first Christian King, and Founder of the French Monarchy, by M. Viallon,” is a judicious and entertaining work. In opposition to P. Daniel our author contends, that his hero did not dwell beyond the Rhine, but inherited the throne of his ancestors in German Gaul, of which Tournay was the capital.—The “Eulogy of P. Ternail, called the Chevalier Bayard, without Fear and without Reproach, which obtained the Prize from the Literary Society of Grenoble,” is an honourable tribute to the memory of that excellent character, and does credit to the abilities and sentiments of the author.—“The Private Life of the Cardinal Dubois, Prime Minister, and Archbishop of Cambray,” exhibits, on the other hand, a character deformed by the worst vices that can disgrace human nature. And it affords us a striking instance of the success, which the meanest talents, with brilliancy, address, and flattery, may obtain in a licentious and unprincipled court.

Among the books of travels which the year 1789 hath produced, those of “M. le Vaillant, in the interior parts of Africa, by the Cape of Good Hope, in two volumes,” have greatly interested the curiosity of the public. This work contains a journal of his rambles among the Hottentots and Caffres; and gives

us a most interesting and entertaining account of every incident as it arose. His descriptions are founded on facts; and the scenes which he exhibits, are novel, romantic, and instructive. But the author does not confine himself to narrative merely. He hath enriched his work with many remarks and observations, that throw much light on natural history. We are happy to learn, that M. Vaillant purposes to publish an account of a second journey, which will be followed by the description of above three hundred birds, not known in Europe.—The “*Travels in Barbary &c. together with an Essay on the Natural History of the Country, by the Abbé Poirer, in 2 vols.*” display considerable learning and abilities; and such descriptions of the religion, customs, and manners of the Moors and Bedouin Arabs, as will afford entertainment to the reader. The field of his observation, however, was not extensive; and he has been preceded by other travellers, who have given nearly similar accounts. The “*Journey to the French Pyrenees, &c.*” contains an entertaining description of a romantic country, interspersed with many historical facts, and philosophical reflections, that are both instructive and interesting.

The last articles which we have to mention in our account of the productions of France, are such as are included under the heads of classical, polite, and miscellaneous literature. The “*Emendations of, and Observations on Suidas, by I. Schweighaeuser, professor of Greek and Oriental Literature,*” published at Strasburg, is a small, but valuable work, which is well deserving of the attention of the learned. The author’s principal recommendations consist in his happy collation of many passages; his application

of various fragments to the explanation of historical matters; and the precision of his grammatical remarks.—M. le Blanc de Guillet’s translation into verse, of “*Lucretius on the Nature of Things, in two vols.*” possesses the merit of fidelity; so much so, that the lovers of smooth verse will sometimes be tempted to accuse the author of harshness. But whenever it was possible to reconcile harmony and fidelity, our translator appears to have done it. Our principal approbation, however, is due to the preface and notes, which shew M. le Blanc’s extensive reading and knowledge.—M. Ferri’s publication “*on Eloquence, and ancient and modern Orators,*” is an instructive, complete, and methodical treatise on rhetoric, in which the author displays that taste and erudition which must ensure his work a favourable reception with all good judges of such compositions.—The “*Morning Amusements of Sens, or French Proverbs, with an Account of their Origin, their Resemblance to those of other Languages, &c.*” is an amusing collection, which we are glad to find the author intends to continue, as such works contain the philosophy of a people, and exhibit certain indications of their character. The author of this volume has added some historical anecdotes, remarkable sayings, and accounts of ancient customs &c. from which the reader will derive instruction and entertainment.—The “*Literary Pantheon, dedicated to the Nine Muses, &c. containing Didactic Dissertations, and curious Observations on the Rise, and Progress of the Arts and Sciences, together with Poems, Anecdotes, Epigrams, &c. for the year 1789,*” is nothing less than an almanac: but far superior to the majority of such kind of publications, as it is filled with dissertations

tations on different points of science and literature, many of which are written by men who are eminent for their literary talents. We could wish to see the design imitated in our own country.

With respect to the literature of Spain, we have but little information to lay before our readers. Among the very few publications of which we have been able to obtain any knowledge, the "History of the Luxury and sumptuary Laws of Spain, by M. D. Giovanni Sempere, in two volumes," is the first which, in point of order, demands our notice. M. Sempere is already known in the republic of letters as an author of erudition, discernment, and taste: and his name is sufficient to recommend any work of his to the attention of literary men. The work before us begins at the time of the Carthaginians, and is carried down as far as the reign of Charles III. As it comprizes a number of curious and interesting objects, we regret that it is not in our power to lay a more particular account of it before our readers.—The "History of the famous Order of the Golden Fleece, &c. by D. Julian de Pinedo y Salazar, in 3 vols. folio," is an elegant and splendid work, which deserves a place in the libraries of the curious. The first volume treats of the founding of the order, the cloathing of the knights &c. with a history of its general chapters; to which are added the life of Philip II. the Good Duke of Burgundy, the founder of the order, and those of many of the companions. The second volume is chiefly polemical. The third contains the constitution of the order; the

proceedings of the general chapter held at Utrecht, by the emperor Charles the Vth; the bulls of the popes in confirmation of it; together with a variety of curious particulars, too numerous to be recited in our work.—The "Coast of Spain in the Mediterranean, and the opposite Coast of Africa," and the "Description of the Islands Baleares," contain the explanation of a grand Atlas, consisting of fifteen large charts, the execution of which does great honour to the Spanish nation.—The "Historical and Critical View of Spanish Literature, by Don Antonio de Campany, in four volumes," contains judicious selections from the most esteemed and celebrated authors in Spain, from the commencement of the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, in order to vindicate his countrymen from the misrepresentations of foreigners, and to convey a general idea of the richness, majesty, and harmony of the Spanish language. These he hath accompanied with much liberal and just criticism. The learning and diligence displayed in this work give us a high opinion of the author, and entitle him to the thanks of his countrymen.—The "Iliad of Homer, in Verse, by D. Ignacio Garcia Mallo, vol. 1." is the first translation of that work which Spain has produced. It deserves much praise with respect to its accuracy, and the harmony of its versification. In the introduction, the author has delivered a number of remarks and observations, which are evidences both of his erudition, and of his fine taste.

With this article we shall close our history of Foreign Literature of the year 1789.